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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

BY R. Y. TYRRELL.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

BY

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VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

The Preface to the Second Volume of Cicero's Correspondence announced that this and the other volumes would appear as the joint work of Mr. Purser and myself. It also expressed a hope that the third volume should succeed the second after a much shorter interval than that which elapsed between the publication of the first two. We have succeeded in realising this anticipation, and we hope to finish the whole work in two more volumes in the course of the next three or four years.

We shall be satisfied if we succeed in presenting our readers with a text based on the best foundations now available for criticism, and in adequately explaining that text. That part of our duty will demand frequent comment on the latinity of this most interesting body of literature; but our comments must be mainly in the interests of interpretation, and we must refrain from those minute analyses of style and idiom which make some recent editions of parts of Cicero's works so interesting and so instructive, but which our design would put out of our power, even if we felt ourselves competent to undertake such delicate speculations. Our historical and archæological comments also must be strictly subsidiary to explanation.

We have taken pains about the ascertainment of the order of the letters, and have felt bound sometimes to depart from

the received order; but we have not done so unless the evidence seemed to be of a strong and positive kind. We have endeavoured in this, as in other matters, to profit by the kindly advice of our reviewers, for whose sympathy and encouragement we would here express our lively sense of gratitude.

We regret to have to refer our readers to a considerable list of *errata* which we have noticed, and we would ask them at once to make the alterations there indicated.

Those who have in their hands Vol. II. will kindly enter in it a few corrections pointed out by Mr. Roby and others, and indicated by us on the same page as the list of errata in this volume.

We add a list of the most important of the new readings introduced now for the first time into the text, or strongly commended in the notes. With regard to this Table of new readings we have only to repeat what we said in the Prefaces to Vols. I. and II. It is a list of corrections which have not generally been received into the text. Our own conjectures must, from the nature of the case, preponderate in this list, as they are proposed now for the first time. Corrections of other editors of course appear in large numbers in the text: but as they have already found general acceptance, they do not stand in this Table.

In it we describe ourselves as Edd. in the last column. In the penultimate column the reading accepted in the text is printed in Roman type, the reading commended in the notes, but not given in the text, is printed in italics. When a MS. reading is vindicated against a generally received conjecture the MS. reading is given again in the penultimate column, printed in small caps.

Ep.		Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture accepted in Text, or recorded with approbation in Notes.	Editor.
CLXXXIV.	1.	meo M, in eo Rav.	meo.	mei in eo.	Edd.
ibid.	2.	DCCC aperuisti.	.. ..	*de* DCCC *aperuisti.*	Edd.
CLXXXV.	2.	se a Vestorio.	.. ..	*me a Vestorio.*	Edd.
CXXXVII.	1.	servio fieri probabile.	.. ..	Servius fieri probabilis.	Edd.
CXC.		quod ante.	quot ante.	quo de ante.	Francken.
CXCII.	1.	quo ius M quid ius H.	cuius.	QVOIVS : *see* Introd. § IV.	Becher.
CXCVI.	1.	me repraesentante.	me praesente.	me in re praesente.	Gron.
—		vide modo.	.. ..	*ride modo.*	Wes.
—		lege Licinia.	legi Liciniae.	LEGE LICINIA.	Wes.
CXCVIII.	2.	nescio.	scio *or* non nescio.	sane scio.	Kahnt.
ibid.	4.	non modo nemo modo ne Roma quidem.	non modo nemo homo sed ne rumor quidem.	non modo nemo domo sed ne Roma quidem.	Kays.
CXCIX.	4.	vitam.	.. ..	viam.	Schütz.
CC.	7.	videlicet datas.	videlicet datae sunt.	VIDELICET DATAS.	Edd.
ibid.		illam *νομαναρια.*	.. ..	*illam νομαίαν ἀργίας.*	Edd.
CCII.	1.	ΑΚΡΑΤΗΡΕΩΝ iura.	*ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια.*	*ἄκρα Γυρέων* pura.	L. Dindorf.
ibid.	2.	ad te statim.	.. ..	a te statim.	Edd.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture accepted in Text, or recorded with approbation in Notes.	Editor.
ibid.	habemus.	habebimus.	HABEMUS.	Lehmann.
CCVI. 3.	magno clamore insecuta est.	.. ..	*magno clamore insectatio insecuta est.*	Edd.
CCVI. 4.	quo appeteretur.	quoad peteretur.	QVO APPETERETVR.	Edd.
CCVII. 3.	plura scribebam	.. ..	epistolam sciebam.	Gron.
CCVIII. 3.	itaque opiniones.	.. ..	ita opiniones.	Moser.
CCX. 2.	moretur.	moremur.	MORETVR.	Becher.
ibid. 3.	sua causa.	.. ..	in sua causa.	Edd.
CCXX. 2.	iam Romae.	.. ..	iam amore *or* iam στοργῇ (*cp.* Att. vii. 2. 4) *or* iam ὁρμῇ (*cp.* Cic. Off. ii. 18).	Edd. (Lehmann).
CCXXIII. 1.	si quod iniuriis suis esset.	.. ..	si quid iniuria ipsius esset.	Wes.
CCXXIII. 3.	transegisset relaturum.	transegit et se relaturum.	transegisse et rem relaturum.	Edd.
CCXXIII. 5.	ses.	eos.	s. f. s. (= sine fraude sua).	O. Hirschfeld.
CCXXVI. 1.	quam paratus.	quam imparatus.	QVAM PARATVS.	Wes.
ibid. 2.	contumeliose praeter eos.	.. ..	contumeliose se praeteritis.	Madv.
CCXXVIII. 1.	superioris quod idem . . . dein.	superiores. Quod idem dein.	superioris quadriennii ; dein (*dele* idem, see *errata*).	Corrad.
CCXXXI. 1.	ecdici mylas. ii. Romam M ecdicia mylasinis Romam H.	ecdici mylasii Romam.	ECDICI A MYLASINIS ROMAM.	Edd.
CCXXXIII. 1.	quam plurimum pecuniae.	quam primum pecunia.	QVAM PLVRIMVM PECVNIAE.	Wes.
CCXXXVIII. 6.	et toto iis M. et tuto iis H.	ex toto iis.	ego tuto iis.	Edd.

CCXXXVIII. 8.	sex capta.	.. ..	vi capta.	Madv.
CCXLI. 1.	quanquam profecerunt.	.. ..	quanquam aliquid profecerunt.	Wes.
CCXLII. 2.	denique.	.. ..	vide ne qua.	Wes.
CCL. 1.	consolor: non spero.	.. ..	consolor uno: spero.	Madv.
ibid. 2.	id est.	.. ..	datae.	Hofm.
ibid. 3.	cogor et velim.	.. ..	cogor ut velim.	Lehmann.
ibid. 4.	canule *or* camulae.	Canuleii.	caculae.	Gron.
ibid. 5.	transitam.	transita *or* transitans.	*ἐν παρόδῳ* (with gloss *transitu*).	Edd.
ibid. 12.	ut ex ea syngrapha esset.	.. ..	ut ex ea syngrapha <ius diceretur, non ut alio iure ea syngrapha> esset.	Boot.
CCLII. 1.	respondebo: sic enim postulas.	.. ..	respondebo <non *χρύσεα χαλκείων*> sic enim postulas.	Wes.
ibid. 2.	meam *βαθύτητα* in Appio.	.. ..	meam *βαθύτητα* [in] Appio.	Edd.
ibid. 3.	dico *M*, illico *F*.	dico *or* ideo.	ILLICO.	Btr.
ibid. 7.	*ἀκοινονοήτως*.	*ἀκοινωνήτως*.	ΑΚΟΙΝΟΝΟΗΤΩΣ.	Edd.
ibid. 7.	soluta res Scaptio statim.	solvatur Scaptio statim.	soluta res Scaptio stat.	Madv.
ibid. 17.	nihil habuit aliud inscriptum nisi CENS . . . inscriptum est Cos.	.. ..	nihil habuit aliud inscriptum nisi Cos . . . inscriptum est CENS.	Edd.
ibid. 17.	ad Opis per te.	ab Opis parte.	*ad Opis Opiferae* (sc. *aedem*).	Jordan.
CCLVI. 7.	tu qui ais.	ubi tu qui ais.	tu quis qui ais.	Edd.
CCLVII. 4.	militaremque M militemque H.	militaremque.	MILITEMQVE.	Or.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture accepted in Text, or recorded with approbation in Notes.	Editor.
CCLXII. 2.	in te proficiscentur.	.. ..	in te proficisci poterunt proficiscentur.	Madv.
CCLXV. 2.	Veruntamen est maiestas etsi Sulla uoluit ne.	Veruntamen ea est maiestas, ut Sulla voluit, ut.	Veruntamen ea est maiestas (etsi Sulla noluit) ut.	Edd.
CCLXVI. 1.	administrari.	administrare.	ADMINISTRARI.	Wes.
CCLXVII. 1.	spem.	se spem.	SPEM.	Becher.
CCLXVII. 3.	defendetur intercessorem si M defenderet intercessorem si (other MSS).	defendetur: intercessorem si.	defendet intercessorem: si.	Wes.
CCLXVII. 4.	eos tibi visos.	eos quos tibi misi.	eos esse quos tibi misi.	Wes.
CCLXIX. 2.	κληρονομήσας.	.. ..	κληρονομῆσαι (printed by mistake κληρονομήσας in Text: see list of *errata*).	Muecke.
ibid.	διευλυτῆσθαι.	.. ..	διευλυτῶσθαι.	Edd.
ibid.	προεκκειμένης ἡμέρας ὅσας.	προεκκειμένης ἡμέρας· ὅσας.	προεκκειμένης· ἡμέρας ὅσας.	Edd.
CCLXXI. 2.	cum cognoscam.	cum cognoscam (cp. Becher, p. 22).	cum cognoro, scribam.	Wes.
CCLXXVI. 1.	qui de Ti. Nerone.	.. ..	quin de Ti. Nerone.	Madv.
ibid. 4.	non dico equidem quid egerit.	.. ..	non dico equidem non quid egerit.	Edd.
CCLXXXI. 5.	quam domo.	quam olim domo.	quam domi domo.	Edd.
CCLXXXII. 1.	clamavi.	exclamavi *or* amavi.	te amavi.	Edd.
CCLXXXIV. 1.	cohorruisse autem me quod.	.. ..	cohorruisse autem me eo quod.	Edd.
ibid. 4.	densae dexterae.	tensae dexterae.	DENSAE DEXTERAE (the words being regarded as part of a verse from a lost poet).	Edd.

CCLXXXVII. 2.	satis quotidie videro.	satis esto : te videro.	satis quo te die videro.	Or.
CCXCIII. 3.	de tortorio Ciceronum.	deporto Ciceronum.	deporto II. Ciceronum.	Edd.
ibid. 4.	prudentius.	.. ..	pudentius.	Wes. (Vict.)
CCXCIV. 2.	quid enim tibi faciam.	.. ..	*quid enim tibi taceam.*	Moser.
ibid. 5.	non invidere.	[non] invidere.	NON INVIDERE.	Edd.
ibid. 10.	quam quod.	quam quod 'in.'	quam 'in' quod.	Buech.
ibid. 10.	noen *or* noenū.	non.	NOENU.	Lachmann.
ibid. 12.	aperierimus.	averterimus *or* appetierimus.	aperuerimus.	Edd. (RI.)
ibid. 12.	reum facere rentur.	reum me facerent.	rem me facere rentur.	Wes. (Bos.)
CCXCVI. 4.	putant.	putavi.	putatur.	Edd.
CCCXCVIII. 1.	putato.	puto.	*puta te me* or *πατητόν.*	Edd.
ibid. 7.	ventum est.	.. ..	ventum sit.	Wes.
CCC. 3.	ipsum sic. O. magnum.	ipsum SIC, dico, magnum.	ipsum SIC MALO magnum.	Edd.

TABLE OF CORRECTIONS.

VOL. II.

Page 9, *postularim*] 'because I did not refuse it nor urge my claim strongly.'
,, 92, note on *tanti . . . quanti*. Dele foot note and crit. note, and translate 'In your ignorance of my ways (or purpose) you have bought those four or five statues at a price at which I do not value all the statues in the world' (Mr. Roby, Classical Review, i. p. 69).
,, 132, as lemma of first note, *for* 'vel etiam . . . esse' *read* 'quod erant abs te.'
,, 133, *for* 'ioculatorem' *read* [ioculatorem]: see Prof. A. S. Wilkins' *De Orat.* I², p. 23 (note).
,, 134, Add to the note on *muratos* 'The Queen in *Cymbeline* describes Britain as

ribb'd and paled in
With rocks unscalable.'

,, 145, note on *aqua dempta*, Mr. Roby (Cl. Rev., i. p. 67) translates 'Calvus declared that if the water were taken away, and the right of drawing it were established, and a servitude imposed on that estate, we should still get our price.'
,, 198, note on *in unciis*. '*Obsignare* is not *to sign* but *to seal up*, which was not for execution, but to secure the contents from alteration' (Mr. Roby, Cl. Rev. i. p. 69).
,, 216, note on *exceptionem in interdicto*. Mr. Roby (Cl. Rev. i. p. 66) says the interdict referred to is *de vi armata*, which in the Digest is consolidated with that *de vi*. (Dig. xliii. 16).

VOL. III.

,, 3, *for* 'CCLXXX' *read* 'CCC.'
,, 11, text, l. 3, *for* 'et' *read* '*et*.'
,, 33, notes, col. 2, l. 13, *dele* 'In.'
,, 60, text, l. 2 from end, *for* 'decernerem' *read* 'deciderem.'
,, 65, notes, col. 1, l. 9, *for* 'moderaris' *read* 'moderari.'
,, 68, notes, col. 1, l. 9, *for* 'ablations' *read* 'ablativi.'
,, 77, top line and title to Ep. ccxvii., *for* 'Fam. xv. 7' *read* 'xv. 12.'
,, 83, notes, col. 1, last line, *for* 'iudicio' *read* 'patris.'
,, 94, text, l. 1, *for* 'Synnade' *read* 'Synnadae.'
l. 10, *for* 'mitere' *read* 'mittere.'
,, 100, text, last line, *for* 'Senatus auctoritates' *read* 'Senatus consultum. Auctoritates.' [*Vid.* Adv. Crit.]
,, 101, text, last line, *for* 'eorum CCCLX' *read* 'eorum in CCCLX.'
,, 109, notes, col. 1, l. 6 from end, *for* 'sit' *read* 'esset.'
,, 115, text, l. 8, *dele* 'idem' (as arising from a dittography of 'dein,' and remodel critical note to that effect, p. 325).
,, 139, text, l. 11, *for* 'enim non' *read* 'enim id non.'
,, 145, notes, col. 1, l. 8, *for* 'Plancius' *read* 'Plancus.'
,, 147, notes, col. 2, l. 11, *for* 'enact' *read* 'exact.'
,, 295, notes, col. 1, l. 12, *for* 'ventured to add' *read* 'added with Madvig.'
,, 222, text, l. 11, *for* 'κληρονομήσας' *read* 'κληρονομῆσαι.'
,, 275, text, last line but one, *for* 'est' *read* '*est*.'
,, 329, Ep. col., § 4, l. 4, *for* 'fere' *read* 'fore.'

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—HISTORICAL.

§ 1.* Cicero's Provincial Government.

The period of Cicero's provincial government has not received much attention from historians or even editors; yet it suggests many curious and interesting reflections, and the letters written throughout its duration throw some very strange side lights on some leading personages who figured in the last years of the Republic.

It does not surprise us that history has so little to say about this epoch in Cicero's life, when we find Cicero himself regarding it as an irrelevant though unhappily inevitable parenthesis in the story of his career. Beside Cilicia proper, Cicero's province included Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia, and three districts (dioceses as they were called) north of Taurus, of which the chief towns were Cibyra, Synnada, and Apamea. He was absolute ruler of a country which (not including the isle of Cyprus) contained nearly 40,000 square miles. Including Cyprus, his government had an area about half as large again as that of Ireland; but to him it was not half as big as the Roman Forum. On the surface of his correspondence at once appears the fact that he has never even contemplated making his government a source of personal profit. What we know of the character of Cicero quite prepares us for this. But it is astonishing to find that he

* This section of the Introduction, which originally appeared in October, 1888, as an article in the *Quarterly Review* (No. 334), is here reprinted with the kind permission of the Proprietor and Editor.

who had written the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus*, and who was to write the *De Officiis*, seems to feel no interest in the opportunity afforded him of putting some of his ethical and political theories to a practical test; and that the eager student of History and Geography finds nothing attractive in the unexplored mountain tracts or in the historic plains of Cilicia.

Yet this region of Asia Minor between Mount Taurus and the Mediterranean, stretching from Pampylia on the west to Syria on the east, had much in it to quicken the interest and fire the imagination of a man so cultivated as Cicero. The wild fastnesses of Cilicia Trachea were the haunts of robber chieftains as brave, if not as romantic, as Rob Roy, Roderick Dhu, and Dirk Hatteraick. The very names of the towns frown at us like awful precipices and yawning chasms—Coracesium, Charadrus, Holmi, Melania, Rhegma. The words themselves are forbidding, and tell us of pirates who disdained the arts of peace, and who, when subdued by the Romans, hardly waited for the departure of the licensed pirate, the Roman who had defeated them, before they again scoured the sea with their vessels and defied their conquerors. In Cilicia Campestris, on the other hand, the eye roams over smiling plains, shining rivers, and historic towns. One would have supposed that the learned Cicero would have found an interest in Anchiale and its associations with its founder, Sardanapalus; in Issus, the scene of the great Alexander's triumph; in Tarsus, the birthplace of Antipater; in the river Marsyas, the scene of an incident in which Cicero himself might have aspired to play the inferior part.

But no; his correspondence, copious and unreserved as it is, tells us about the history, the geography, the manners and customs of his province—nothing. Relentless routine demands that for a year he shall bury himself in the grave of provincial life. He puts the hateful subject as far as possible away from him, and his only concern is, by what means can he make it certain that a year shall be the limit of his misery. He conceives himself to be going out of the light into the darkness. 'Tell me,' he writes to Caelius on the eve of his departure, 'neither the past nor the present, but the future.'* He little thought that it was in the provinces that

* Fam. ii. 8. 1 (cci.).

the future of Rome was really unfolding itself; for him the world lay between the Palatine and the Vatican. 'Cleave, Rufus, to the city, the city, and in that focus of light feel that you are alive! All foreign travel is darkness and disgrace, for those whose good gifts can bear the light of Rome:'* this is his advice to his friend Caelius as the end of his year of proconsular government draws near. The same was the tone of his cry of *ennui*, before he had even set foot in his province: 'Words cannot express how I am consumed with longing for the city, how intolerable I find the insipidity of provincial life.' † His year of government taught him nothing; nor does he seem to have observed how very differently Caesar regarded his province. Caesar was as anxious for a renewed tenure of his government of Gaul, as Cicero was eager to resist the lengthening of his term of office in Cilicia. Caesar saw that he was preparing the way for the Empire in Gaul, while the Republic was unmaking itself in Rome; Cicero was tortured by the thought that, while he was wasting hateful hours in Cilicia, the *forum* and *basilicae* of his beloved Rome knew no more the *scurra consularis*.

Let us now follow the journey of Cicero from Rome to his province.

He left Rome early in May, B.C. 51 (703). His period of office began on July 1. He did not arrive in Laodicea till July 30, Thus he spent nearly three months on the way from Rome to his province. In about half that time he effected his return to Rome on the expiry of his year of office. His outward journey makes us think of Shakespeare's schoolboy, creeping like snail unwillingly to school; he returns to Rome in the spirits of a schoolboy on the first day of the vacation. One great cause of delay was the non-appearance of his legate Pomptinus. Pomptinus was a brave and experienced officer, and was no doubt selected by Cicero in view of an apprehended *tumultus* from Parthia; but one does not see why Cicero should have waited days for him at every place where he put up. Pomptinus appears to have been as unwilling as Cicero to leave Rome (where Cicero hints that he had an *affaire de cœur*); on the other hand, the despatch with which he betook himself

* Fam. ii. 12. 2 (cclxiii.). † Att. v. 11. 1 (cc.).

back to Rome makes even Cicero's return journey seem slow by comparison. What with waiting for Pomptinus, and spending three days at Tarentum in conference with Pompeius on affairs of state, Cicero did not arrive at Brundisium till May 22. Then, again, where was Pomptinus? How could one leave Italy without Pomptinus? Moreover, the weather was not inviting, and Cicero was not very well. In short, June had begun before he set sail—without Pomptinus. The voyage to Actium, broken at Corcyra and Sybota, where Cicero and his *suite* 'feasted like aldermen'* with Areus and Eutychides, friends of Atticus, occupied about a fortnight. The next stage was to be Athens. The route by sea was much shorter, but it was tiresome, and 'it would not look well to arrive with so small a flotilla.' It was better to take the longer route by land. They did so, and arrived at Athens in ten days, June 24th. Again we are surprised at the intellectual apathy of Cicero. He had not seen Athens since he was little more than a boy, yet the city suggests to him nothing but the fact that his friend Atticus used to live there, and his thoughts fly back to Rome, Caesar's debts, Milo's embarrassments, the *rumusculi* of the *forum* and the *basilicae*. In fact, it does not appear that he would have made any sojourn in Athens at all, except of course because one must wait for Pomptinus. Here, however, Cicero found himself obliged to renew an acquaintance with one who belonged to a class characteristic of society just before the fall of the Republic. The notorious Memmius, one of the parties to the infamous compact made with the outgoing consuls in 54, (700)† was now living in Greece, an exile. He had become possessed of some premises hallowed for the Epicureans by the fact that they had once belonged to the Master himself. The disciples of Epicurus, Patro and others now living in Athens, besought the good offices of Cicero with Memmius, to secure for them these premises. Memmius is but little concerned. The poem which Lucretius dedicated to him does not seem to have awakened in him any interest in Epicurus or his house. Perhaps he had never read the poem. Cicero tells us‡ that Memmius was 'thoroughly versed in literature, but only in Greek literature; Latin he despised.' We are gratified (perhaps more than Cicero was) to find Pomptinus at

* Saliarem in modum, Att. v. 9. 1 (cxcv.). † Att. iv. 17. 2 (cxlix.). ‡ Brut. 247.

last arriving, and with him Volusius and the quaestor Mescinius Rufus. Accompanied by these, Cicero left Athens on July 7th, and, touching at Ceos, Gyaros, Syros, and Delos, landed at last at Ephesus on July 20th, '560 days after the battle of Bovillae.' * So completely do his thoughts run on Rome and her things, that he dates his landing in Asia from the scuffle on the Appian Way, in which Clodius lost his life. 'Now,' he writes to Atticus,† 'now are put to the test the theories of conduct which I have so long paraded.' This reflection (which does not seem to have occurred to him again) was forced on him by the enthusiastic reception given him at Ephesus, which was the more gratifying because Ephesus formed no part of his province. It was not their governor whom they welcomed, but the man of far-famed learning, integrity, and eloquence, the prosecutor of Verres, and the Father of his Country. But not even this tribute could make Cicero remember, for more than a few minutes at a time, that there was a world outside Rome. In the same letter he writes: 'Pray give me a full and most accurate account of everything that is happening at Rome, or is about to happen—and especially the news of the law courts.' However, the plaudits of Asia evoked from him in the same letter a promise which may be called the watchword of his administration. 'I shall carry out the principles of your *School for Governors*, and I shall be all things to all men.' ‡

Here we have the source of all the integrity and excellence of Cicero's official life, and beside it the reason of his actual failure to raise the standard of provincial government. From undue self-aggrandisement—not to mention the extortions and cruelties habitually practised by Roman governors—he was withheld, not only by the precepts of Atticus, but by his own gentle and elevated nature. These led him to consult the interests of the province in every way, so far as they could be influenced by his own conduct and the behaviour of his staff. But there was something more important still than the well-being of the provinces. This was the *ordinum concordia*, which is still his cabala and talisman. These two aims often did not coincide—indeed, they were often in direct conflict. And when they did conflict, this best of proconsuls showed himself only too ready to sacrifice the province. When

* Att. v. 13. 1 (cciii.). † Ibid. ‡ Att. v. 13. 2 (cciii.).

he writes, 'I will be all things to all men,' he is thinking of the natives on the one hand and the publicans on the other. That he succeeded in satisfying the latter, we have at all events his own testimony: 'To the publicans I am as the apple of the eye.'* To the natives his conduct, compared with that of his predecessors, made his term of office seem an angel's visit. But when the *ordinum concordia* and the natural rights of the province had to be weighed against each other, the latter kicked the beam. We observe this sad fact at the very outset of his career in Cilicia, in his demeanour towards his predecessor. Appius was an almost perfect type of the rapacious, arrogant, unintelligent aristocrat of the decline of the Republic. All these qualities lie hid in the word 'Appiusness,' *Appietas*,† which Cicero coins to express the characteristic idiosyncrasies of the aristocracy. He writes to Atticus,‡ that 'the wounds which Appius has inflicted on the province are too palpable to be concealed;' and again,§ his conduct is described as 'monstrous—more like some wild beast than a human being.' Beside these utterances it is humiliating to place his letters to Appius himself in the third book *ad Familiares*, teeming as they are with expressions like, 'I want the world to know that never were there kindlier feelings between predecessor and successor than between you and me,' || and 'my desire is that every one should see for himself what cordial friends we are.'¶ We have just quoted the words of Cicero that the wounds of the province were too palpable to be concealed, yet this is just what he himself endeavours to do. It must not be admitted, except to an intimate and confidential friend like Atticus and under the seal of secrecy, that the coming of Appius to Cilicia had been something like the appearance of a man-eating tiger in an Indian village. If this were admitted to be the character of governors sent out by the Senate, how could the *régime* of the Oligarchy be defended? Yet defended it must be. So we find the humane Cicero, whose 'heart of hearts bleeds' ** even at the petty insolences and *brusqueries* from which he cannot restrain his staff, excusing himself to Appius for slight divergencies from the

* Att. vi. 2. 5 (cclvi.). † Fam. iii. 7. 5 (ccxliv.). ‡ Att. v. 15. 2 (ccvii.).
§ Att. v. 16. 2 (ccviii.). || Fam. iii. 3. 1 (cxci.). ¶ Fam. iii. 5. 2 (ccv.).
** 'Angor intimis sensibus,' Att. v. 10. 3 (cxcviii.).

practice of his predecessor; congratulating the wild beast on the prospect of the triumph 'which he so well deserves;' finally, apologizing for the part which his son-in-law Dolabella took in prosecuting Appius, bearing his testimony in favour of the accused, and congratulating him on the righteous verdict which acquitted him. Surely never was a Delilah more cruel in the sacrifices exacted from her adorer than was the Republic which Cicero had made his idol.

It was his own natural refinement of spirit, and not any large and insistent sympathy with the subjects, which made his administration so gentle and pure. Though 'tortured' by the slightest indiscretion on the part of his staff, his concern for the provincials seems absolutely bounded by the limits of his own official responsibility. He did not hesitate to leave his province in the hands of a person whom he knew to be as unprincipled as Appius. The probable brutalities of a successor gave him no concern. Nay, might they not even heighten by contrast the *elegantia* of his own rule? This word, which recurs so often in the letters of this period, puts in a nutshell the character of Cicero's administration, its motive and its result, or rather its want of result. He did not look at his province from Caesar's point of view, as portion and parcel of a great disorganized mass of communities linked for better or worse with the destinies of imperial Rome, and fated for better or worse to decide her future. He regarded it merely as a stage on which he might strut for an hour, and then dismiss it from his thoughts for ever. His administration held the same relation to a really enlightened rule as dandyism bears to cleanliness, and perhaps no better phrase than 'moral dandyism' could be found to express the meaning of that *elegantia* for which he so often claims credit.

It is amusing to observe how the counsels of perfection with which he started begin to yield when confronted with the stern realities of practical experience. He had told Atticus that he meant to introduce into his edict a clause from the edict of Bibulus, undertaking to maintain all agreements between the publicans and the provincials, 'provided no force or fraud had been used to procure the contract.' But we learn from another letter* that Atticus

* Att. vi. 1. 15 (cclii.).

pointed out to him that the proviso was a slur on the *Equites*, who would resent this official allusion to the methods to which they too often had recourse. Cicero at once takes the hint; the *ordinum concordia* is a paramount consideration, and the proviso takes an amusingly covert form which cannot offend the *Equites*—'save the transaction be of such a nature that it ought not to be upheld.' The same gradual change of front may be observed in his relations with his predecessor. The Cilicians, on the departure of their recent governor, felt bound, according to custom, to send a deputation to Rome to bear witness to the many virtues of the wild beast who had just ceased to ravage the province, and to thank the Senate for its paternal government of its dependencies. These deputations to Rome cost money, and this money was raised by imposts on the grateful towns, which, as the object of their gratitude had generally plucked them pretty clean, often found the burden very heavy. Such was the case in the present instance. The grateful towns seem to have complained to Cicero that they really had not been left money enough to send a deputation to Rome to express their admiration of their despoiler. At first Cicero, full of the good resolutions which characterize new governors, writes to Appius*:—

'Many of the towns sent to me at Apamea some of their leading citizens to urge that the tax imposed on them to defray the expenses of the envoys to Rome was excessive, and that they were unable to pay it. At once a number of considerations occurred to me. Appius, I said to myself, is a sensible man, and moreover a man of the world, and surely does not care for such deputations in his honour. I recalled how these sometimes failed even to get a hearing at Rome, and how little you stood in need of such testimony. In a word, I bethought me how utterly useless the whole thing was.'

Accordingly Cicero ordered that any one who really wanted to express his gratitude to Appius should go to Rome at his own expense, but that the towns should not be taxed for the purpose. In a subsequent letter to Appius,† in which he shows much concern, lest this close friend of Brutus should take offence, there is a decided change of attitude and tone:—

'I remember receiving a deputation complaining of the excessive sums raised for the envoys to Rome. I directed, or rather recommended (*non tam*

* Fam. iii. 8. 2 (ccxxii.).

† Fam. iii. 10. 7 (cclxi.).

imperavi quam censui), that the expenses should as much as possible be kept within the limits prescribed by the Cornelian Law. And on this I did not even insist, as the accounts of the sums contributed to the deputations by the several towns will show.'

The Republic had come to such a pass, that when a Roman governor took an honest course, he was obliged to apologize to the ruling aristocrats, and to give his conduct, so far as he could, the complexion of the injustice which he knew they would approve, and even demand.

Sometimes, however, Cicero treated himself to the luxury of doing good; but in these cases he was bound to do good by stealth, and to take careful measures lest he should ever find it fame. Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, was constantly threatened by the neighbouring potentates, Mithridates of Pontus and Nicomedes of Bithynia. He had frequently repaired to Rome to seek assistance, and there he had become the debtor of Pompeius and of Brutus. Hence the constant protection afforded him by Rome. An Asiatic Majesty more or less made very little difference to a people occupied with subjects of such enthralling interest as the debts of Milo, the last quotation of the prices offered for the next consulship, and the question who would be able to bribe highest for acquittal in the trials for provincial malversation. But even the stern republican Brutus was deeply concerned for the stability of the throne which held the man who owed him money. Then indeed *vive le Roi* and *à bas la République*. The throne of Ariobarzanes had its foundations, not in the hearts of his subjects, but in the pockets of his powerful Roman creditors. Nothing could be more to be deprecated than his deposition:

'Ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.'

These considerations no doubt stimulated the interest of Cicero in the royal *protégé*, whom the Senate had consigned to his care; but certainly his whole treatment of the King and management of his affairs reflect great credit on him, both as a man and as a diplomatist. Not only was Ariobarzanes overwhelmed by debt, but he was threatened by conspiracies even within his own household. Archelaus, the powerful high priest of the temple of Bellona at Comana, one of those spiritual princes whose appearance at this

epoch of history leads Mommsen to compare the Roman State in Asia to the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, had plotted with Athenais, the mother of Ariobarzanes, to depose him and place his brother Ariarathes on the throne. Ariobarzanes came to Cicero at Cybistra, and detailed to him with tears the whole plot, which his brother Ariarathes had disclosed to him with a high-mindedness very rare, especially among Orientals. Cicero at once took on himself the sole conduct of the affair. He brought back the faithful ministers of the King, Metras and Athenaeus, who had been dismissed through the machinations of Athenais and Archelaus, and persuaded the latter to abandon his ambitious projects.

'To me,' he writes, to Atticus, 'Ariobarzanes owes his throne, his very life.'* Yet his public despatches breathe a spirit of complete self-effacement. He has nothing to say about a transaction as least as creditable to him as the exploit of his consulship. Perhaps he did not wish to advertise too much his suppression of Archelaus, who was a creature of Magnus. More probably he knew that such was the state of public opinion in Rome that a proconsul who sought to do good would not be wise to let his light shine before men. It was only to Atticus he could venture to confide a fact which would have been received by an Appius with incredulity or indignation.

The whole history of Cicero's proconsulate is the history of a struggle between his conscience and his desire to meet the views of everybody, especially the publicans and the great men at Rome. Struggles often cause a displacement of convenient drapery, and so we find that the curtain, which hid the doings of the magnates of this period, is sometimes for a moment pushed aside, and affords a glimpse of what is going on behind it. A most amusing letter, when one reads between the lines, is one† in which Cicero begs his friend Thermus, pro-praetor of Bithynia, to interest himself in the business concerns of Cluvius of Puteoli. These concerns are on a very extensive scale. Whole communities are in his debt, and kings have well-nigh mortgaged their crowns to him. Who is this mammoth financier, of whom, however, history has so very little to say? The answer to this question slips out in the last

* Att. v. 20. 6 (ccxxviii.).

† Fam. xiii. 56 (ccxxxi.).

words of the letter, 'Cluvius is acting for Pompeius.' Magnus it is who is so anxious to avail himself of the aid of Cicero to push his business in Asia. But it is more dignified for Magnus to act through an agent; his agent is Cluvius.

Other great personages too find their way into the letters of this period, and show to the readers of the correspondence a very different face from that which they usually present to history. Cato, it will be remembered, chiefly through the influence of Clodius, who wanted to get him out of the way, was entrusted with the commission of settling the affairs of Ptolemy the Cyprian. Egypt and the fair isle of Cyprus, the last of the conquests of the Lagidae, had been bequeathed to Rome by the testament of Alexander II. But the Senate was not desirous of annexing Egypt, the position and financial organization of which would have invested a Roman Governor with powers which seemed formidable to the suspicious and feeble government of the oligarchy.* The two illegitimate sons of King Lathyrus, Ptolemy the Flute-player, and Ptolemy the Cyprian, were allowed to take possession respectively of Egypt and Cyprus. The Flute-player was permitted to buy off annexation for the sum of 6000 talents (1,460,000*l.*). His brother was too penurious to part with such a very large ransom, or perhaps he doubted whether the Senate would keep faith with him after he had paid the money. At all events, the annexation of Cyprus was decreed by the people in the year 58 (696), and M. Cato was deputed to settle the affairs of Ptolemy. This weak-minded usurper, on hearing that the Roman people had resolved to take his affairs in hand, put an end to himself—perhaps, indeed, sensibly enough. The sale of his goods, which Cato entrusted to his nephew Brutus, realized nearly 7000 talents (1,700,000*l.*), a sum which would have more than sufficed to fill the maw of the Senate if the King could have persuaded himself to spend it in bribes. Brutus himself brought the money to Rome; but poor Cato, according to Plutarch,† was the victim of Fortune's most cruel spite. He had made, as bound by law, two copies of the accounts of the whole transaction, which would have proved (thinks Plutarch) that not a drachma or sesterce of the ill-fated usurper's accumulations had stuck to the fingers of

* Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 49. Eng. trans. † Cat. c. xxxviii.

that model of rectitude. One of these copies Cato entrusted to his freedman Philargyrus (ill-omened name), who embarked at Cenchreae, suffered shipwreck, and lost his copy. The other Cato kept in his own hands, and arrived with it safely at Corcyra. While they were there encamped under canvas, one night the sailors lit several large fires, the weather being very cold. Alas! the tents took fire, and the only remaining copy was burnt—ἠφανίσθη is the rather happy term which Plutarch employs. He is quite touched by the contemplation of the grief, which Cato must have felt, at being deprived of the documentary evidence of his matchless integrity. Cato was obliged to content himself with the applause of his conscience, and the evidence of Philargyrus and the rest of his staff, who perhaps had as good reason as Cato himself to regard with resignation the trick of fortune which seemed to Plutarch so spiteful. Others, including Caesar and Clodius, took a very different, and perhaps more reasonable, view of this disappearance of the documents.

Brutus perhaps stands highest of all, in common estimation, among the heroes of the declining Republic. Plutarch ascribes to him every virtue, and Dion and Velleius vie with Plutarch in eulogy, Shakespeare, who takes his view from Plutarch, calls him 'the noble Brutus,' 'the soul of Rome,' 'the noblest Roman of them all,' and we read that—

> 'Brutus is noble, wise, valiant and honest,'

and is one of

> 'The choice and master spirits of the age.'

Nor were his contemporaries less loud in his praise than those who fostered his posthumous renown. Not Plutarch nor Lucan, Dion nor Velleius, have transcended the tribute paid to him by Atticus and Cicero, when the former declared that 'if his friend should bring back from his province nothing but the gratitude of Brutus he would still have good reason to be satisfied';* and the latter expressed his opinion, that his own son could have no better education than the contemplation of the many excellences which adorned the character of Brutus, whom he described as 'now the

* Att. vi. 1. 7 (cclii.).

first among the rising generation, soon, I hope, to be the first man in the State.'* His connections were certainly favourable for the achievement of that position. Descended from one of the most illustrious families of Rome, nephew of Cato, brother-in-law of Lepidus and Cassius, he could hardly point to a great house with which he was not linked. The moral austerity and social purity which distinguished the young Brutus did not extend to his family circle. The passion of his mother Servilia for Caesar was no secret at Rome, and has been held by some to add a new significance to the words ascribed to the dying Dictator, καὶ σύ, τέκνον. Servilia is even said to have essayed to maintain her influence over Caesar by encouraging an intrigue between him and her daughter, the wife of Cassius. That her other daughter, the wife of Lepidus, ''scaped not calumnious strokes' is revealed by an amusing incident related by Cicero.† Among the goods of one Vedius, which were by chance included among the assets of Pompeius Vindullus on the death of the latter, were found images or portrait models of certain Roman ladies, whose characters would naturally suffer from the discovery, as Vedius was a man of the worst character. Among these portraits was one of Junia, sister of Brutus and wife of Lepidus. Lepidus took no notice of the matter, and Brutus did not feel called upon to break off his intimacy with Vedius. Cicero, with a characteristic play upon the two names, Brutus ('dull, insensate') and Lepidus ('gay, pleasant'), thus relates the incident:—

'Among the belongings of Vedius (accidentally included in the assets of Vindullus) were found five portraits of Roman ladies, among them a portrait of the sister of your friend Brutus—a brute part in him to keep up the fellow's acquaintance—and wife of Lepidus—pleasant fellow indeed to take the matter so coolly.' ‡

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* Fam iii. 11. 3 (cclxv.). † Att. vi. 1. 25 (cclii.).

‡ 'In quibus una sororis amici tui hominis Bruti qui hoc utatur et uxoris illius Lepidi qui hæc tam neglegenter ferat.' Very noticeable in this sentence is the extremely delicate use of the subjunctive mood, which is the sole vehicle of the joke; the indicative would have merely stated as a fact that Brutus did not cut Vedius, and that Lepidus made light of the affair. Hamlet makes a similar play on the name Brutus:—

'*Polonius.*—I did enact Julius Caesar. I was killed in the Capitol; Brutus killed me.

'*Hamlet.*—It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there.'—*Hamlet*, iii. 2.

Now let us see how Brutus appears in the letters of this period.

This paragon of virtue who exclaims in the play,

> 'Let the gods so speed me, as I love
> The name of honour more than I fear death,'

had, as we have seen, accompanied his uncle Cato to Cyprus, and had himself brought back the money realized to Rome. But it appears from the letters of this time that the young incorruptible had not been idle, or intent solely on public business, while he sojourned at Cyprus. He had been looking out for a profitable investment, and had succeeded in securing customers. The people of Salamis in Cyprus, impoverished by imposts and exactions, sent a deputation to Rome in the year 56 (696) to endeavour to raise a loan to meet their liabilities. But the measure of Gabinius, passed in 67 (687), forbade provincials to borrow money in Rome. The act was designed to benefit the *negotiatores* in the provinces, and was one of the many privileges which the influence of Pompeius secured for the Equites. Brutus, however, thought he saw his way to a pretty stroke of business. He offered the loan to his old friends; but as it was strictly illegal, and the money was not recoverable at law, he felt obliged to charge them interest at the rate of 48 per cent. Of course the great name of Brutus was not to be sullied by the transaction. Matinius and Scaptius appeared as the lenders in the bond. The rest of the transaction may be told nearly in the words of Cicero. Just after his return from his successful campaign on Mount Amanus, Cicero one day received a visit from a certain Scaptius, who came with a strong letter of recommendation from Brutus. The Salaminians, said Scaptius, owed him a large sum of money, and he was desirous that Cicero should appoint him Prefect of Cyprus. He expected that by means of the powers which that post would confer on him he would have no difficulty in coming to terms with his defaulting debtors. He had had some experience of the duties of a prefect. He had held the office under Appius, and, finding it difficult to collect certain sums owed to him by some of the leading men of the island, he had felt himself justified in confining the Senate of Salamis within the walls of the Senate House until five of their

number perished by starvation. We may presume that the rest then gave in. It is shocking to find that even Cicero mentions this atrocious incident, not indeed without reprobation, but certainly without those expressions of horror which it would seem naturally to evoke. It is needless to say that Cicero refused to invest this ancient Surajah Dowlah with the prefecture which he sought, and at once disbanded a troop of horse with which the ruffian used to carry out the business transactions of the noblest Roman of them all. We now read of a step taken by Brutus, which makes us think that Cassius was not altogether wrong when he said—

> 'Brutus thou art most noble; yet I see
> Thy honourable metal may be wrought
> From that it is disposed;'

and which imports a strange irony into his own boast:—

> 'For I can raise no money by vile means.
> By heavens, I had rather coin my heart
> And drop my blood for drachmas than to wring
> From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash
> By any indirections . . .
> I had rather be a dog and bay the moon
> Than such a Roman.'

The step was this. Brutus, who afterwards sealed with the blood of Caesar his devotion to the constitution, who even now was protesting that Caesar must come to Rome if he is to stand for the consulship, got a Senatusconsultum passed, exempting from the penalties of the Gabinian law the transaction between the Salaminians and Scaptius, which had begun and ended in defiance of the act of Gabinius; and afterwards had it fortified with another declaring the bond to be good at law. At this time, Cicero had no suspicion that the real usurer was Brutus. He thought that Scaptius was the actual creditor, but was unwilling to disoblige him on account of the strong recommendation which he brought from Brutus. Cicero accordingly summoned Scaptius and his debtors into his presence, and begged the Salaminians with even hinted menaces to come to terms with Scaptius. They professed themselves quite ready to pay the debt at once with the legal interest calculated at the rate prescribed by Cicero's own edict—no light rate either, namely, 12 per cent. But Scaptius held out

for the 48 per cent. which was in the bond. Cicero peremptorily refused to take cognizance of such a bond, pointing out that the decree of the Senate at best only placed the contract between Scaptius and the Salaminians on the same footing as other contracts, but could not legalize a bond in which the rate of interest charged was distinctly illegal. Upon this Scaptius gave up all thoughts of coercing his debtors under Cicero's government, knowing perhaps that under his successor he would probably get whatever he demanded, or, possibly, struck with a sudden and shortlived compunction. Conscience is sometimes seen to take up her abode for a short sojourn in the most unexpected quarters. For the present he only asked that the matter should be allowed to drop, and that the Salaminians should not be permitted to deposit the money in a temple, which they were ready to do; for the effect of this would be that the interest would cease to accrue, and Scaptius did not wish to diminish the sum which he probably hoped to extort under Cicero's successor.

By this time Cicero had discovered that Brutus was the real creditor; indeed, the gentle Brutus had urged Cicero to confer on Scaptius the prefecture which he had refused him, and which Scaptius had made so effective in the blockade of the Senate House; and had written several letters offensive in tone complaining of his advocacy of the rights of the Salaminians. Even Atticus now begs his dear friend to let Scaptius have a troop of horse, only a little one, just fifty swords, which he felt sure would make the Salaminians see reason. It is pleasant to observe that Cicero is nearly as indignant as we feel ourselves at the audacity of such a request:

'What,' he writes,* 'you, Atticus, make such a request? You, the eulogist of my integrity and moral purism? *Are those the lips to dare*, as Ennius says, to ask me to give Scaptius a troop of horse to coerce his debtors? Only fifty, you say. Why, Spartacus had no more at first.'

However, the issue of the whole matter was some concession to injustice on the part of Cicero. He prevailed on the Salaminians, as a favour to himself, to let the matter rest for the present, and not to deposit the money. He salved his conscience by appealing

* Att. vi. 2. 8 (cclvi.).

to Cato, who does not appear to have condemned Brutus. So Cato, we observe, in spite of the loss—perhaps by reason of the loss—of the accounts *in re* King Ptolemy, holds the position of moral censor and general referee in matters of moral and pecuniary rectitude.

We all know how strong was the republican spirit in the noble Brutus. We read that he

> 'would have brook'd
> The eternal devil to keep state in Rome
> As easily as a king.'

But with an Asiatic Majesty he was not above doing a little business, if a few millions of sesterces were to be turned honestly—or otherwise. We find him incessantly plying Cicero with solicitations to squeeze out of the wretched Ariobarzanes moneys which the King owed him. Even Pompeius showed mercy. He accepted thirty-three Attic talents a month, and this 'did not make up the amount of the monthly interest.' But Pompeius is content with this instalment of the interest, and is satisfied to forego the capital. Not so the noble Brutus. His importunities are so wearying that Cicero thinks of giving up all attempts to protect the King or manage his affairs. Atticus, however, persuaded him to maintain his guardianship. Cicero succeeded at last in getting from the King 100 talents for Brutus, who 'has recovered more money than Pompeius, in proportion to the amount of his loan.' Yet Brutus does not cease to write discourteous letters clamouring for more. Verily,

> 'His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man!*'

Characters given by biographers have often to be read, like encomiums on tombstones, with considerable deductions; but tradition is rarely so perverted as actually to reverse the character of her favourites; Medea may be made too fierce, or Ino not sufficiently tearful, but rarely are the characters actually interchanged.

There is, however, one ancient testimony about the character of Brutus which is worth all the rest. Caesar, that unerring judge

of character, has pronounced upon him, and his verdict is, 'When he wants a thing, he wants it in earnest.'* This, be it observed, is the only contemporary, or ancient, judgment on the character of Brutus which is consistent with the picture of him presented by the letters of Cicero. His untiring energy in coercing the Salaminians, and his pertinacity in clamouring for more remittances from Ariobarzanes, show that he was not disposed to give up an attempt in which he once embarked. The words of Caesar would not be inapplicable to a Shylock. When we read that Brutus, on the point of death, bewailed in some verses from Euripides his late discovery, that virtue was but a name, while he had pursued it as a reality (ἔργον), we cannot but think of another meaning of the word ἔργον, the interest or profit on money, and reflect how well he would have deserved the panegyrics of his admirers, if he had followed virtue with half the energy which he devoted to the pursuit of pecuniary profit.†

When we see that Cato and Brutus, those heavy fathers in the drama of the decline of the Roman Republic, are so little alive to the duties of a civilized administration, we are not surprised to find a *jeune premier* like Caelius taking a light view of the position of a proconsul. No sooner has Cicero landed in his province, than Caelius writes to him begging him, as of course he has now nothing to do, to devote his leisure to the composition of some work to be dedicated to himself, so that the name of Caelius may be linked with the literary fame of his distinguished friend. The period of his proconsular government is just the time for this, as he has now nothing else to occupy his leisure. The sole governor of a province far larger than Ireland must feel grateful for any employment which will beguile the vacant hours of his proconsulate. We afterwards read how Caelius wanted Cicero to procure him some panthers from Cibyra, for the show which he was about to give as Aedile; and he seems offended because Cicero, while promising to engage the services of the regular professional shikarees if he can get them, thinks it would be undignified to insist on a general panther hunt in Cibyra, to cater for the amusement of the Roman mob. It would be hard on the poor provin-

* 'Quidquid vult valde vult.'—Att. xiv. 1. 2.

† ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε | ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν.—Dion. Cass. xlvii. 49.

cials to be obliged to give up their employments and risk their lives so that Caelius might put himself in the running for the consulship, on winning which he would again look to the province to reimburse himself for his expenditure on the Aedilic games.

'However,' writes Cicero,* 'I am doing my best through the shikarees, but tigers are very scarce, and, he adds jestingly, 'those that are to the fore think it very hard that they should be the only creatures under my rule of whom an unfair advantage has been taken, and have resolved to leave my province and emigrate into Caria.'

But Caelius by no means contented himself with such moderate demands as these. He had the audacity to ask his friend to impose a tax on the province to defray the whole expenses of his entertainment in Rome. Of this *vectigal aedilicium*, Cicero had written to his brother Quintus† nine years before:—

'How much credit you deserve for delivering your province from that oppressive and iniquitous exaction, though it did cause heartburnings against us in high quarters! If one magnate complains openly that your decree has taken 200,000 sesterces out of his pocket, what would be the sum paid by the provinces if they were taxed for everyone who gave shows at Rome—and that was the practice which was rapidly becoming established.'

Perhaps it was a recollection of this letter which dictated the courteous sternness of his refusal: 'I could not raise this money in such a way, nor, if I were minded to do so, could you accept it.'‡ A similar dignity displays itself in his dismissal of the brutal Gavius. Cicero, it seems, in spite of his practice of refusing the office of prefect to men engaged in banking business and broking, had, however, at the request of the noble Brutus, conferred that appointment on this Gavius, and on one Scaptius, not apparently the hero of the Salaminian episode, but probably as great a ruffian. Cicero palliated to himself this concession by the reflection, that these men did not carry on their business in his own province, but in Cappadocia. However he had reason to regret his complaisance.

'One Gavius,' he writes to Atticus,§ 'to whom I give a prefecture at the request of Brutus, is habitually disrespectful to me in his words and demeanour. A sort of spaniel of Clodius he is. He did not attend me when I left Apamea; and when he did at last join us in camp, he never asked me on leaving, whether

* Fam ii. 11. 2 (cclv.). † Q. Fr. i. 1. 26 (xxx.). ‡ Att. vi. 1. 21 (cclii.).
§ Att. vi. 3. 6 (cclxiv.).

I had any commands, and in fact showed undisguised discourtesy to me. What would you think of me if I kept such a fellow on my staff? Was I, who never brooked insolence from the highest, to endure it from a hanger-on like this? Well, this Gavius, seeing me again when he was setting out for Rome, asked me in a tone which I should not have ventured to use to a Culleolus: "*To whom am I to look for my allowances?*" I replied, with less asperity than the circumstances justified in the opinion of the bystanders, "*I am not in the habit of making allowances to those whose services I do not require.*" He went away in a rage.' Cicero adds, 'If the complaints of the scoundrel have any effect on Brutus, I give him up. In your admiration for him you will have no rival in me.'

But a certain inconsistency in the conduct of Cicero shows itself in these letters. He constantly expresses dissatisfaction with friends of his who send out to him needy adventurers and political or forensic failures to make a fortune in his province, yet this was the very thing which he himself did in the case of Trebatius. He strongly recommended him to Caesar, and did not conceal that he hoped Trebatius would enrich himself in Gaul. We have already seen him defending, so far as he could, the provincials from the rapacity of the publicans; yet we find him writing to Crassipes, quaestor of Bithynia,* recommending to him the interests of the Bithynian Company, and counselling all those acts of favouritism to the publicans which were habitual with Roman governors, but which were avoided and condemned by himself in his own person and his own province.

The military ability displayed by Cicero in his proconsulate was very considerable. Indeed, both as a poet and as a general Cicero had far higher aptitudes than he is generally accredited with. Of course we meet in the letters describing his campaign that quality which he candidly ascribes to himself in a letter to Atticus,† 'that little strain of vanity and touch of *chauvinism* which is in my character,' adding, ''tis well not to shut one's eyes to one's own foibles.' He underrates the achievement of Cassius, who really averted the Parthian invasion which Cicero apprehended. Cassius had faced the Parthian before. He had taken part in the fatal day of Carrhae—a disaster which might have been averted if Crassus had adopted the prudent counsel of his quaestor,

* Fam. xiii. 9 (ccxxxvi.).

† Att. ii. 17. 2 (xliv.), 'quod est subinane in nobis et non ἀφιλόδοξον.'

not to assume the offensive, not to cross the Euphrates, but to take up his position in some strong place, and watch the movements of the enemy. Cassius, whose name is generally linked with Brutus as a kind of foil to his lustre, or at best as but a humble admirer of virtues quite unattainable by himself, seems to have been about the most respectable of those blustering impostors who strut across the stage in the last scene of Rome's Republic. Though Brutus taunts him with his 'itching palm,' he was a model of uprightness compared with his censor, and at the crisis of the threatened Parthian attack he saved his country from the possible recurrence of the disaster of Carrhae. Cicero bears witness to this, though he characteristically ascribes most of the credit to himself: 'When my approach got wind, Cassius took heart and the Parthians were panic-stricken. They fell back from the town (Antioch). Cassius followed them and achieved a success. In the flight Osaces, a leading Parthian chieftain, received a wound of which he died a few days after. My name carries great weight in Syria.' * He acknowledges, in a letter to Cassius himself,† that the latter had really gained an important victory. Yet, writing to Atticus,‡ he characterizes as impudent the letter in which Cassius claims to have foiled the Parthian attack. In the same humour Cicero ridicules the attempt of Bibulus to secure a triumph by rivalling his own exploit on Mount Amanus, and says that 'he is looking for his bays in a laurel-cake.' § But he is well aware that his own achievements will hardly fill the trump of fame. When he announces to Atticus the fall of Pindenissus, he adds: ‖ 'Who the plague, you will say, are the Pindenissitae? I never heard of them before. That is not my fault. Could I transform Cilicia into an Aetolia or Macedonia?' For this success he was saluted Imperator by the soldiers on the field of battle, and afterwards the Senate voted a supplication in his honour. He would probably have gained a triumph but for the ungenerous opposition of Cato, who, however, supported the much inferior claims of his son-in-law Bibulus to a similar honour. Cicero undoubtedly showed considerable military ability. He found himself confronted, immediately on entering his province, with the threatened invasion from

* Att. v. 20. 3 (ccxxviii.). † Fam. xv. 14 (ccxli.). ‡ Att. v. 21. 2 (ccl.).
§ Att. v. 20. 4 (ccxxviii.). ‖ Ibid. 1.

Parthia, and he had at the same time to watch and if necessary check any symptoms of revolt in Cilicia, and to keep the feudatory and allied sovereigns in tranquillity and good humour. All this he succeeded in doing with hardly any support from Rome, though he tried to gain it even by appealing to the cupidity of the ruling oligarchs. In a letter to the Senate,* he reminds them of the terrible consequences of losing provinces 'on which depend the revenues of Rome;' but even to their cupidity he appealed in vain. Yet in these difficult circumstances the measures which he took to resist the Parthian invasion were so well considered that, had not Cassius checked them at Antioch, he might have won the glory of repelling a Parthian attack, and avenging the *Manes* of Crassus and his legions.

Notwithstanding the purity of Cicero's rule, he found himself at the expiry of his year of office possessed of 2,200,000 sesterces (nearly 18,000*l.*). This sum he deposited in a bank at Ephesus, and it was afterwards appropriated by Pompeius, and applied to the expenses of the Civil War. In addition to this, he had a large balance of the sums voted to him by the Senate as supplies for the carrying on of his government. Of this he gave a part to his successor Caelius; the rest, amounting to about a million sesterces, he deposited in the public treasury, much to the indignation of his staff, who thought this sum should have been divided among themselves. The sale of the booty taken at Pindenissus had realized some twelve millions of sesterces. About this he writes to Sallustius,† 'Of my prize-money no one has touched or will touch a penny, save the urban quaestors, that is, the Roman people.'

It is characteristic of the whole spirit of this epoch of Roman history that Cicero failed to secure a triumph, chiefly through the opposition of Cato, who, in a letter‡ of ponderous pedantry, assures Cicero that in his opinion 'far higher than the honour of a triumph was the fact that the Senate held the province to have been saved rather by the gentle and upright rule of the governor than by the force of arms or the mercy of the gods.' Yet the same dealer in high sentiments procured a supplication of twenty days in honour of his son-in-law Bibulus, who, 'while there was a single enemy in Syria, no more put his foot outside his camp than

* Fam. xv. 1. 5 (ccxxi.). † Fam. ii. 17. 4 (cclxxii.) ‡ Fam. xv. 5 (cclxvi.).

he put it outside his door in Rome,' * when he was the colleague of Caesar in his consulship. It is amusing to contrast the tone of Cicero's most adroit and masterly letter † in reply to Cato, with one written to Atticus ‡ on the same subject: 'Cato has shown most discreditable spite against me. He has borne witness to the integrity, justice, and mildness of my rule—testimony which I did not want. What I did want he refused me. Caesar is delighted at Cato's signal ingratitude to me.' Caesar even then did not despair of winning over Cicero to his side. In the same letter in which he shows how glad he is that Cato has proved ungrateful, he congratulates Cicero on his achievements, and promises to leave nothing undone in his behalf. But Cicero is deaf to all his blandishments. We read § that he has resolved to devote the sum which he had reserved for the expenses of his expected triumph to the payment of a debt due to Caesar, 'for,' he observes, 'it looks ugly to be in debt to a political opponent.' He feels the charm of Caesar's manner to him, but he resists its effect upon him. For Pompeius, he tries to force himself to feel an affection which is really accorded to his cause, but which the demeanour of Pompeius repels. Pompeius was on the side which for Cicero was uplifted by poetic aspirations and romantic memories. But Pompeius was himself neither romantic nor poetic; like the horseman in the Vision of Sin—

> 'He rode a horse with wings, that would have flown,
> But that his heavy rider kept him down.'

The provincial government of Cicero must, on the whole, be pronounced by us a failure. We have seen how he failed to reconcile those irreconcileable things, the interests of the province and the interests of the publicans; ‖ and it does not seem to have even occurred to him to make any attempt to develop the resources of the country which he ruled, or to improve its institutions permanently. But Cicero does not take so moderate a view of the success of his proconsular career. We have before quoted his boast, 'To the publicans I am as the apple of the eye'; and

* Att. vi. 8. 5 (cclxxxi.). † Fam. xv. 6 (cclxxviii.). ‡ Att. vii. 2. 7 (ccxciii.).
§ Att. vii. 8. 5 (ccxcix.).
‖ 'Ubi publicanus esset ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.'—Liv. xlv. 18.

his whole correspondence of this date shows us, that his subjects warmly welcomed in him even the assumption of virtues which did not always make themselves felt in his acts; that they were ready to take from him thankfully even the smallest instalment of justice, and to abate somewhat of their plainest rights out of consideration for a governor who seemed to hold the original, almost singular, opinion that the provincials had any rights at all. Hence we are quite able to believe that Cicero really could sincerely congratulate himself that he had succeeded as a proconsul, and had reconciled these irreconcileable interests. We believe that he could, without hypocrisy, have applied to his own government the phrase in which the historian afterwards described the reign of Nerva—'res olim dissociabiles miscuit;' but we feel that to us, who now read his actions by the light of his private correspondence, the poet has supplied words better fitted to characterize the real principle of his rule. We would put into the mouth of Cicero the oft-quoted confession:—

> 'Video meliora proboque
> Deteriora sequor.'

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§ 2. Marcus Caelius Rufus.

Cicero left Rome on May 10th, 704 (B.C. 50). It was certain that he would be absent some sixteen or eighteen months during a most critical period of Roman politics. Before he left he asked his friend M. Caelius Rufus, a young man of thirty-five, who had already started on a public career, to write to him an account of the chief events which occurred in the political world, especially such as related to Cicero personally, and generally to keep him informed of the news of the city, its gossip and its rumours: for the city was, as we have already noticed, the centre of all light and leading.* Cicero had a deservedly high opinion of the shrewdness and sound judgment of Caelius in poli-

* Fabulae, rumores Fam. viii. 1. 1, Ep. cxcii.: Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive, ii. 12. 2, Ep. cclxiii.

tical matters, 'I have never,' he said (Fam. ii. 8. 1, Ep. cci.), 'in the whole course of my life met anyone who is more *au fait* at political questions (πολιτικώτερον),' and accordingly he asked him not merely to chronicle the events but also to criticise them. 'It is not the past or the present I want from you, but, as you are a man who can see far ahead, the future' (*ib.*). And to a piece of exceeding good fortune* we owe the preservation of most of the letters written by Caelius during those interesting months, which are invaluable for the history of the time, and give us further a very clear idea of the personal characteristics of Caelius, while they show us how very inferior as a stylist this most interesting of Cicero's correspondents was to the master himself. To some of the letters of Caelius we have Cicero's replies, and the latter certainly have none of the roughness and jerkiness† which characterize the compositions of the younger and more excitable man. But though no great stylist, Caelius was no inconsiderable personage on the stage of public life at this period; and it will not be out of place here to give a slight sketch of his career and character.

Marcus Caelius Rufus was the son of a Roman knight who was a banker at Puteoli. He was born, according to Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 165), on the same day as Licinius Calvus, the 28th of May, 672 (82). This date is, however, very uncertain, because Caelius was quaestor at the very latest in 698 (56), probably in 697 (57), and the lowest age for admission to this magistracy was thirty; so he cannot possibly have been born later than 669 (85).‡ As his father destined him for a political career he brought him at the age of fifteen or sixteen to Rome, and entrusted him to the charge of Cicero and Crassus. It was the practice of the time to thus apprentice, as it were, young men who were destined for public life to distinguished orators and statesmen. These they followed to the courts and to the forum, and saw in real life and actual fact

* But, as in everything, *surgit amari aliquid*—unfortunately the text of these most difficult letters is very corrupt, and has been little emended by commentators. We have, therefore, to ask the indulgence of the reader for our commentary on them.

† The author of the *Dialogue on Orators* (c. 21) notices as a mark of Caelius' style *hians compositio et inconditi sensus.*

‡ See a long discussion on the point by Nipperdey, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xix. 290-1.

the way in which government was carried on and trials were conducted. It was, no doubt, in many respects a dangerous course, and one which by early initiating young men into the darker sides of life took away much of the generosity and innocence of youth, and made them cynics before their time; but it gave them familiarity with all the incidents of a public trial or a public meeting, and afforded an opportunity of observing the way in which the best orators of the time spoke and acted; it taught them caution, readiness, and courage; and from the first 'they drank of the pure and true fount of eloquence,' and so they were saved from becoming such insipid pedants as the rhetorical schools of the empire, those 'schools of impudence,' nearly always turned out: the battles in which they learned to engage were not mere shamfights, but the encounters of real life.*

During the year 688 (66), while Cicero was Praetor, Caelius diligently attended on him; but during the next year he fell under the influence of Catiline. There was hardly a youth of distinction at this time who did not come under the spell of this extraordinary man. His character, as drawn by Cicero in the *Pro Caelio*, is well worth reading, not merely for its studied rhetoric, but also because it gives us a less erroneous idea of the man than we gather from the over-strained declamations against him which are found in the other writings of his great opponent. The secret of Catiline's wide influence was that he was all things to all men. 'I never knew,' says Cicero (Cael. 12, 14), 'any creature on this earth who was such a mixture of contradictory and opposite desires and passions . . . He could never have perpetrated his execrable attack on the State had not his monstrous vices rested on the firm foundations of a versatile and enduring nature.' Caelius became intimate with him, but wisely did not become involved in the conspiracy. It was afterwards made a charge against Caelius that he had been on friendly terms with Catiline; but why should he not have been? Cicero himself had at that time a certain acquaintance with Catiline, and even intended to defend him.†

* Vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur . . . ferro non rudibus dimicantes, *Dial. on Orators*, c. 34. The whole of this chapter, and the succeeding ones, are full of sound sense.

† 'I myself,' says Cicero (Cael. 14), 'even I, at one time, was well nigh deceived by him; he appeared to me to be a good citizen devoted to the most honourable men in

In 693 (61) Caelius went with Q. Pompeius Rufus, the proconsul, as one of his *comites** to Africa. It was the custom for young men of distinction to accompany provincial governors in this semi-official way, so that they might see something of the world, and become acquainted with the manner in which the provinces were administered; thus Catullus was a *comes* of C. Memmius in Bithynia. Caelius went to Africa rather than to any other province because his father had large property there, and he could take that opportunity of looking after it. If we are to believe Cicero (Cael. 73), he won the high opinion of Pompeius; and we may believe him, for Caelius is always spoken of by the ancient writers with a certain affection, and so must have had something likeable at all events if not loveable in his nature.

When Caelius returned from Africa his education was considered complete, and he had to enter on public life. There was only one way to do that, namely, by bringing an action against someone. That was the recognized course, just as with us it is (or used to be) to gain a seat in Parliament. In 695 (59), at the age of about twenty-six,† he accused Gaius Antonius, who had been colleague of Cicero in the consulship in 691 (63). Antonius had lately returned from misgoverning Macedonia, and Caelius accused him of having been implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and of *maiestas*. As regards the former charge, Antonius, as we know from Sallust (Cat. 59. 4), unfortunately, but suspiciously, fell lame just before the decisive engagement with Catiline; and the ground of the indictment for *maiestas* was, that after he had sufficiently robbed the Macedonians, he had attacked some neighbouring people,

the State, and a staunch and trusty friend.' The actual facts of the case are set forth differently in a letter to Atticus (i. 2. 1., Ep. xi.). 'I am thinking just now of defending Catiline my competitor. We have judges all that we could wish, and the utmost good-will of the accuser. I hope if he is acquitted that he will aid me in my canvass for the consulship; but if not, we shall bear it with resignation.' Catiline was accused by Clodius of misappropriating public moneys, and Cicero had not much belief in his innocence: indeed he thought his guilt as plain as sunlight at mid-day (Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor, Att. i. 1. 1, Ep. x.).

* See note on Ep. xxx., § 11, and Cic. Cael. 73, Q. Pompeio contubernalis.

† This was not a very early age for a first appearance as prosecutor. Caesar when twenty-three accused Dolabella, L. Crassus when twenty-one accused Carbo, and Atratinus was only seventeen when he attacked Caelius: see below, p. xlv, and cp. *Dial. on Orators*, 34, with Andresen's notes.

in order to qualify for the triumph which an optimate was sure of obtaining in those bad times. But he got very drunk and incapable the night before the battle and in consequence was defeated. The description given by Caelius of Antonius' state when the enemy attacked is preserved by Quintilian (iv. 2. 123). It is no doubt highly coloured, indeed perhaps all colour, and not very agreeable, but it is one of the strongest and most striking pictures in literature :—

> Namque ipsum offendunt temulento sopore profligatum, totis praecordiis stertentem, ructuosos spiritus geminare, praeclarasque contubernales ab omnibus spondis transversas incubare et reliquas circumiacere passim : quae tamen exanimatae terrore, hostium adventu percepto, excitare Antonium conabantur, nomen inclamabant, frustra a cervicibus tollebant, blandius alia ad aurem invocabat, vehementius etiam nonnulla feriebat : quarum cum omnium vocem tactumque noscitaret, proximae cuiusque collum amplexu petebat : neque dormire excitatus neque vigilare ebrius poterat, sed semisommo sopore inter manus centurionum concubinarumque iactabatur.

'There could not be,' says Quintilian, 'a more striking representation, a more scathing attack, or a more realistic picture.'*

Biting sarcasm was the characteristic of Caelius.† He was accordingly pre-eminent as an accuser, his speeches when acting on the defensive being apparently rather tame productions. Quintilian (vi. 3. 69) tells how Cicero expressed this by an allegory, when he said that Caelius had a good right hand but a bad left one, *i.e.* a good sword-hand but a bad shield-hand. Cicero also says of Caelius that his pleadings were set off by a brilliant and large yet at the same time pre-eminently witty and most satirical style of oratory.‡ No wonder then that he was reckoned as one of the great orators of that period, the golden age of Roman oratory,

* Nihil his neque credibilius fingi neque vehementius exprobrari neque manifestius ostendi poterat.

† Cp. *Dial. on Orat.* 25, amarior Caelius : Quint. x. 2. 25, asperitatem Caelii.

‡ Brut. 273, et splendida et grandis eademque et imprimis faceta et perurbana commendabat oratio. Cicero himself tells us what urbanitas is in an orator, Cael. 6 : Sed aliud est maledicere aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet argumento probet teste confirmet. Maledictio autem nihil habet praepositi praeter contumeliam, quae si petulantius iactatur convicium, si facetius u r b a n i t a s nominatur—sarcasm, in fact not abuse, the rapier and not the bludgeon : *cp.* Quint. x. 1. 115, multum ingenii in Caelio et praecipue in accusando multa urbanitas.

and is constantly mentioned in enumerations with Calvus, Asinius Pollio, Brutus, Caesar, and Cicero.

The man who could write that invective against Antonius was not merely a great orator, he was also a great personality*; but just at this period of his life he came in contact with a far greater personality than himself, with the celebrated Clodia. 'The Palatine Medea,' lately a widow, was leading at this time a brilliant but wildly dissolute life. Report maintained that she had poisoned her husband, and she was considered capable of any crime. Rich, cultivated, attractive, lascivious, terrible, she was the head of a brilliant society in which all the young men who possessed any grace or charm were gathered, among them the unhappy Catullus. He has immortalized this Clodia, this Lesbia, in his passionate verses, verses passionate in love and hate; but

> 'the gods approve
> The depth and not the tumult of the soul,
> A fervent not ungovernable love,'

and he died broken-hearted by his own extravagant passions, and by her faithlessness and cruelty. Clodia was the centre of the whole throng. Known to us as she is only from her enemies—three as great masters of invective as ever lived, Catullus, Caelius, Cicero—the very bitterness of their onslaughts testifies to the greatness of her personality, a personality of which none can read without feeling its power and intensity, though but one or two of the facts of her life are to be seen, and that fitfully, through the virulence of her foes, like a wild revel in the night revealed by flashes of lightning. It is strange that none of our novelists or imaginative writers have taken as their subject this brilliant circle, and given body and substance to the intrigues and plots, the banquets and revels, the singing-parties, and the yachting parties, the life in Clodia's mansion and gardens on the Palatine and by the shore and on the waters at Baiae.† Not even does Cleopatra

* *Cp.* Quint. xii. 10. 11, Hic (*i.e.* in this age) vim Caesaris, indolem Caelii, subtilitatem Calidi diligentiam Pollionis, dignitatem Messallae, sanctitatem Calvi, gravitatem Bruti, acumen Sulpici, acerbitatem Cassi reperiemus.

† Cicero *Pro Caelio* passim, especially § 35, Accusatores quidem libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, actas, convivia, commissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia iactant: iidemque significant nihil se, te invita, dicere: § 45, si in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat.

make a more striking portrait than would Clodia herself with her large burning eyes,* her patrician grace and beauty, her savage loves and hates, her Claudian pride, her Claudian recklessness, and her Roman heartlessness. Surely here is a subject for romance, romance too which would not stray very far from the domain of actual history.

In this circle Caelius bore for some time a great part. He was tall, of considerable personal beauty, with a clear head and a keen wit, and one of the very best dancers of the day.† Clodia, herself passionately fond of dancing, naturally considered him an acquisition, and promoted him to the very first rank among her admirers. Was she tired of Catullus, who ardently loved her, and did Caelius, who just liked her, supplant his friend, and snatch from him all that was good to him in life? 'Ah, Rufus fruitlessly and in vain trusted by me, your friend! Fruitlessly? nay to my deep loss and anguish.' Was Caelius the Rufus who was to Catullus 'the cruel poison of his life, the breast on which his friendship had leaned'?‡ We have no doubt he was. And for two years, 695–697 (59–57), Caelius appears to have been Clodia's lover. Then he grew tired of her, probably said smart things about her,§ and those

* *βοῶπις*, Cic. Att. ii. 9. 1, Ep. xxxvi.: flagrantes oculos Harusp. Resp. 38: flagantia oculorum, Cael. 49.

† Cic. Cael. 36, candor huius te et proceritas vultus oculique pepulerunt: Macrob. Saturn. iii. 14. 15, Ac priusquam a saltatione discedo illud adiciam uno eodemque tempore tribus nobilissimis civibus non modo studium saltandi sed etiam, si dis placet, peritiam qua gloriarentur fuisse, Gabinio consulari Ciceronis inimico quod ei etiam Cicero non dissimulanter obiecit, et M. Caelio, noto in turbas viro quem idem Cicero defendit, et Licinio Crasso, Crassi eius qui apud Parthos exstinctus est filio. Compare Schol. Bob. ad Cic. Sest. c. 54, § 116 (Orell., p. 304), Clodiam, generis patricii feminam, sororem huius cum qua et ipse infamis erat, veteres litterae tradunt studiosam fuisse saltandi profusius et immoderatius quam matronam deceret. Hoc enim significatur isto verbo quo ait 'omnia sororis embolia novit' quoniam pertinet ad gestus saltatorios.

‡ *Cp.* Catullus, lxxvii.:—

> Rufe mihi frustra ac nequicquam credite amico,
> (Frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo)
> Siccine subrepsti mei atque intestina perurens
> Hei misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona?
> Eripuisti, heu heu nostrae crudele venenum
> Vitae, heu heu nostrae pectus amicitiae.

§ We are told by Quintilian (viii. 6. 53) that he gave her one very coarse nickname,

violent delights had violent ends. Woman is then most savage when wounded pride applies the goad to her hate,* and Caelius soon felt it.

In the year 697 (57) Caelius appears to have been quaestor; for Cicero in the following year said that he was suspected of *ambitus*, and there was certainly no other magistracy for which he would have been young enough to compete. During the year of his quaestorship he accused L. Sempronius Atratinus of bribery with great and characteristic violence. Atratinus was acquitted, but the angry Caelius renewed the charge next year. 'I cannot approve, in fact I strongly disapprove, of his conduct,' says Cicero (Cael. 76); 'he will not obey any of us, he is much more violent than I could wish.' But Cicero apologizes for his client, and dwells on the impetuosity of youth, its desire of victory, and its passion for glory. Like plants which are too luxuriant in their early growth, yet thereby give an earnest of a richer show of fruit, so the vitality of the young when they are gifted with genius, even though too exuberant, is full of promise of a fruitful maturity.

Yet the renewed charge of Caelius against Atratinus was calculated to alienate sympathy from him. He had broken with Clodia, and she, like a tigress, was watching for the moment to spring upon him. The young son of Atratinus, a boy we are told of but seventeen years of age†—may we suppose that he too was in thrall to *la belle dame sans merci*, and in the ardour of youthful passion would have faced death at her commands?—defied the dangers of the courts and of Caelius, and accused the latter of aggravated assault (*vis*). Besides some minor charges it was

which has never left her. He called her *quadrantaria*, a word corresponding in meaning to *scortum diobolare* in Plautus (Poen. i. 2. 61). Plutarch (Cic. 29) tells a strange story with regard to this name: Κλωδίαν . . . ἣν κουαδρανταρίαν ἐκάλουν ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε. This is what Ihne would call an aetiological myth, a myth invented to account for the name. Quintilian further relates that Caelius said enigmatically of Clodia that she was *quadrantariam Clytaemnestram in triclinio Coam in cubiculo Nolam*. She was Clytaemnestra as having murdered her husband, and as having the airs of a tragedy queen; but the rest of the riddle had better be given up.

* Juv. x. 328:—

Mulier saevissima tunc est
Cum stimulos odio pudor admovet.

† Euseb. Chron. ad Ol. 189. Atratinus qui septendecim annos natus Caelium accusaverat clarus inter oratores habetur.

alleged that Caelius had murdered or caused to be murdered some Alexandrian ambassadors, and had tried to poison Clodia. The prosecution was certainly instigated by Clodia and her brother; it was led by Atratinus, and backed by Herennius and Balbus. Caelius defended himself, and the defence was supported by his two masters, Crassus and Cicero. Some notices of the speech which Caelius delivered on this occasion are preserved, and they are characteristic. He was nominally defending himself, but he really stood out on the offensive. He apologized to the judges for his violence of manner and expression. 'I pray you, judges, and all connected with this trial, to pardon me if my look be ever too offensive, my voice raised too high, or, what is a trifle, if my gestures seem too extravagant.' * He exercised his especial gift of giving telling nicknames certain to cleave to those to whom they were applied. He called Clodia, as we have seen, a 'twopenny-halfpenny Clytaemnestra,' and one Plotius Gallus, who was supposed to have written his speech for young Atratinus, he described as a 'skilly-fed rhetorician' (*rhetorem hordearium*).†

* Quintilian, xi. 1. 51. Ne cui vestrum atque etiam omnium, qui ad rem agendam adsunt meus aut vultus molestior aut vox immoderatior aliqua aut denique, quod minimum (al. nimium) est, iactantior gestus fuisse videatur.

† We do not profess to be very certain as to what this means. Suetonius (Rhet. 2) explains it by describing Gallus as *inflatum ac levem ac sordidum*. Casaubon supposes a reference to the inferiority of barley as nourishment to wheat, in that it puffed out those who ate it without strengthening them; and refers to the fact that it was one of the punishments in the Roman army to put a man on a diet of barley instead of wheat. Gallus would then be a starveling speech-writer, and the above translation perhaps will be sufficiently abusive. Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte Roms*, ii². 355) referring to this passage would appear to give to the nickname a meaning almost opposed to that given by Suetonius. He says the epithet *hordearius* was applied to gladiators because they were generally fed on barley (*cp.* Plin. H. N. xviii. 72), and so a *rhetor hordearius* would be 'a gladiator, a bully, of a rhetorician.' But were gladiators, who required an exceedingly strong physique, *generally* fed on barley? Friedländer gives no satisfactory proof that they were; Galen (vi. p. 529, ed. Kuhn) only says that a little barley-meal was mixed up with their bean-porridge. Was it not most probably a punishment in the gladiatorial schools also as well as in the army to put refractory members on barley instead of giving them their usual nourishing mixture (*sagina*)? And if the word is a nickname at all, would not a nickname be most naturally applied to those who were subject to this disgrace? We think it possible that it was an old name (hence the imperfect *vocabantur* in Pliny) for gladiators, who in early times may have been fed on barley; then any sort of creatures who could stand up and be knocked down would suffice, no great strength or skill being required of them till their combats became one of the staple amusements of the Roman people.

Possibly, too, Spalding (on Quint. xi. 1. 51) is right in referring to this speech the proof which Caelius essayed that he was a respectable man who spent his money judiciously (*frugi*); because he was useful (*fructuosus*) to many; *frugi* and *fructuosus* being etymologically connected.* He could not have urged, adds Quintilian, that he was *frugi* in the sense of sparing (*abstinens*); that would have been too ridiculous a falsehood. If the whole argument is not a kind of schoolboy joke such as Caelius would have indulged in (as we think it is), we have in it another instance of the old economic sophism—private vices public benefits.

We have almost in full the speech which Cicero delivered *Pro Caelio*, and it is very interesting in its way. It deals, so far as the definite charges were concerned, with showing the improbability that Caelius could have caused the murder of the ambassadors without the knowledge of Clodia; and with pointing out the preposterousness of the charge of poisoning. The arguments are set down in very logical form, and are not at all convincing. Indeed if we may judge from the *Cluentius* and the *Milo* we should be inclined to say that whenever Cicero puts his points with great apparent clearness in the form of a logical dilemma he is likely to be cloaking a weak argument. 'If Caelius told you,' says Cicero, addressing Clodia, 'for what purpose he wanted the money which he spent on effecting the murder, you are an accomplice; if he did not tell you, you did not give the money at all'—whereas the charge was that Caelius got the money under false pretences, in short, told Clodia a lie, that he wanted it to pay the expenses of some games which he was intending to give. But the speech is very good in the part where Cicero is 'raising the dust.' † He pours forth all the gall and venom he possesses against Clodia. 'I hate the woman,' he had said years before—'ill partner for a consul: she is a shrew, always fighting with her husband.' ‡ He remembered how this Juno had sounded the clarion in the attack on himself, § and now he had an opportunity for revenge. And of a truth

* Quintil. i. 6. 29.

† *Cp.* Quintil. ii. 17. 21. Nec Cicero, cum se *tenebras offudisse iudicibus* in causa Cluentii gloriatus est, nihil ipse vidit.

‡ Att. ii. 1. 5, Ep. xxvii., ego illam odi, male consularem. 'Ea est enim seditiosa ea cum viro bellum gerit.'

§ Att. ii. 12. 2, Ep. xxxvii., de lituis βοώπιδος.

everything that bitter hate and malignant respectability could say or hint against her was accepted by Cicero as but the truth: she murdered her husband, and her whole life showed her to be of the most unexampled and audacious profligacy.* Then he puts forward the 'wild-oats' theory, and indeed with as much judgment and good sense as it can ever be put.† Caelius, we learn, went to live near her in her brother's house; many excellent citizens have been a little wild before they attained to 'age confirmed,' while yet in that dangerous period of life when it is so easy to fall; but such an orator as Caelius must have been a devoted student of his art ('I can tell you to become a speaker requires plenty of work'), and cannot have dallied long in enervating indulgence; he did perhaps pause for a moment, and his resolution broke down at that turning point in the race of life, but it was only for a moment; and we must remember that Clodia is the lady-friend of everyone; and so on, and so on.‡ Then there are amusing touches. The learned counsel say that Caelius is recklessly extravagant, for he paid thirty thousand sesterces as rent for the house he took from Clodius. 'He really only paid ten thousand; but I understand Clodius wants to sell the whole block and gets the learned counsel to tell this lie as an advertisement.'§ Afterwards old Appius Claudius the Censor must needs be called up from the grave—*excitandus ab inferis*—in judgment against his abandoned descendant; he is blind, so he will not have the pain of looking upon her. 'Did I,' he will ask, 'break the treaty of peace with Pyrrhus that you might every day contract treaties of foul debauchery? Did I make the Appian Way that you might drive along it with other women's husbands?' And then the orator goes on to contrast the Censor, 'that boorish old man,' with Clodia's young brother, the *ne plus ultra* of the *esprit* she fancies so much (*in isto genere urbanissimus*)‖—but we must not put the whole of this brilliant speech into our Introduction. Whatever are its merits as a piece of argument, it at any rate gained its point, and Caelius was acquitted. He was again accused two years later in 700 (54) by the Atratini, at the instigation of Clodia, 'and there is some

* Cael. 49 ut non solum meretrix sed etiam procax videatur.

† Cael. 42—a passage well worth reading: *cp*. 28.

‡ Cael. 32, 41, 46, 47, 75, and passim. § Cael. 17. ‖ Cael. 33-36.

danger,' said Cicero, in a letter to his brother, 'that the savage Pola Servius will lead the accusation. For our friend Caelius is being violently assailed by the Clodian family.'* A good fighting pair they were; but we lose sight of them now, and do not know either how the contest went on or how it ended. Clodia, too, disappears from the history of Caelius. It would seem that he ultimately escaped both from her love and her hatred after a long struggle; but we question if he ever forgot her.

We hear no more of Caelius till he was elected tribune for 702 (52). During the beginning of that eventful year Caelius, as a partisan of Milo, showed at his best as a staunch, courageous, and impetuous friend.† With all his faults Caelius seems to have loved his friends as he hated his enemies. 'You are not taking any active part in politics,' said Cicero to him some two years later. 'I fancy because you are drawn different ways, as you are both a good citizen and a good friend.'‡ About January 25, in the agitations which immediately succeeded the burning of the curia, Caelius, as tribune, gave Milo an opportunity of addressing the people: both urged, as Cicero did afterwards, that it was Clodius, and not Milo, who lay in wait for his enemy. But while they were holding the meeting the opposite faction came up in overwhelming force, and Caelius and Milo had to make their escape in the disguise of slaves. Later, when the Clodian party demanded that the slaves of Milo should be given up to torture, in order that evidence might be extracted from them, Caelius made a similar demand for the slaves of Clodius. On the Kalends of March, when Pompeius' bills *de vi* and *de ambitu* were brought before the people—bills on which the Senate had passed a resolution that the death of Clodius was an attack on the authority of the State—Caelius opposed them on the ground that they virtually amounted to a *privilegium* against Milo, and that the trials were being hurried on with undue precipitancy. 'And when Caelius

* Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 11. 2, Ep. cxxxv. Decimus erat Caelio dies . . . Vereor ne homo taeter et ferus, Pola Servius, ad accusationem veniat. Nam noster Caelius valde oppugnatur a gente Clodia.

† The whole of Caelius' advocacy of Milo is to be found in Asconius' Introduction to the *Milo*.

‡ Fam. ii 15. 3, Ep. cclxxiii., in republica tu non valde te iactas: districtus enim mihi videris esse quod et bonus civis et bonus amicus es.

continued to rail against the law with increasing persistency, Pompeius grew so angry as to declare that if he was compelled he would defend the government with arms.'* Caelius had of course to yield to this argument *de vi*, and the two bills were passed. Before the trial of Milo came on, we hear once again of Caelius. Two tribunes, Manutius Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus,† produced a police magistrate (*triumvirum capitalem*), and asked him if he had arrested one of Milo's slaves, Galata, for having committed a murder. The magistrate declared that Galata was a runaway slave who had been caught when asleep in a tavern. There was nothing against Milo in this; still the tribunes told the magistrate to keep Galata in custody; but Caelius and another tribune carried Galata off from the magistrate's court and restored him to Milo. On account of the vigorous partisanship which Caelius displayed, Cicero bestowed on him the most glowing eulogy in his speech.‡ After the trial of Milo, Caelius and Cicero defended Saufeius, who had broken open the tavern at Bovillae and killed Clodius, and succeeded in gaining his acquittal by one vote. However, Caelius did not stop there; but with that violence, impetuosity, and persistency in making and attacking enemies which characterised him,§ as soon as the tribunes went out of office, on December 10th, he accused Q. Pompeius Rufus, the most vigorous of the Clodian tribunes. This Pompeius was convicted and had to retire to

* Asconius, p. 37, et cum pertinacius legem Caelius vituperaret, eo processit irae Pompeius ut diceret si coactus esset armis se rempublicam defensurum.

† This Q. Pompeius Rufus was quite different from the proconsul of the same name under whom Caelius went as *comes* to Africa, see Pauly, *Realencyclopädie*, v. p. 1846.

‡ Cic. Mil. 91. M. Caelius, tribunus plebis, vir et in republica fortissimus et in suscepta causa firmissimus, et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati senatus deditus, et in hac Milonis sive invidia sive fortuna, singulari divina et incredibili fide.

§ Cic. Cael. 77. Si cui nimium effervisse videtur huius vel in suscipiendis vel in gerendis inimicitiis vis, ferocitas, pertinacia. Seneca (De Ira, iii. 8) says that Caelius was a most angry orator (*oratorem iracundissimum*); and tells a story, how one of Caelius' clients, a particularly quiet man, was dining with him one day and thought the best thing he could do with such a violent man as Caelius was to agree with everything he said: but this incensed Caelius to such a degree that he cried out 'Do differ with me in something that we may feel we are two.' Even this did not rouse the anger of the client, who was 'of exemplary patience' (*lectae patientiae*); at which Caelius became still angrier, but was at last forced to yield to the truth of the aphorism that it takes two to make a quarrel. ('*Dic aliquid contra ut duo simus.*' *Sed ille quoque, quod non irasceretur, iratus cito sine adversario desiit*).

Bauli in Campania, where he appears to have lived in great poverty.* Valerius Maximus (iv. 2. 7) tells a story of the sequel of this trial, which shows the character of Caelius in a good light. The mother of Pompeius Rufus was Cornelia, daughter of Sulla. She would not return to her son in his misfortune some property entrusted to her safe-keeping. Pompeius had the magnanimity to write to Caelius to ask his help in this matter. Even a less impulsive nature than that of Caelius could not have refused such a request—a violent political opponent, who had directly caused another's exile, is appealed to by that exile to help him against his unnatural mother. We are told, and can well believe it, that Caelius advocated his case with the utmost persistency (*pertinacissime*), and read to the court a letter from Pompeius to show the dire straits to which the latter had been reduced—and we are glad to hear that he achieved a complete success, 'an act,' says Valerius, 'which on account of its remarkable generosity and fellow-feeling is not to be disregarded even though done by a Caelius' (*propter eximiam humanitatem ne sub Caelio quidem repudiandum*).

In August of this year 702 (52) the law called that of the Ten Tribunes was passed notwithstanding the violent opposition of Cato. We shall have occasion to speak of it in the next section. Here we allude to it only to notice that Caelius had intended to veto it; for with his far-sightedness in politics he saw then, as Cicero did afterwards, that it was an enactment fraught with the greatest danger to the Senatorial party. It was the seed, says Lange (*R. A.* iii. 369), from which the Civil War sprang. But Pompeius, delighted for the present to be rid of Caesar, commissioned Cicero to dissuade Caelius from the course he had intended to pursue,† and the law passed as that of the Ten Tribunes.

Caelius' correspondence with Cicero begins in the middle of 703 (51). At that time Caelius was canvassing for the curule aedileship, his competitors being Octavius and Hirrus. The former was sure of election: the latter was a ridiculous though not altogether uninfluential person.‡ Caelius is always gibing at

* Cic. Fam. viii. 1. 4, Ep. cxcii.

† Cic. Att. vii. 1.4, Ep. cclxxxiv.

‡ See Addenda to the Commentary, p. 305.

him, and had the satisfaction of finally defeating him at the poll. Being aedile, Caelius was required to give shows, and asked Cicero to get a contribution in money from the provincials in Cilicia for the purpose, and also to procure some panthers. It does not appear to have been at all unusual to make requests for such collections of money, at least if we may judge from a passage in one of Cicero's letters to his brother (Q. Fr. i. 1. 26, Ep. xxx.); but Cicero point-blank refused it, and gave Caelius a lecture to the effect that one so ready to attack others should not leave himself so very open to retaliation.*

While the great question about Caesar's recall was dragging along, Caelius, in order that the State might not die of lethargy,† proceeded to attack the Water Commissioners (*aquarii*). It appears that they were in the habit of allowing, for a bribe, shop-keepers and private individuals to annex side-pipes to the mains of the public water-supply, and draw off an undue amount of water for their own private uses. Caelius delivered a very able and vigorous harangue to the people against their fraudulent proceedings, and it was considered so valuable that it was preserved. 'Nothing,' says Frontinus, who was a specialist in these matters, 'could have been more exhaustive or better.' (See note on Ep. ccxlii. 4).

Some time later than this, in September, 704 (50), Caelius became involved in a squabble with that most ungracious and awkward of patricians, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was now Censor, and was with great ponderousness playing the part of the 'unco guid.' Caelius had done Appius some service when the latter was impeached by Dolabella, and thinking (foolishly) that Appius might do him a good turn, appears to have asked him for the loan of some money. Appius was not in the least grateful; on the contrary his perverse nature had begun to hate the man who had rendered him a service: and he accordingly refused Caelius, probably with a lecture on his extravagance. Now it may be that a woman is most savage when shame plies the goad to her rage; but a Caelius

* Att. vi. 1. 22, Ep. cclii.

† Fam. viii. 6. 4, Ep. ccxlii, sed dici non potest quomodo hic omnia iaceant. Nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem veternus civitatem occupasset. Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore rigescimus.

is certainly most savage when he is refused a loan of money. Caelius blazed up, and poured out his indignation to Cicero in a really entertaining letter (Fam. viii. 12. Ep. cclxxix.), 'After I found that he did not think me worth repaying for the services I had done him, I preferred to bind myself to a man totally disconnected with me, and (because I am your friend) not at all kindly disposed to me, than to have to tolerate the look of that ape!' Appius grew indignant, and once more set the Claudian bull-dog, Pola Servius, on Caelius, just as the latter was holding his games as Curule Aedile. They accused him of unnatural crimes, which Caelius promptly answered by accusing the starched-up Censor Appius himself on the same charge; and also by publicly demanding from him the shrine belonging to the people which he had appropriated—he, the Censor, who should have severely punished such an appropriation in the case of another. Caelius had decidedly the best of it. This is all amusing enough, and there is a good deal of elementary human nature displayed; but it is especially noteworthy as showing the violence in anger and at the same time promptitude in action, which were salient features in Caelius' character.

It is not very easy to fix the exact time when Caelius began to think seriously about joining the Caesarians; but in September, as we have seen, he was attacked by Appius Claudius, the Censor, and sought the aid of the other Censor, Piso Caesoninus, a supporter of Caesar. This tended to draw him away from the Pompeians. A violent hostility which sprang up between him and Domitius Ahenobarbus, a strenuous anti-Caesarian, must have strengthened this tendency. When Caelius wrote viii. 14, Ep. cclxxx. (late in September), we may say his mind was made up.

'The love-match is going to issue in open war. I don't know what to do. It is Caesar's cause, not his followers, that I detest. You ought not to forget, however, that, in a quarrel, as long as matters are conducted constitutionally without appeal to arms, one should follow the *more honourable* side (*honestiorem partem*); when it comes to a question of war, the *stronger*] (*firmiorem*); the 'safer' then is the 'better.' In the approaching contest I see Pompeius will have the Senate and the judges: all will flock to Caesar, who live either with fear hanging over them or with no hope of bettering themselves; as to the army there is no comparison.'

Later in the same letter Caelius says:—

> 'If neither go to the Parthian War, I see a great struggle hanging over us which can only be settled by appealing to the sword. Both are ready in heart and hand. If there were no danger to you personally, Fortune would be preparing for us a splendid and delightful spectacle.'

There can be little doubt as to the conclusion which Caelius drew from these premises: There is sure to be war: in such a case it is 'best' to be on the side of the big battalions: Caesar has the big battalions: therefore——

When the case of Caesar's claims came to a crisis Caelius and M. Calidius took up the position that Pompeius should go to his province Spain, and so cut off all causes for war. Caelius and Curio were the only two senators who voted against the proposal of Scipio, on January 1st, 705 (49), that Caesar should be declared a public enemy; and a few days later they fled along with the tribunes to Caesar at Ravenna.*

Though it does not strictly belong to the present volume it may still be well to mention here the remaining events of Caelius' life. Towards the end of February, Caesar, to Caelius' great dissatisfaction, sent him to Intemelii with a few cohorts to put down the revolt of that town. A certain *nobilis* called Domitius, who was friendly to Caesar, had been murdered by a slave, Bellienus, who had been bribed by the Pompeian faction in the town, and arms were taken up against the Caesarians. Caelius writes,† 'the Domitii are going to ruin, you say, all along the line. I only wish the son of Venus (*i. e.* Caesar) had as much spirit in the case of your Domitius (the Domitius who was captured in Corfinium and released by Caesar) as the son of Psecas in that of this Domitius'—a bitter saying, and one which shows with unfortunately too much clearness that Caelius did not at all approve of Caesar's clemency. If he was going to spare, and even treat with indulgence, enemies in arms, there was every reason to be apprehensive that at the end of the war he would not give the victors the spoils, and perhaps actually not abolish debts. This

* For details of these proceedings see § 3.

† Fam. viii. 15. 2. Usquequaque inquis se Domitii male dant. Vellem quidem Venere prognatus tantum animi habuisset in vestro Domitio quantum Psecade natus in hoc habuit.

was a matter which, even as early as February, appears to have begun to seriously vex the soul of the deeply-involved Caelius.

In April he went with Caesar to Spain, but we do not hear anything of him during the campaign. Before he went, he had, at Caesar's orders, written a most urgent letter to Cicero, begging him not to leave Italy and join the Pompeian camp, but to remain neutral (Fam. viii. 16). He implores Cicero, if not for his own at least for his son's sake, to be cautious, not to heed the upbraidings of the optimates or the insufferable arrogance of some of the Caesarians (this, no doubt, Caelius himself felt most bitterly), but to go into some small town, remote from the war, and remain there neutral till all should be over, or at least till the conclusion of the war in Spain. He tells him that Caesar has become savage at the continued opposition he has met with, and expresses as his opinion that 'to act against Caesar now that he is victorious, while you were unwilling to injure him when his fortunes were uncertain, and to join with those in their flight whom you would not follow in their stand—this is the height of folly.'* The cautious reserve and dignified melancholy of much of Cicero's reply (Fam. ii. 16) are indicative of the different characters of the writer and his correspondent. Cicero will be cautious, and do nothing to lessen the good will which Caesar feels towards him; he is sorry that Caelius should have so poor an opinion of his prudence, but, by the despair he feels each day, his heart has grown callous, and he is now past feeling sorrow at anything. 'As to my son, and I am glad you are interested in him, if any remnant of the free state survive, I shall leave him a sufficient heritage in the memory of my name; but if not, his lot will be nothing different from that of the rest of his fellow-citizens.'†

But we are here not so much concerned with Cicero's touching reply as with the very low view Caelius takes of the course one should adopt in political crises: as he had said before, 'As long as the struggle is carried on in a constitutional manner you should be on the more honourable side; when it comes to

* § 2, nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere, quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti, et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est.

† § 5, Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla respublica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam in memoria nominis mei: sin autem nulla erit, accidet nihil ei separatim a reliquis civibus.

war, you should be on the stronger: the 'safer' then is the 'better'! *

Caelius returned from Spain neither a richer nor a wiser man. He was gradually beginning to see that Caesar was not by any means going to carry out the extreme radical programme, abolish debts and generally turn society upside down: and if so, why in the world was Marcus Caelius Rufus lending him his potent assistance? The whole world was ungrateful, and, what was worse, creditors were as likely as ever to be able to enforce their claims. But Caesar was not at all ungrateful; he paid Caelius what he thought he was worth, by bestowing on him the praetorship for 706 (48); but he did not leave to *lot* as was the custom the decision who should get the urban praetorship, but *nominated* to that post the wise and judicious Gaius Trebonius. This man had served Caesar faithfully as one of his lieutenants for some years, and he was one on whom Caesar could thoroughly rely, to carry out his enactments as regards debt; while he could not rely on a man so deeply sunk in money difficulties, and of so excitable a temper, as Caelius. This was the last straw. Disappointed at every turn, a complete alien to the Pompeians, furious at the cool insolence of many of his party, no enthusiastic Caesarian, and, what was more galling, one of little account, Caelius would seem to have lost his mental balance. His anger got the better not only of his good sense but even of his reason. The extraordinary seventeenth letter of the collection, written in March 706 (48), shows us clearly enough that Caelius' mind was actually unhinged. It is nothing but weak regrets and silly boastings, expressed in incoherent language.

> 'It was hatred of Appius Claudius and love of Curio that made me a Caesarian; now too late I see that my good sense was blinded by hate and love. You should have warned me: you neglected your duty as my friend. Not that I mistrust the final victory of Caesar's cause; no, but it is better to die than to bear the sight of these men. Everyone here is a Pompeian except a few usurers. It is I who have made, not merely the plebeians,

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* Fam. viii. 14. 3, Ep. cclxxx. It is a profound remark of Becher (p. 6) that Caelius, for all his passionateness of temper and language, would never have made a satirist; he lacked that enthusiasm for ideals, and that belief in the moral law, which turn the mere declaimer into the genuine reformer.

but the whole people devoted to your side. How so? Wait for the sequel: I shall compel you to conquer against your will. I shall be a second Cato.* You are all asleep and do not see our weak and exposed points. And it is not from any hope of reward that I have done this, but from what have always been my most potent motives, bitterness and sense of wrong (*doloris atque indignitatis causa*). You are waiting for the result of the battle—wherein Caesar is perfectly certain of victory. Of course I do not know what your forces may be: ours I know are practised in fighting desperately, and in cheerfully enduring cold and hunger.'

The letter, as we have said, shows a mind unhinged by disappointment and burning for revenge. But what did it all mean? What was Caelius going to do? Caesar had gone off to Greece to fight Pompeius, and Caelius (the gods having taken away his reason) thought that now was the time to play the extreme socialist: the people would rise, creditors and debts would be abolished, the radical millennium would dawn, all the ideals of Catiline and the revolutionary party would be realised, and Marcus Caelius Rufus would attain his proper position as hero and saviour of society.†

Meanwhile Trebonius was carrying out Caesar's sensible laws about debt. These laws enacted that interest paid should be deducted from the principal, and that creditors should take the debtor's property at the valuation it would have had before the war. Caelius put his curule chair beside that of Trebonius, and promised his magisterial assistance to any debtor who should refuse to pay. Caesar, in discussing this incident, declares himself at a loss to comprehend what sort of mind, what sort of impudence men can have, to keep their properties while acknowledging their debts; and the people thought something the same, for they paid little heed to Caelius.‡ So he proceeded, thoughtlessly and impetuously, to propose another law, that debts should be paid back that day six years,§ no interest meanwhile being charged—an arrangement

* Caelius appears to mean that Cato was the only one of the Pompeians who showed the least energy. But there was probably no human being in the whole Roman dominions who was fundamentally more opposite in character to Caelius than was Cato, the man of little wit, but at the same time the man of the most rigid principles, and most uncompromising consistency.

† For the praetorship of Caelius, see especially Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 20–22; Dio Cass. xlii. 22–25.

‡ Bell. Civ. 20, integras vero tenere possessiones, qui se debere fateantur, cuius animi aut cuius impudentiae est? Itaque, qui hoc postularet, reperiebatur nemo.

§ We read with Manutius, *sexenni die*, in this difficult passage of Caesar. Niebuhr

really harder than Caesar's, for it did not deduct the interest already paid from the principal. Resisted by Servilius Isauricus, the consul, and the rest of the magistrates, Caelius, 'in the spirit of Jack Cade,' as Mr. Froude says, rushed into the wildest revolutionary proposals—tenants of houses were to have them for a year rent-free, and debts were to be abolished. Of course when offering such bribes Caelius got some support, such as it was, amongst the lowest and most desperate of the people and from a few of the tribunes, and they drove Trebonius away from his duties. The Consul and Senate, however, protected by a body of Caesarian soldiers who were passing through the city, carried a motion deposing Caelius from his magistracy, or, as the Latin phrase ran, 'removing him from the republic;' but this was vetoed by tribunes. The consul took down the table of laws which Caelius had posted up, hindered him from holding a meeting, and finally broke his curule chair. Even then Caelius did not forget his schoolboy style of humour; he set up another curule chair, tied together with the kind of thongs with which boys were whipped, and the peopled laughed, for it was known that Servilius had at one time received an historic flogging from his father.*

But it was all over with Caelius and his saving of society. He pretended to leave the city to lay his case before Caesar; but he had really summoned his old friend Milo (who was such a firebrand that him alone of all the exiles Caesar could not venture to recall) to come and try to raise South Italy against Caesar. But the towns of South Italy were inhabited by very commonplace people; abolition of debts, manumission of slaves, and such like courses were altogether too heroic for them. So Caelius and Milo were compelled at last to have recourse to shepherd-slaves and gladiators for a following; with the result that Milo was killed in an attack on the town of Cosa, near Thurii, and Caelius, at the age of thirty-seven, was put to death in Thurii itself by some of Caesar's Gallic and Spanish cavalry, whom he had

(*Rhein. Mus.* ii. 598) wishes to read *sexies semestri die*, 'in six instalments at intervals of six months each;' but we think he lays too much stress on his opinion that the MSS. readings necessarily point to *sexies*.

* Quintil. vi. 3. 25. Facto risus concitatur interim admixta gravitate, ut M. Caelius, praetor, cum sellam eius curulem consul Isauricus fregisset, alteram posuit loris intentam; dicebatur autem consul a patre flagris aliquando caesus.

attempted to bribe. Such was the vulgar ending of the attempt by the issue of which Cicero and the Pompeians were to be compelled to conquer against their will.

The basis of Caelius' character was selfishness* tempered by passion—passion in the sense of anger, not in the sense of ardour. He was possessed of great gifts of person and intellect, he had a shrewd mind and a sharp tongue, he was clever at expedients and prompt in executing them, he was resolute in whatever he undertook, and persistent in carrying it through: but he lacked entirely anything even approaching to principle. Thus he could not conceive how Cicero could dream of adhering to the losing side when he could join the winning one. In his calm moments when he is purely selfish he is always cynical, sneering, clever, no doubt, but rather petty and contemptible. But his wild angry temper, faulty though such a temper generally is, was the bright spot in Caelius' nature. Whether as friend or foe, when he was thoroughly roused he forgot himself, and acted with that passion and concentration which is closely akin to, and may readily be mistaken for, generous enthusiasm and honest indignation. Thus there are none of the ancients, as M. Gaston Boissier notices, † who do not speak with a certain affection of Caelius; they all have some flowers to cast upon his grave. 'His circumstances were far more limited than his intelligence,' says Velleius. 'He was a man who deserved a sounder mind and a longer life,' says Quintilian. ‡ It is with pity that we also turn from the review of his career, from his mis-spent life and dishonourable death, to

* Sein Inneres glich einem Grabe, worin nichts sich regte und wucherte, als die Selbstsucht. Drumann ii. 422.

† *Cicéron et ses amis*, p. 218. To the bright chapter on Caelius in this interesting work we are in many respects indebted throughout this section.

‡ Vell. ii. 68, peior illi res familiaris quam mens erat; Quint. x. 1. 115, dignusque vir cui et mens melior et vita longior contigisset. Let us add the judgment of the illustrious Niebuhr (*Rhein. Mus.* ii. 597), who is always grand and noble even in his delusions. M. Cälius Rufus, den Cicero und Catull zärtlich liebten, ist einer von den reich ausgestatteten Menschen deren Andenken die späte Nachkommenschaft freundlich und wehmütig schonen und bewahren soll; weil ein hartes Geschick sie jugendlich in eine revolutionnaire Zeit warf, deren Fluthen und Stürme ihre Kraft nicht bestehen konnte. Sein glühendes Herz hing sich mit Leidenschaft an jede Grösse und jede mächtige Kraft; das Dämonische und Gefährliche zog ihn vor allem unwiderstehlich: den Freund allein gehen zu lassen vermochte er nicht, wenn auch sein heller Sinn ihm offenbarte dass er auf böser Bahn sei.

feel once again the truth of the old commonplace opinion, that ability without principle, intellect without conscience, are more dazzling than useful.

TABLE OF THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CAELIUS.

669 (85).—Born. Pliny, however, says he was not born till 672 (82).

688 (66).—At Cicero's side during quaestorship of the latter.

691 (63).—Connected with Catiline, but not mixed up in the conspiracy.

693 (61).—Went to Africa as *Comes* of Q. Pompeius Rufus.

695 (59).—Accused successfully C. Antonius of complicity in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and of *maiestas*.

695 (59)-697 (57).—Connected with Clodia.

697 (57).—Quaestor. Accused Atratinus of *ambitus*: latter acquitted.

698 (56).—Renewed the charge. Is himself accused *de vi* by the son of Atratinus, who was instigated by Clodia. Caelius acquitted.

700 (54).—Again accused by the Atratini; again acquitted.

702 (52).—Tribune—a strong partisan of Milo. Caelius was one of the Ten Tribunes who passed the *rogatio* that Caesar be allowed to stand for the Consulship in his absence.

703 (51).—Accused Quintus Pompeius Rufus of burning the Senate House. Pompeius went into exile. Caelius behaved nobly to him in his dispute with his mother.

704 (50).—Curule Aedile. Delivered his *Concio de Aquis*. Had difficulties with Appius Claudius Pulcher, the Censor.

705 (49).—Jan. 1, Proposed that Pompeius should go to Spain. Jan. 6, Fled to Caesar. Febr., Was sent to put down a revolt in Intemelii. April, Went to Spain with Caesar.

704 (48).—Praetor. About April raised disturbances at Rome and in South Italy, and was finally murdered by some troops of Caesar's.

§ 3.* Home Politics of the Period.

During Cicero's absence from Rome the main subject which engrossed the attention of all politicians was the succession to the Gallic provinces, or more definitely, and from another point of view, whether Caesar should be allowed to canvass for the consulship while absent, and without resigning the command of his army. Just as in an epidemic every ordinary disease ultimately, more or less, merges in the prevailing one, so every political question at Rome during the eighteen months while Cicero was away, May, 703 (51), to Nov., 704 (50), came to be in some way or other connected with the great question, 'Was account to be taken of Caesar in his absence?' Accordingly almost our whole discussion in the present section will have reference to this subject; but to understand it, we must go back a little.

By the Vatinian Law, passed in 695 (59), Caesar obtained the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, that government to expire on March 1st, 700 (54). In 699 (55) the Trebonian Law gave the government of Syria to Crassus, and of the two Spains to Pompeius, for five years; and the two consuls, Pompeius and Crassus, passed a law that Caesar's government of the two Gauls should be extended for five years.† A difficulty has been raised as to the date from which the tenure of office decreed to Caesar by the Lex Pompeia-Licinia began to run; but there can be little doubt that the most rational view to take is that it began from the day on which the tenure of office granted by the Lex Vatinia would cease, that is, from March 1st, 700 (54). Accordingly Caesar's second grant of five years would expire on March 1st, 705 (49).

Caesar, we know, had held the consulship in 695 (59). Now

* We profess a general acknowledgment to Lange (*Römische Alterthümer*, vol. iii. §§ 158–9), of whose references we have availed ourselves at every turn, and to whose aid we are indebted all through this section; and to F. Hofmann (*De origine belli civilis Caesariani*). This latter beautifully written and learned monograph is, in our opinion, vitiated by the attempt to prove that the year for which Caesar wished to be elected Consul was 705 (49), not 706 (48).

† The view that this latter law also was proposed by Trebonius may be considered exploded. It is explicitly stated that it was either Pompeius, or Pompeius and Crassus: cp. Hirt. Bell. Gall. viii. 53, Cic. Phil. ii. 24, Vell. ii. 46.

Sulla had revived the old Genucian Law of 412 (342), which for a long time had not been enforced, and which enacted that no one could be elected to the same magistracy twice except after an interval of ten clear years.* Caesar, accordingly, could not legally hold the consulship in any year earlier than 706 (48); and the elections for that office would be held about July 705 (49).

Now the state of affairs was this:—The aristocratic party, the optimates as they chose to call themselves, who formed the bulk of the Senate, had been all along in opposition to the triumvirs and especially to Caesar. They never could forgive or forget the contemptuous disregard of them which he showed during his consulship, and the revolutionary (as they considered) measures which he passed at that time. And now he had been passing from victory to victory, gaining wealth and glory, the hearts of the soldiers in the camp as he had gained the hearts of the people in the city; and it was all the more bitter to the jealous and indolent nobles that he had at the same time really done great and meritorious services to his country. They felt he was growing quite too powerful, and Pompeius was beginning to feel the same. Pompeius too had done good service to the State in past time, service if not great at least striking, and he had attained unbounded popularity for it. But he had for a long time been resting on his laurels as the first man in the State, and was altogether too stiff, awkward, and tactless to make a good statesman: besides his health was breaking down. He wanted rest, but he wanted at the same time to be first man in the State; and he began to see with ever-increasing clearness that his position was becoming more and more endangered by the uninterrupted course of victories in which Caesar was advancing. So insensibly he became alienated from his colleague. The Senate, a collection of firebrands and ponderous nobodies, wanted a leader—somebody with a great reputation and a high character; and the whole bent of Pompeius' nature drew him, especially after his years of primacy in the city, to an union with what was considered the respectable portion of society. Each party wanted the other, so it was a mere question of accident when the coalition would be effected. Nor can there be any doubt, as has been frequently noticed, that, on the death

* Appian Bell. Civ. i. 100; Liv. vii. 42.

of Julia in 700 (54) the refusal of Pompeius to enter into any other marriage-connexion with Caesar's family,* showed how Pompeius' thoughts were setting; and when Crassus, the reserve-champion who sat by to take up the conqueror (ἔφεδρος, as Plutarch calls him, Pomp. 53), was himself cut off in the Syrian desert, the union may be regarded as practically complete.

Meanwhile the nobles were weaving a net of law for Caesar, so as to have it quite ready to throw when the moment came. Their aim was to get him back to the city in a private capacity, and then Cato was prepared to accuse him of malversation; and it was quite certain that if Caesar should be put on his trial before a court like that which tried Milo, under the shadow of the soldiers of Pompeius, he would get scant justice and no mercy. This, then, was the aim—to secure that there should be an interval between Caesar's surrender of the governorship and his entry on a magistracy in the city, so that in that interval he might be prosecuted; for no prosecution could be conducted against anyone in office. That this was the object of all the manœuvres of the senatorial party must be carefully borne in mind.

But if this be so, why had the nobles recourse to any manœuvres at all? Why not let Caesar's term of office run out on March 1st, 705 (49); and then they would have four clear months at least

* Caesar proposed that he should marry Pompeius' daughter, who was already betrothed to Faustus Sulla: and that Pompeius should marry Caesar's grand-niece, Octavia. The latter was daughter of C. Octavius and Atia, daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Caesar's sister Julia. But Pompeius refused both. He gave his daughter to Faustus Sulla, and he himself married the daughter of Metellus Scipio, Cornelia, who had been already married to young Publius Crassus who fell at Carrhae. Plutarch (Pomp. 55) has given a most interesting account of her, 'This young girl had many charms (φίλτρα) besides her youthful beauty. She was an adept in literature, in playing the harp, and in geometry; she was accustomed to listen to philosophical discussions with profit (χρησίμως); and in addition to this her manners were quite free from any affectation and pedantry (ἀηδίας καὶ περιεργίας), faults which such culture generally produces in young women.' What a contrast to Clodia! But there is something very graceful and attractive in this description of the young and accomplished Roman matron living in holy wedlock with her sedate, elderly, but loving husband. It is refreshing to rest for a moment on this quiet domestic picture, and turn away from the intrigues, the meannesses, and the crimes of public life, which harden the heart:

> The darkness passes which nought else could touch,
> Like some dark snake whom force may not expel,
> But glideth out to music sweet and low.

before he could be elected to the consulship, and ten months before he could enter on it; and during all these ten months he could be easily prosecuted? Why not simply let the laws as they stood take their course?

The reason was as follows:—When Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar made their compact at Luca it was arranged that Caesar should get an extension of his government for five years, that is, as we said, till March 1st, 705 (49); and that all the triumvirs' influence should be used to secure his election to the consulship for 706 (48). This agreement, virtually, though not explicitly, assured Caesar possession of his provincial government till the end of 705 (49): for it was customary, according to the Cornelian law of C. Gracchus, that the Senate, prior to the election of consuls, should decide among the provinces, which would be available at the end of the consuls' year of office, what two provinces those consuls should have; and that the consuls *immediately* after their tenure of office in the city should enter on a provincial government. Now in the *beginning* of 705 (49) Caesar's provinces would *not* be vacant, and so some other provinces would have to be decreed for the consuls of 704 (50): Caesar's provinces would be indeed in a sense without a governor for the last ten months of 705 (49), but according to Roman law a governor held his governorship till his successor arrived. So Caesar believed, and fairly believed, that according to regular custom he would be able to hold his governorship of the two Gauls till he entered upon his consulship on January 1st, 706 (48). He would step from the command of the army to command in the city, and after his year of office step back again from the city to the army, always safe from his enemies, always in the service of his country.

But there had been changes since 698 (56). Pompeius had been gradually drawing away from Caesar; and when he had been made nominally sole consul and virtually dictator in the crisis at the beginning of 702 (52), he had to all intents and purposes, as far as Pompeius could make up his mind to anything, made up his mind to break with Caesar. True, indeed, before he was elected sole consul, while there was considerable doubt whether Caesar would not be elected along with him, Pompeius had used his influence to get a law passed that Caesar should be allowed to canvass for the

consulship while still retaining command of the army. This was an exemption from the laws,* and as such came before the Tribes. The far-sighted Caelius saw the importance of this law and intended to veto it, but was persuaded by Cicero not to do so,† and the law was passed as issuing from all the ten tribunes.

But now Pompeius and the Senate began to perceive that they might throw great difficulties in Caesar's way by a judicious system of legislation. Among the laws passed this year 702 (52) was one *de provinciis* to the effect that provinces should be administered no longer *immediately* after the holding of the consulship or praetorship, but after an interval of five years. It was in accordance with this law that Cicero was compelled to go to Cilicia.‡ Pompeius of course—*suarum legum auctor idem ac subversor*, as Tacitus (Ann. iii. 28) calls him—was not to be bound by his own laws, for at the end of 702 (52) he had the two Spains granted to him for another five years. But Caesar was not Pompeius, and so *was* to be bound by the latter's laws—and fast bound he would have been, if he had not cut through the toils. There would have been plenty of consulars of five years' standing to take his place on March 1st, 705 (49); he would have had to descend to a private station before his entry on office, he would almost certainly have been accused and condemned, and the best fate he could have expected would have been to live in exile or become a mere anarchist. Caesar was at this time fighting his hardest campaign in Gaul against his brave and honourable adversary Vercingetorix, and had no time to attend to the pettifogging intrigues of his ignoble fellow-citizens.

However, after the war with Vercingetorix was over, he had time to look to his position. He doubled the pay of his legionaries; paid the debts of a great many senators and other men of high social position—Paullus, Consul in 704 (50), was probably one of

* See note on next page.

† See above, p. li. Cicero tells different stories about this law. In Att. vii. 1, 4, Ep. cclxxxiv., he says, 'I lent my aid in having this granted to him, when the master himself (Pompeius) asked my good services in the matter of Caelius. The master himself, you ask? Yes, our Gnaeus, in that glorious third consulship of his.' Yet again in Phil. ii. 24. 'Two occasions occurred in which I gave Pompeius advice against Caesar, blame them if you can—one, not to grant the five years' extension of Caesar's military command; the other, not to allow the motion to be carried which allowed account to be taken of his candidature in his absence.'

‡ See note on Fam. iii. 2, Ep. clxxxiii.

these;—gratified the people with buildings, with funeral games, and other displays in honour of his daughter Julia; gained the favour of many petty kings and the more important municipalities by lavish expenditure of his Gallic gold; and, according to his old cherished plan of extending the citizenship, made a more extensive use than the Vatinian law* allowed of the permission granted thereby to give citizenship to the inhabitants of Novum Comum, and probably other towns in Transpadane Gaul.† By every kind of means, legitimate and illegitimate, he was gathering together resources for the inevitable struggle.‡

Pompeius passed another law in 702 (52), that candidates for any magistracy should tender their names in person, a practice which had been required previously, but had fallen into disuse. This law must have been posted up for a *trinundinum*, and yet it appears to have been passed without any protest from Caesar's party, which at this time was led by the tribune Gaius Vibius Pansa. The law of the Ten Tribunes had so explicitly granted Caesar the privilege, and personal attendance was such a mere piece of formality, § that probably they thought that the new law would, as a matter of course, not be in any way used to Caesar's disadvantage. However, after it was passed they perceived the use it

* Passed in Caesar's consulship, 695 (59).

† Caesar appears to have treated the Transpadanes as full citizens, while it would seem that in strict legality they had only Latin rights: see an excellent note in Mommsen, R. H. iv. 312, where he urges that only on the supposition that Caesar was treating the Transpadane towns as possessed of full citizenship could the report have arisen that they were ordered by Caesar to elect quattuorviri (see notes to Ep. clxxxv. 2). 'This hypothesis too explains why Hirtius designates the Transpadane towns as 'colonies of Roman burgesses' (*B. G.* viii. 24); and why Caesar treated the colony of Comum, founded by him, as a burgess-colony (Suet. *Caes.* 28, Strabo, v. 1. p. 213, Plutarch *Caes.* 29); while the moderate party of the aristocracy conceded to it only the same rights as to the other Transpadane colonies, viz. Latin rights; and the ultras even declared the civic rights conferred on the settlers as altogether null, and consequently did not concede to the Comenses the privileges attached to the holding of a Latin municipal magistracy: see Cic. *Att.* v. 11. 2, Ep. cc. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26.'

‡ See Suetonius, *Caes.* 26–28; Lange iii. p. 380.

§ Marius and Lucullus had been elected to the consulship in their absence, and Cicero, too, in a speech delivered during his consulship, says (De lege Agr. ii. 24) that candidates for magistracies need not appear in person. Yet three years later 694 (60) Caesar gave up a triumph in order to satisfy the law by which personal attendance was compulsory. The enactment appears to have been a portion of a law passed by Cicero in his consulship against *ambitus* (Lange. i. 718, iii. 263).

might be, and was intended to be, put to, and raised a clamour that it was directed against Caesar. Then Pompeius added an exception, that of course it did not apply to those whom the people had exempted from the obligation of personal attendance—an exception invalid formally, as inserted by the mere authority of Pompeius without having been passed in due course of law, and futile materially, for, as Dio Cassius (xl. 56) very wisely remarks, those against whom it was directed, namely, the most powerful, would easily get this exemption from the people. The law was altogether of little importance; but it showed the tactics of Pompeius and his party, and we must add the carelessness of the Caesarians. The latter were not yet thoroughly alive to the manœuvres of their opponents.

Thus the net had been woven, and all was ready prepared in the middle of May, 703 (51), when Cicero left Rome. Caesar must be dislodged from his provincial governorship if possible on March 1st, 705 (49), and not allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence; and at the very worst he must be dislodged before the end of the year; this was simply essential to the plans of the optimates. It was on these points that the constitutional contest was to be fought: we have now to see how that contest proceeded.

The Consuls for the year 703 (51) were M. Claudius Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The former was the ideal of the better class of aristocrats, rather heavy, perhaps, but a man of the highest character, and perfectly true to his principles; therefore a resolute enemy of Caesar. Sulpicius Rufus was a cautious lawyer, who, with great impartiality, and accordingly little influence, contented himself with warning the aristocrats not to carry things with too high a hand (see especially Fam. iv. 3. 1). He is chiefly known to posterity for the letter of consolation he wrote to Cicero on the death of Tullia, which has supplied Byron with a subject for one of his finest passages (Fam. iv. 3: *cp.* Byron, Childe Harold, iv. 44:

> 'Wandering in youth I traced the path of him
> The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind.')

Neither of the consuls were men of genius or vigour. Caelius hits

them off in a few words, 'You know Marcellus how slow and inefficient he is, and what a dawdler Servius.' *

In April Marcellus had the *fasces*, and summoned a meeting of the Senate to discuss important affairs of State (*de summa republica*). He did not touch directly on the question of the succession to the Gauls, but attacked what he held to be the illegal action of Caesar in giving citizenship to the inhabitants of Novum Comum, incidentally pointing out the danger which the State ran from Caesar, and urging that a successor should be appointed as soon as possible (Suet. Caes. 28). The Senate passed his motion, but, as it was vetoed by the tribunes, it could only be published as an *auctoritas*. Caesar had long before, in 697 (57), raised troops in Cisalpine Gaul (Bell. Gall. ii. 2. 1), and, by enrolling them in the legions, admitted their citizenship. Now a report came to Rome of a further step on the part of Caesar: that he had given the Roman municipal constitution to the Transpadane communities, or, as it was put, they had been ordered to elect *quattuorviri*.† The report does not appear to have been true; but anything high-handed and revolutionary (the optimates thought) might be expected from Caesar. Pompeius at this time professed himself ready for any emergency.‡ Towards the end of May, when the scare was dying away, Marcellus, from principle, no doubt, and so deliberately and as a demonstration, ordered a Senator of Novum Comum, who had committed some offence at Rome, to be scourged, apparently to show that the Porcian law did not apply to him, and that he was no Roman citizen; and when he protested, Marcellus told him to go and show his scars to Caesar. Cicero, when he heard of this demonstration, was highly indignant, and characterized it as scandalous (*foede*). Plutarch (Caes. 29) says the scourged man was a Senator; Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 26) that he was an ex-magistrate: and ex-magistrates of States which possessed Latin rights became *ipso facto* Roman citizens. Now the Transpadanes had obtained Latin rights in 665 (89); and, according to the Vatinian law relating to Novum Comum, the new colonists to be

* Fam viii. 10. 3, Ep. ccxxvi., Nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit itemque Servius quam cunctator.

† See above, note on p. lxvi.

‡ Att. v. 7, Ep. cxc., Civem illum egregium relinquebam, et ad haec quae timentur propulsanda paratissimum.

planted in that locality were to have the same rights as Transpadanes. There was some doubt at the time whether the man who was scourged had held a magistracy or not: but whether or not, says Cicero (Att. v. 10. 2, Ep. cc.), he was a Transpadane, meaning probably that the Transpadanes should not be needlessly insulted.*

On the first of June Marcellus, when he got the *fasces* again, wished to bring forward once more the question of the Gallic provinces; but it appears to have been represented to him by members of his own party that there was no need for haste, and that they should not show their hands too soon; 'it is not from laziness,' writes Caelius (Fam. viii. 2. 2, Ep. cxcvi.), 'but from policy, as I think, that Marcellus' attacks have subsided." On the 22nd of July the question came up again *à propos* of a grant of pay to Pompeius' soldiers. Since May Pompeius had been meditating going to Spain, 'and on this occasion allusion was made to the legion which Pompeius had lent to Caesar and particulars asked about it. Pompeius said it was in Gaul, and that he would demand it back; but he only did so some time after the question had been mooted and his opponents had taunted him. Then being asked about the question of the succession, he answered that on his return from Ariminum the matter should be taken in hand on the earliest opportunity.' During the discussion he said that every one should obey the Senate, and this oracular utterance was considered to be, and perhaps was, significant. Caelius thought that the matter would be settled on the 13th of August, if there was not a scandalous intervention on the part of the tribunes (Fam. viii. 4. 4, Ep. ccvi.) 'But the thing I am really looking forward to,' says Caelius, 'is to see Paullus, the consul-elect, who will have to speak first, stating his view of the question.' For there was something more than suspicion that the builder of the Basilica Aemilia, and, perhaps, joint-builder with Caesar of the Basilica Julia, had been aided in those popular works by Gallic gold: yet he had been always esteemed a good aristocrat, and still passed as one. So it would be interesting to a cynic like Caelius to see how he would serve both God and Mammon.

During the latter part of July and the beginning of August

* See note on p. lxvi.

the elections for 704 (50) were held. Cato did not stand for the consulship; he said the people did not like his manners, and no man of sense would change his manners to please others (Plutarch Cato 50). The candidates were C. Claudius Marcellus, who was cousin of the consul of 703 (51), and appears to have been dominated by his cousin's influence (Fam. iv. 9. 2); L. Aemilius Paullus, of whom we have just spoken; and M. Calidius, the Caesarian candidate. The latter was defeated, though there was reason to suppose that he had bribed heavily: at least he was accused immediately after the elections on that charge, but made a most eloquent defence, and was acquitted.* The elections of Tribunes, however, were favourable to Caesar: M. Caelius Vinicianus, a Pompeian, was defeated. The Pompeians, in revenge, accused one of the Caesarians, Servaeus, of bribery: he was condemned, and C. Scribonius Curio, who at this time professed himself a supporter of the optimates, was elected in his place. The praetors who were elected were not men of any decided party feeling and took no active part in politics: for the only decided partisan who competed, M. Favonius, 'Cato's Sancho,' failed. Young Dolabella, who was betrothed to Cicero's daughter, Tullia, was elected quindecemvir, defeating L. Lentulus Crus (consul next year): Lentulus was quite certain of victory, and when he was defeated, 'you should have seen his face,' says Caelius, in his schoolboy way, 'it was a most lovely sight.'† We hear *ad nauseam* about the contest for the curule aedileship, for Caelius was a candidate: he finally defeated Lucilius Hirrus, a man who, if we can believe what we are told, appears to have had a lisp, to have been fond of quoting poetry, and to have been generally ridiculous, but who for all that seems to have been a man of some influence.‡

The question of the succession to the Gallic provinces was not settled during August, so Caelius had not the satisfaction of seeing how Paullus would speak and vote. There was no discussion on the 13th, because on that day the trial for bribery of C. Claudius Marcellus, the consul-elect, was proceeding. An attempt was

* Fam. viii. 4. 1, Ep. ccvi.; 9. 5, Ep. ccxi.

† Fam. viii. 4. 1, Ep. ccvi., Hoc tibi non invideo, caruisse te pulcherrimo spectaculo et Lentuli Cruris repulsi vultum non vidisse.

‡ For further see Addenda to the Commentary, p. 305.

made to bring the question to an issue on September 1st; but the house was not large enough to admit of a decree being passed. Few Senators attended during the unhealthy months of the year. Pompeius, however, was present, and said that there was no need for a Senatus-consultum just then: and Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, who was all through these transactions the mouthpiece used by the latter when he did not want to commit himself, or when, holding the *imperium*, he could not attend inside the city, urged that the question of Caesar's succession should be fixed for the ensuing first of March, and that no other subject should be brought before the Senate on that day—a motion which gravely disturbed Caesar's friend, Cornelius Balbus, and led him to make a complaint to Scipio.* During the month of September the matter was very much discussed, and probably many attempts were made to get a sufficient house together (*re saepe dilata*); but finally, on the 29th of September, a meeting was held, of which we have full details (Fam. viii. 8. 4 ff., Ep. ccxxiii.).†

Marcellus moved (1) that the question of the succession to the consular provinces should be discussed on March 1st, 704 (50), that no other subject should be brought forward on the same day, that all requisite exemption from other duties, such as that of a juryman, should be granted to Senators, so that there should be a full house, and that the Senate should continue to sit even during comitial days till the question was settled. This motion, as prejudging nothing, was left unassailed by Vibius Pansa and the other Caesarian tribunes, and accordingly passed into law.

But not so the other proposals, viz. (2) that any impediment, tribunician veto or other, cast in the way of the settlement of the question on the first of March, should be judged an act of treason to the State (*contra rempublicam*). Of course Vibius Pansa and the other Caesarian tribunes vetoed this unconsti-

* Fam. viii. 9. 5, Ep. ccxi.

† During August and September there were a great many prosecutions, but none which bore with any decided weight on the course of politics. They are exceedingly difficult to explain in all their details: see notes to Ep. ccxxiii. §§ 1–3. The warfare of prosecutions was not always connected with the main questions of State, and seldom had any grave political significance: accordingly they have been little discussed in this Introduction, as reference to them all would only distract the reader's attention.

tutional attack on their rights: as they did also the underhand motion (3) urging Caesar's veterans to apply for their discharge, and (4) that Cilicia for the future should be a praetorian province, and that ex-praetors should be sent to it and to the other eight praetorian provinces. The point of this rather unimportant motion was that the choice of consular provinces should be confined to Syria and the two Gauls (Pompeius held the two Spains); thus Caesar would have his power curtailed in some respects, most likely he would be completely superseded. These motions, which passed the Senate but were vetoed by the tribunes, were, however, written out and published as *Senatus auctoritates*.

The letter of Caelius, which contains these documents, gives interesting details (§§ 9 ff.) as to certain deliverances of Pompeius. He spoke little, but for all his silence, mysteriousness, and even duplicity, he could never hide his real sentiments.* He said he could not bring on the question sooner than the 1st of March,† but after that date he would not hesitate. A veto by a Caesarian tribune he would consider tantamount to a refusal to obey the Senate. When a Senator asked 'Suppose Caesar wishes to be consul and to keep his army,' Pompeius answered in the mildest manner possible, 'Suppose my son raised his stick against me.' 'People think,' continues Caelius, 'from this kind of language that there is something going on between Pompeius and Caesar; and Pompeius' wish appears to be that Caesar shall do one of two things, either give up the consulship or give up his army. Curio is dead against Caesar: I do not know what he will effect, but I see this, that, if he has sound views, though he effect nothing, he cannot fall.'‡ After which oracular utterance, which might really

* *Cp.* Fam. viii. 1. 3, Ep. cxcii., Solet enim (sc. Pompeius) aliud sentire et loqui neque tantum valere ingenio ut non appareat quid cupiat.

† Probably because the Gauls were on a level with the other provinces (Fam. viii. 9. 2, Ep. ccxi.), and according to Pompeius' own law the proper time to discuss the succession to them would be after the governors whom they were to succeed had entered on their year of office.

‡ Fam. viii. 8. 10, Ep. ccxxiii., 'Quid, si' inquit alius 'et consul esse et exercitum habere volet'? At ille quam clementer; 'Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet?' His vocibus, ut existimarent homines Pompeio cum Caesare esse negotium, effecit. Itaque iam, ut video, alteram utram ad condicionem descendere vult Caesar, ut aut maneat neque hoc anno ('the year in question') sua ratio habeatur aut, si designari poterit, decedat. Curio se contra eum totus parat: quid adsequi possit nescio. Illud video, bene sentientem, etsi nihil effecerit, cadere non posse.

mean anything, Caelius, with his usual persistency, goes off into panthers, and Sittius' *syngrapha*, and so forth.

In November alarming news arrived from Syria (Fam. viii. 10). Cassius notified that the Parthians had crossed the Euphrates. There was a great diversity of opinion at Rome as to what should be done: one said that Pompeius should be sent, another Caesar, another the consuls. No one was decided; but most people charitably believed that Cassius had dressed up a few Arabs, sent them into the province, and reported an invasion of the Parthians. This theory was, however, somewhat shaken by the arrival of letters from Deiotarus, which tended to show that Cassius had really understated the gravity of the danger, and that the Parthians were marching through Commagene into Cilicia. The consuls feared they would have to go and face the Parthians, or that they would have to bear the disgrace of being passed over: so they proceeded with masterly discretion to do nothing, and to call no meetings of the Senate. Indeed at this time, whenever any Senator (except Cato) met with any difficulty, his course of action was nearly always the same; he either did nothing, or made an interminable speech. The aristocratic party had certainly ceased to be able, even in the most rudimentary respects, to govern the Empire. But the Parthians did not know this, and they were afflicted with internal dissensions and jealousies themselves: so Fortune, who is a fickle goddess, favoured the cowards, and the Romans did not lose their provinces.

Nothing was to be done about the succession to the Gallic provinces till the 1st of March; but on the 10th of December the new Tribunes entered upon office, and among them was a man who was by later ages considered to have turned the scale in the Civil War. This was Gaius Scribonius Curio.* He was a close

* Compare his character in Lucan iv. 814 ff. :—

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti.
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt saecula, postquam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas
Transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt:
Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.
. . . .
emere omnes, hic vendidit urbem.

friend of Caelius, and appears to us almost as close as his twin brother: they were indeed a 'par nobile'

'Nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum.'

Brilliant and characteristic specimens of the young men of the period, they had run through the same wild youth; both were quite artistic profligates (as Velleius* says in the phrase he is evidently so proud of), and accordingly both were plunged deeply in debt, and ready for any enterprise which had reasonable prospects of rescuing them. Both were possessed of great natural talents as orators,† and both had a shrewd judgment in politics. Caelius perhaps devoted more thought and labour to the practice of speaking, and so was a more finished orator; but Cicero speaks warmly of the enthusiasm Curio had for oratory, of his marvellous natural gifts, and of his ornate and, at the same time, easy style.‡ Living in such a society and after such a youth, neither had any depth, one would almost say any particle, of principle. But Curio was not possessed by that violent temper which was at once the redeeming point and the ruin of Caelius: so Curio could be trusted, Caelius could not. They stand to one another as constancy to persistency§—Curio once he was fairly launched on a course carried through whatever duty was laid upon him with resolute determination, while anything striking which Caelius ever did was done with irritable and pertinacious vehemence. The merits and defects of the two men were clear to Caesar, and when that great judge of character chose Curio as his young lieutenant in the warfare of politics, he chose rightly. It was probably in the late autumn that the bargain was struck, and, according to report, Caesar paid

* Vell. ii. 48, Curio . . . *ingeniosissime nequam:* ib. 68 M. Caelius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior nec minus *ingeniose nequam*.

† It was hereditary in Curio's case, see Plin. H. N. vii. 41, Una familia Curionum in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt: also Schol. Bob. ed. Orell, p. 330.

‡ Cicero Brut. 280, Alter (Curio) ita facile soluteque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas, crebras quidem certe sententias, ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius. Atque hic a magistris parum institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Industriam non sum expertus: studium certe fuit. Qui si me audire voluisset (*cp.* Fam. ii. 7. 4, Ep. ccxxvii.), ut coeperat, honores quam opes consequi maluisset.

§ Att. vi. 2. 6, Ep. cclvi., Curionis nostri *constantia:* Cael. 77 (Caelii) vis, ferocitas *pertinacia*, Val. Max. iv. 2. 7, *pertinacissime* absenti adfuit (Caelius), Ascon. p. 37, cum *pertinacius* legem Caelius vituperaret, &c.

his debts, which amounted to sixty million sesterces (£570,000).* 'The price was high,' says Mommsen, 'but the commodity was worth the money.' At the beginning of his tribunate, Curio, still ostensibly a constitutionalist, proceeded to pick a quarrel with the optimates in a somewhat original manner: and it was on this wise.

The Senate, Curio wished it to appear, had not, in their concern for the Gallic provinces, been looking sufficiently after the interests of the State: there were a number of grievances which called for legislation. Accordingly, he began to pose as the independent politician, whose sole concern was the good of his fellow-citizens, and who wished that the others would give up their fighting and mind their business. He at all events was going to mind *his* business, and accordingly proceeded to legislate, indeed to legislate without quarter.† The legislation was, of course, all sham,‡ and only intended to irritate the aristocrats. He proposed the old stock measure that the allotment of the Campanian land made in Caesar's consulship be reconsidered; which annoyed Pompeius, as the allotment had been largely made to the soldiers of his Asiatic army. No less was Pompeius annoyed at Curio's proposal to restore Gaius Memmius,§ who had two years before attempted to

* Val. Max. ix. 1. 6. That Curio was bribed is the opinion of nearly all the authorities; but it is only fair to say that Velleius (ii. 48) leaves the question open 'Id gratis an acceptis centies (qu. sexcenties) sestertio ut accepimus in medio relinquemus.' It would appear from Fam. viii. 4. 2, Ep. ccvi., that Curio had offered himself to Caesar before, but that Caesar did not think fit to accept his services. Caelius, Curio's close friend, writing to Cicero on the first of August, tells how Curio is canvassing for the tribunate left vacant by Servaeus, who had been found guilty of bribery, and goes on to say, 'Curio has indeed caused great alarm among many who did not know him or how easily he could be swayed, but, as I hope and wish, and as he states himself, he will prefer the constitutionalists and the Senate. In his present state he is entirely bubbling over with this plan (*totus, ut nunc est, hoc scaturit*). His intentions in this direction owe their spring and motive to the fact that Caesar, who is wont to attach to himself at any price the lowest people as friends, has most markedly shown supreme contempt for Curio.'

† We borrow this phrase, *légiférer à outrance*, from M. D'Hughes (p. 141), who uses it of Pompeius' legislation in 702 (52).

‡ Dio Cass. xl. 61, *καὶ εἰσηγεῖτο πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα, καί τινα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ, τοῖς τε δυνατωτάτοις σφῶν, οἵπερ που καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἔπραττον, ἔγραφεν· οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤθελεν ἢ καὶ ἤλπιζέ τι αὐτῶν γνώσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ προσδεχομένων, μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρός τι ψηφισθείη (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐγράφετο) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ μετασταίη.* *Cp.* Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 27 init.

§ In order to redeem a promise made in the notes to Ep. cxcix., we here give a

accuse Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius. Restriction should be put on the expenses of travelling, so a *Rogatio Scribonia de itineribus* was promulgated, a measure which fell mainly on the Senators (*cp.* Att. vi. 1. 25, Ep. cclii.). Also the land of Pompeius' friend, King Juba, should be confiscated; but Fate had in her irony

somewhat lengthened account of this Gaius Memmius. He is to be distinguished from C. Memmius, tr. pl. in 700 (54) who was his nephew; and from C. Memmius, who took part in the process against Scaurus in the same year (Ascon. p. 29), who was his son by Fausta, Sulla's daughter. The idea that his cognomen was Gemellus is now quite exploded; it rested on Fam. xiii. 19. 2, where, however, both M and H read C. Menius Gemellus; besides if this Memmius had possessed a cognomen he would have had it on his coins, and not (as he has) the name of his tribe (cp. Mommsen *Histoire de la Monnaie romaine* ii. 430 ed. Blacas, 1870). He belonged to a plebeian family, and was son of L. Memmius, to whom Cicero alludes as a pleader but not a first-rate one (Brut. 304). During the Sertorian war, both before and during the year 677 (77), C. Memmius served as praetor in Spain (Cic. Balb. 5), so he must have been born before 650 (104). In 688 (66) he strenuously opposed the triumph of L. Lucullus (Plut. Luc. 37, Cat. Min. 29); and six years later we hear of him again in connexion with the Lucullan family as having an intrigue with the wife of M. Lucullus (Att. i. 18. 4, Ep. xxiv.). He appears to have tried to seduce the young wife of Pompeius; but Julia was not an ordinary Roman matron, for she loved her husband dearly (Suet. De Gramm. 14: *cp.* Plut. Pomp. 53). In 696 (58) Memmius was praetor, and during his year of office violently attacked Caesar's laws (Schol. Bob. 297: Suet. Caes. 23: *cp.* 49). After his praetorship he went as propraetor to Bithynia in 697 (57), and appears to have had some trifling military successes, as he is styled IMPERATOR on his son's coins (Mommsen *op. cit.* No. 296, p. 514, note 2). Catullus was one of his staff, and represents him as a profligate (*irrumator*, Cat. x. 12; xxviii. 10); but we must not take too literally the random terms of abuse which Catullus flings about so freely. In 700 (54) Memmius was a candidate for the consulship and was supported by Caesar (Att. iv. 15. 7, Ep. cxliii.: 16. 6, Ep. cxliv.), a fact which shows how easily politicians of the second rank shifted about at this time; but he entered into and disclosed the scandalous compact about the consular elections (Att. iv. 17. 2, Ep. cxlix.), and thus lost again the favour of Caesar (see Introd. to Vol. ii., p. xlii.). In consequence of his conduct at this election Memmius was accused in 702 (52) by Q. Acutius (or Curtius) of bribery (Q. Fr. iii. 2. 3, Ep. cl.). To save himself he accused of bribery Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius; but as the latter assumed mourning garments and sent for the judges and asked them as a special favour to acquit Metellus Scipio (Plut. Pomp. 55 Appian ii. 24, Val. Max. ix. 5. 3), Memmius gave up the accusation and went into exile into Athens. Either on this occasion or previously he got possession by decree of the Areopagus of 'some tumbled down house or other which belonged to Epicurus' (*nescio quid Epicuri parietinarum*) in the deme Melita. Memmius had intended to pull this down and build on the site, but afterwards gave up the idea. The Society of the Epicureans at Athens, who had a touching veneration for their founder and all places associated with him, wished to get this house from Memmius; but he appears to have refused and to have had some quarrel in the matter with Patro, the then head of the Society. When Cicero came to Athens on his journey out to Cilicia, he was asked by Patro to use his influence with

decreed another and a sadder connexion between Curio and that land.*

The laws, of course, were opposed: Curio expected as much. But that did not satisfy him; he must create fresh grievances. It was the custom that there should be an intercalary month inserted

Memmius to get the house for the Epicureans. Cicero wrote an admirable letter (Ep. cxcix.), composed with great care, to Memmius asking him if, now that he has given up his project of building on the spot, he could see his way to letting the Society have the house; their earnestness in this matter (he says) is rather laughable, but they are an innocent, simple-minded set; and we Romans should indulge them, for their error, such as it is, is one of silliness not knavery. We do not know whether they got the house or not. With the exception of two short letters of Cicero written to him in 704 (50) viz. Fam. xiii. 2. 3, Epp. cclix., cclx., and Curio's proposed law that he should be restored from exile, we hear no more about Memmius.

He appears to have been a good specimen of the ordinary active politician of his time, vigorous and unscrupulous, but perhaps neither better nor worse than the average of those around him. He was a very proud Roman noble, his family tracing its origin to Trojan times (Serv. on Aen. v. 117), and testifying to its antiquity by stamping the head of Romulus on their coins. Mommsen (*op. cit.* ii. p. 514) sees in this claim the point of Catullus, xxviii. fin. *Opprobia Romuli Remique*, as applied to Memmius and Piso—for the Calpurnii derived their descent from Numa (Plut. Num. 21) as the Memmii did from Romulus (or Mnestheus or Assaracus, Verg. *Aen.* xii. 127), but the Memmii do not appear to have become *nobiles* till a comparatively late period. This pride of birth, however, which they affected, no doubt made Cicero very careful as regards the tone he adopted in writing to Memmius. Cicero, in another place (Brut. 247), speaks of him as well-versed in Greek literature but despising Latin, and as a voluble and pleasing speaker, but as one who did not take any trouble about his speaking, or even about considering what he was going to say. Like so many of his contemporaries he composed verses of a licentious nature (*cp.* Ov. Trist. ii. 433, Quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmina, apud quos Rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor; Plin. Ep. v. 3. 5); but he took no trouble with these either, for they were afterwards judged to be 'rough' (*dura*) productions (Gell. xix. 9. 7). Lucretius addressed the *De Rerum Natura* to this Memmius; and Martha (p. 51) thinks that the many fine passages in that poem referring to the miseries of ambition are specially addressed to him. Munro remarks that it is noticeable that on all the coins of the Memmii we find Venus crowned by Love, which gives special point to the lines i. 26-27: Memmiadae nostro quem tu, dea, tempore in omni Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

* *Cp.* Caes. Bell. Civ. ii. 25; Dio Cass. xli. 41, 42; also Lucan iv. 688:

> Privatae sed bella dabat Iuba concitus irae.
> Hunc quoque, quo superos humanaque polluit anno,
> Lege tribunicia solio depellere avorum
> Curio tentarat, Libyamque auferre tyranno,
> Dum regnum te, Roma, facit.
>
> . . . .

vs. 809:
> Libycas en nobile corpus
> Pascit aves, nullo contectus Curio busto.

when circumstances required it; and such intercalary month (called Mercedonius) was generally inserted after February 24th. Curio was a pontifex, and represented as a matter of course, that the month should be inserted; for his important laws required time to be carried through, and after March 1st the question of the succession to the provinces would claim precedence. He urged his view with the greatest violence, browbeating his fellow-pontifices with shouts and cries (*καὶ τοὺς συνιερέας ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐξεβιάζετο*, Dio xl. 62). He did not want the month inserted; but he wanted to get a pretext to oppose the Pompeian faction, and his whole policy was to represent himself as a martyr. No one seems to have perceived what object Curio was aiming at; even the clever Caelius (Fam. viii. 6. 5, Ep. ccxlii.) characterizes his whole conduct as most feather-brained (*levissime*). Moreover, there was a desire among politicians to come to the burning question of the succession to the provinces as soon as possible, and the insertion of the intercalary month was not made. Curio, in a simulated rage, goes regularly over to the democracy and begins to speak for Caesar, continuing his campaign of legislation by proposing a law about the distributions of corn, that they be made by the aediles, and also an enactment about the maintenance of the roads, which, like the agrarian law of Rullus, was to give Curio himself a Commissionership of Roads for five years.* If that did not rouse the Pompeians, nothing would. Cicero appears to have been partly grieved, but also a little amused, at this *volte-face* of Curio. "The slip on which you wrote the postscript in your own handwriting gave me a stab (*pupugit*). What? Curio now defending Caesar? Who would ever have thought it except myself? For on my life I did think it.† Heavens! how I do miss the laugh we might have over it (*di immortales quam ego risum nostrum desidero!*).' ‡

The first of March came; but the consul Paullus who had the *fasces* this month, postponed the debate on the provinces, perhaps in the interests of Curio. He may also have played into Curio's hand by apparent opposition, as he seems to have deprived him of several comitial days by various appeals to the artifices of the

* *Cp.* especially Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 27: also Cic. Fam. viii. 6. 5, Ep. ccxlii.

† *Cp.* the whole tone of Fam. ii. 7, Ep. ccxxvii.

‡ Fam. ii. 13. 3, Ep. cclvii.

State-religion, such as 'observing the heavens' and the like; and thus he gave Curio matter for declamation before the people. This appears to be what Caelius means (Fam. viii. 11. 1. Ep. cclxvii.) when, speaking as a Pompeian, he alludes to 'the advantage Curio had gained by the mad conduct of Paullus' (*quod furore Paulli adeptus esset boni*).* During the entire month noisy meetings were held by Curio, in which he attacked violently the whole of Pompeius' second consulship. Suetonius (Rhet. 1) tells us that in order to answer attacks of this kind Pompeius began to brush up his declamatory vein of rhetoric, which had become rusty during the long years of his primacy in the city. The State had no peace nor quietness during the recess of the Quinquatrus (Fam. ii. 12. 1, Ep. cclxiii.). The most important outcome, however, of the whole turmoil was that Pompeius appears to have expressed as his view that Caesar should be allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence, but that he should be compelled to resign his command on the Ides of November, 705 (49). This seemed very indulgent on Pompeius' part. A great deal was granted to Caesar—permission to stand for the consulship in his absence, and only a bare six weeks of private life, and that as consul designate, before he entered on the consulship. He would no doubt be accused during these six weeks; but he must, Pompeius might argue, and it is only reasonable that he should, face his accusations like any other man. Pompeius could represent to himself and to the world that he was acting in as fair a manner as possible towards his old friend by proposing that the interval between the resignation of his military command and his entry on the consulship should be so short. In these moves and counter-moves where it was everything to gain show of fairness, this was a very plausible proposal; though in reality six weeks would have been quite long enough to effect Caesar's ruin. Pompeius, too, whose health was failing,† may have wished to put off the crisis a little longer. Indeed, he was so

* We are not at all clear that *favore* is not the right reading; *furore* seems rather too strong.

† 'Pompeius has lost vitality to such a degree' (*stomacho est nunc ita languenti*), says Caelius, Fam. viii. 13. 2, Ep. cclxxi., 'that he can scarcely discover even what he wants.' 'I see no danger,' says Cicero (Att. vi. 3. 4, Ep. cclxiv.), 'if Pompeius stands forward as our champion or even if he sits still—provided only his health does not break down (*valeat modo*).'

worn out with worry and vexation that he was compelled, at the beginning of April, to leave Rome for Naples, where he fell dangerously ill. So nothing definite could be settled.

During the month of April a letter written in February arrived from Cicero to the Senate asking for a *supplicatio* in honour of his exploits on the Amanus.* Curio opposed the grant. He said he had the highest respect and admiration for Cicero, but he was afraid that this *supplicatio* would be used by his opponents to wrest some more comitial days from him. It was no doubt a troublesome knot, and had to be untied by a compromise, it being agreed that the *supplicatio* should be granted, but not till the ensuing year. 'The attack,' says Caelius (Fam. viii. 11. 1, Ep. cclxvii.), 'was short but sharp.' In the course of it Cornelius Balbus, Caesar's accredited agent, said to Curio that Caesar would not be at all pleased with his action in this matter—a remark which gave considerable support to the opinion that Curio was acting in Caesar's interest, and that Caesar was well-disposed to Cicero's claims.

But Curio had now to turn his attention to the plausible proposal of Pompeius that Caesar should resign his command on the 13th of November, 705 (49). It had, as we have said, a great show of fairness, but Curio saw that it must be hindered at all risks. He did not fear opposition, he rather courted it. The Senate, however, was opposed to decided measures. 'Here is the case,' says Caelius, with his usual clearness of vision; 'I tell you this: if they coerce Curio in everything, Caesar will defend his tribunician authority: if, as seems the case, they shrink from that, Caesar will stay in command of the army as long as he likes'

* This letter is not extant, but a substitute is the long letter to Cato (Fam. xv. 4, Ep. ccxxxviii.), asking that worthy to do what he could to favour the grant of a *supplicatio*. Cato wrote in reply, stating that he had opposed the grant. He says the letter is longer than those he generally wrote; it is really very short and very characteristic, so it will not try the reader's patience if we ask him to read it once again (Fam. xv. 5, Ep. cclxvi.). Let him form what judgment on it he thinks fit; at any rate no one can deny that Cato had the courage of his convictions. His sterling adherence to his principles, such as they were, and his scrupulous honesty, pedantic though it sometimes was, yet had its reward. He even came to be considered the moral referee of the age. 'I think,' says Cicero (Att. vi. 2. 8, Ep. cclvi.), 'that I shall be able to satisfy Brutus in what I have done; I am doubtful whether I shall satisfy you; Cato I know I will.' *Cp*. Att. iv. 15. 7, Ep. cxliii.

(Fam. viii. 11. 3, Ep. cclxvii.). Accordingly the view which Curio, at this time ostensibly an independent democrat, adopted was that *both* Pompeius *and* Caesar should resign simultaneously. The majority of the Senate were in favour of a compromise between the view of the extreme Catonian faction that Caesar should resign on March 1st, as was nominated in the law, and the more indulgent proposal of Pompeius, which fixed November 13th. They said, let him retire on July 1st, which will give a *trinundinum* during which he can be present and canvass for the consulship in due form.* Curio vetoed this motion, insisting on his point that *both* should resign simultaneously; only thus (he urged) could the atmosphere of politics be cleared and all apprehension removed—an action which gained him such popularity that, when he left the Senate-house, the people threw flowers upon him 'as upon a victorious athlete.'† The Senate, however, were so lukewarm in their opinions that they rejected by a large majority the proposal of Marcellus that pressure should be put on Curio to make him retract his veto. 'By that vote,' writes Caelius (Fam. viii. 13, 2, Ep. cclxxi.), 'they showed that they had come round to the view that regard should be paid to the candidature of one who gives up neither army nor province. How Pompeius will bear this I shall write when I know. What is to happen to the State if Pompeius assumes the offensive or lets things slide—why, you rich old gentlemen must see to that.'

Presently there arrived two letters addressed to the Senate. One was from Bibulus asking for a *supplicatio*. On the motion of Cato it was granted for twenty days.‡ Cassius had certainly repulsed the Parthians 'under the auspices' of Bibulus, long before the latter arrived; Bibulus himself had done absolutely nothing except lose some capable officers and a cohort or so; 'however on earth he did it in the total absence of the Parthians'

* Fam. xvi. 12. 3. This is probably the view Caesar refers to when he says, Bell. Civ. i. 9. 2, *erepto semestri imperio*.

† Plutarch Caes. 30, *ταῦτα προκαλούμενος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Κουρίων ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐκροτεῖτο λαμπρῶς· οἱ δὲ καὶ στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ἠφίεσαν*: *cp.* Pomp. 58, Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 27. The chronology of these authors is in the highest degree confused.

‡ Att. vii. 2. 7, Ep. ccxciii., but it must be confessed that there is great uncertainty as to the number of days for which the *supplicatio* was granted.

puzzled Caelius (Fam. viii. 6. 4, Ep. ccxlii.).* In his usual fashion he shut himself up, this time in a well-fortified and well-provisioned town, and stayed there while the slightest rumour subsisted that the Parthians were still in his province. He does not appear to have even observed the heavens or issued Archilochian edicts.† But he was a safe vote to the extreme party against Caesar; therein lay the Perfect Wisdom; and to an orthodox Stoic like Cato, that of course guaranteed military efficiency, personal courage, and all the other virtues.

The other was from Pompeius. It was an able and judicious letter, owing to its apparent moderation. He was willing to retire before his time from command of his army if the State should require it; and therein was far more constitutional than Caesar, who was not willing to retire even long after his legal tenure of governorship should expire. Pompeius stated the same on his return to Rome in June. But Curio had a ready reply. These were all mere promises. Let *both* retire or *both* hold their armies: by no other means could the equilibrium of parties be preserved, and the State remain safe—and Curio was able to urge this with irresistible force, for it was the simple truth. Cato, courageous as ever, tried to hold popular meetings and to put the Senate's case before the people; but he effected nothing.‡

During May there was a debate on the sending of reinforcements to Syria to face the threatened Parthian invasion. Curio, who would seem to have got into the habit of instinctively vetoing every proposal, vetoed this; as he did also a motion granting pay to Pompeius' soldiers. But he gave up the opposition next month, and was considered to have acted wisely in doing so. It was then decreed that both Caesar and Pompeius should give each a legion for Syria. Pompeius asked back the legion which he had lent to Caesar. Caesar at once returned it and sent also the fifteenth legion of his own army, after giving officers and soldiers of both large rewards and thanking them for their services. These legions were stationed at Capua and not sent to Syria at all—a circumstance which was used to fasten a charge of bad faith on the Pompeians.

* Att. v. 20. 4, Ep. ccxxviii.

† Att. ii. 16. 2, Ep. xliii.; 20. 6, Ep. xlvii.

‡ Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 28. Plutarch Cato 51 fin.

Towards the beginning of June (we cannot fix the exact date) Marcellus brought the matter of the succession to the provinces once more before the Senate. This was a stirring and most important meeting.* The questions were put with the most systematic precision. It was proposed and passed almost unanimously that Caesar should resign the command of his army. This was vetoed by Curio. It was next proposed that Pompeius should resign the command of his army, and this was rejected by nearly as great a majority. Curio, however, insisted that these were not the points at all; the right proposal was that *both* should resign simultaneously; and he forthwith formally moved it. This was a bold stroke on Curio's part, and it was entirely successful. To the dismay of the extremists, Curio's proposal was passed by a majority of 370 to 22. The consul, Marcellus, turning on these traitors to their party in bitterness and rage, and blurting out 'Your victory is your slavery to Caesar' (*νικᾶτε δεσπότην ἔχειν Καίσαρα*), dismissed the assembly. The vote, of course, came to nothing, as it was vetoed by Furnius, the Pompeian tribune, but it was of immense value to Caesar. He could now, with considerable appearance of truth, plead, as he did afterwards,† that he had shown great long-suffering and had even from his side moved the proposal that both Pompeius and he should dismiss their armies. It also showed the worth of Pompeius' offer to give up his army if the State wished. Things had, however, now come to a deadlock, and it was not possible to do anything except wait and see how events developed: besides the principal elections for 705 (49) were coming on next month.

Already in May the Censors had been elected, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, father-in-law of Caesar, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, of whom we shall have something to say presently. In June there had been a party struggle for the place in the College

* Unfortunately no letter of Caelius giving any notice of this meeting is extant; so the account of it has to be taken from Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 30), who, however, appears to put it three months too late. Hirtius (Bell. Gall. viii. 52) places it *before* the decree that both Pompeius and Caesar should give the legions for the Parthian war, as Lange (iii. 396, note 1) has acutely shown.

† Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 32. 4 (Caesar to the Senate), patientiam proponit suam cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset, in quo iacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset.

of Augurs, vacated by the orator Hortensius, who died in May. The candidates were L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and M. Antonius (son of Julia, sister of L. Julius Caesar), who had been *chosen* by Caesar as his quaestor,* and in whose candidature Caesar took such a keen interest that he came back from Northern Gaul to Upper Italy in order to forward his canvass. Caesar arrived too late to lend his aid, but Antonius had, however, been elected (Bell. Gall. viii. 50). In July the elections for Tribunes came on. Amongst those chosen the most important were this same M. Antonius, who was a close personal friend of Curio; Quintus Cassius Longinus, who had been given as quaestor to Pompeius at the latter's own request, but was now a vigorous Caesarian; and Gaius Cassius Longinus.† In the same month the elections for consuls were unfavourable to Caesar: his candidate, L. Sulpicius Galba, was defeated, and there were elected Gaius Claudius Marcellus, brother of the consul of 703 (51), cousin of the consul of 704 (50), and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, who had in 703 (51) been defeated by Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, for the quindecemvirate.‡ Both were on the Senatorial side, but as Lentulus was deeply in debt, he was not altogether trusted: next year he appeared as a most violent opponent of Caesar. The praetors, as usual, throughout the struggle, were men of no decided party bias.§

Like a dead sultry afternoon, before a thunder-storm breaks at nightfall, the whole of August and September dragged through. There was hardly a movement, except when the censor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, a pompous fool like Bibulus, but a patrician and an Appius Claudius, began to strut and fret his hour upon the stage. He set to exercising his censorial rights with a vengeance, and expelled from the Senate amongst others the historian Sallust—perhaps justly, certainly injudiciously. 'He thinks,' says Caelius, 'that

* Quaestors were generally assigned *by lot* to the provincial governors, *cp.* Q. Fr. i. 1, 11, Ep. xxx.: 2 Verr. i. 34. The *choosing* of quaestors by Pompeius and Caesar was noticed by Cicero as unusual, Att. vi. 6. 4, Ep. cclxviii., Pompeius eo robore vir, iis radicibus Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium.

† Probably different from the quaestor of Crassus who had defeated the Parthians at Antioch.

‡ See above p. lxx.

§ See Lange iii., pp. 398-400 and his references.

the censorship is a kind of soap, and that he will wash himself clean, but all he does is to expose himself the more.'* For Appius had been accused by Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, of *maiestas*, for his conduct as governor of Cilicia, and afterwards of *ambitus;* but was acquitted, though probably guilty. Cicero frequently alludes to his shocking treatment of the province. Caelius had done him good service in his defence, and in return, as we have seen,† he set his bull-dog, Pola Servius, on Caelius, but the latter turned again and rent him. The colleague of Appius in the censorship, Piso Caesoninus, looked on ironically at Appius' attempt to whitewash himself; for Caelius and every senator degraded became a Caesarian.‡

In the month of September Caesar, now that Gaul was fully conquered, held a great review of his troops at Nemetocenna, in the country of the Atrebates, near the modern Arras. It was doubtless a grand and striking demonstration. Among other arrangements which he made there, he determined to send the 13th legion into Cisalpine Gaul, to replace the 15th, which he had given for the Syrian war. Rumour grows by length of space as well as length of time, and somehow or other there arose from this arrangement of Caesar's a report that he had determined to throw *four* legions into Placentia on the 15th of October.§ It was not the case: but, even if it had been the case, it was within the rights of the proconsul of Gaul. But the extreme constitutionalists, in their excitable state of mind, at once accepted it as true, and chose to regard it as a declaration of war. As soon as Marcellus got the *fasces* in October, he called together the Senate: and then ensued one of the most striking sittings on record.‖

Marcellus moved that, whereas it was understood that Caesar had determined to transfer his army into Cisalpine Gaul, and whereas

* Fam. viii. 14. 4, Ep. cclxxx., Persuasum est ei censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur: nam dum sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit.

† See p. liii.

‡ Dio Cass. xl. 63.

§ Att. vi. 9. 4, Ep. cclxxxii. Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 31) says the rumour was that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city.

‖ We have again to regret that there has not been preserved any letter of Caelius which related the events of this sitting.

such was virtually an attack on the commonwealth, Caesar be declared a public enemy, and the legions at Capua be at once sent against him under the command of Pompeius. Curio, in reply, proved the whole story to be groundless, and vetoed the consul's motion. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which Appius Claudius, the censor, formally expressed his censorial judgment of Curio. Then Curio, with fine theatrical effect, rent his clothes in bitterness and indignation of spirit. And when Marcellus, thinking indirectly to get a vote against Caesar, put the question as to whether, having regard to the censor's judgment of Curio's character, the Senate would not express some opinion on his persistent and vexatious use of the tribunician intercession, Curio at first protested against the Senate's right in the matter, but afterwards yielded with the courageous and solemn asseveration: 'I am conscious to myself of having done what is best and most useful to my country: do you take my body and life, and deal with them as you please.'* The Senators were not insensible to this fine appeal, and, though Marcellus declared that, if they impeded him by any vote, he, as consul, would take his own measures,† they acquitted Curio by a large majority. Marcellus kept his word. Rising in his place, and declaring that he would listen to no more words, but that, as he already saw ten legions crossing the Alps, he would send out one to meet them and save his country, he hurried at once, with the two designate consuls, whom he had persuaded to follow him, to Pompeius, who was outside the city; and thrusting a sword into his hand urged him to use it to save his country, entrusting him on his own authority ‡ and that of the two designate consuls, with the command of the two legions available, and authorizing him to raise more troops. Passions ran so high that the most glaringly unconstitutional proceedings were now considered mere matters of course. Pompeius takes the illegal commission, 'if nothing better can be done' (*εἰ μή τι κρεῖσσον*), as he said with characteristic half-

* Dio Cass. xl. 64, *σύνοιδα μὲν ἐμαυτῷ τά τε ἄριστα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι πράττοντι· ὑμῖν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψύχην παραδίδωμι χρήσασθαι ὅ, τι βούλεσθε.*

† App. Bell. Civ. ii. 31, *εἰ κωλύομαι ψήφῳ κοινῇ τὰ συμφέροντα διοικεῖν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ὡς ὕπατος διοικήσω.*

‡ Paullus, the other consul who favoured Caesar, did not go to Pompeius.

heartedness,* and proceeds without energy or spirit to see about the possibility of taking any measures to set a new levy on foot.

In November Caesar returned to Cisalpine Gaul, and heard about these proceedings. He ignored the illegal commission given to Pompeius; but learned from what had happened that he must certainly keep his legions for the present, but that he might now begin to moderate his demands, and so gain one more 'pretext' for the mass of the community when the war should come on. The extreme party were so violently set against him that they were sure to reject any terms he offered short of complete surrender, and the probability was that in the long run they would carry the indolent Senate along with them: while again, in the event of his terms being agreed to (which was just within the extreme bounds of possibility), he knew now that his supporters in the city and, to judge from recent votes, even in the Senate, were sufficiently numerous to enable him to face whatever assaults the extremists made upon him with reasonable hopes of being able to withstand them. Accordingly, actuated by these considerations, early in December he let it be known privately that he was willing to give up Transalpine Gaul and eight legions on March 1st, provided he should be allowed to hold Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum with two legions, or even Illyricum only with one legion, till he should be designated consul.†

Cicero had landed in Italy on November 24th. He had been roughly informed of the state of affairs as he journeyed homewards, and on his arrival at once took his part as a mediator, strongly urging the acceptance of Caesar's proposals. 'We want peace. From our victory will arise amongst many other ills most certainly the Tyrant.'‡ Caesar had written him a very courteous and warm letter of congratulation about his *supplicatio*, and followed it up by another conciliatory letter; § but Cicero's whole life and

* Appian (*l. c.*) seems to think that Pompeius said these words to leave a loop-hole for escape in case this course did not meet with general approval (*ἀπατῶν ἢ τεχνάζων καὶ τότε εἰς εὐπρέπειαν*).

† Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 32; Suet. Caes. 29.

‡ Att. vii. 5. 4, Ep. ccxcvi., Pace opus est. Ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe tyrannus existet.

§ Att. vii. 1. 7, Ep. cclxxxiv.; vii. 3. 11, Ep. ccxciv., Ille mihi litteras *blandas* mittit.

his affection made him a Pompeian; he would be, as he says, in the boat steered by Pompeius: * and the more clearly he saw the errors of the Senatorial party and the overwhelming military superiority of Caesar, the more energetically he tried to effect a compromise and avert civil war.† On the 10th and the 25th of December he had interviews with Pompeius, who during the greater part of November and December was absent from Rome, and passing his time in his villas in Campania, no doubt ostensibly seeing after the new levy. Pompeius was not by any means rabid; and he was ready to a certain degree to entertain the consideration of Caesar's proposals. But he now professed himself honestly alarmed at the prospect of Caesar's second consulship, seeing that he had passed such radical measures in his first; and if these things were done in the green tree what would be done in the dry? He also looked on war as inevitable sooner or later, spoke in a statesman-like manner of the dangers of a hollow peace, and was sanguine of the result of the conflict.‡

There was much to make him so. It lived to after ages, and was used to point a moral, how, when Pompeius recovered in the summer from the fever which he should have prayed for and which Campania with wise foresight had given him,

> 'at the motion of Praxagoras the Neapolitans offered sacrifice for his safety. The neighbouring towns followed their example and the practice going the round of all Italy, every city great and small kept holiday for many days; and no place was able to hold those who flocked out to meet him

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* Att. vii. 3. 5, Ep. ccxciv., mihi *σκάφος* unum erit quod a Pompeio gubernabitur.

† See Att. vii. 3, Ep. ccxciv. all through. In other respects besides the eager longing for peace which both entertained, Cicero's position at this period reminds us of that of Lord Falkland at the outbreak of the English Civil War.

‡ Att. vii. 4. 2, Ep. ccxcv. 8. 4, Ep. ccxcix., Sic enim existimat; si ille (Caesar) vel dimisso exercitu consul factus sit, *σύγχυσιν τῆς πολιτείας* fore . . . Sin autem ille fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat, et suis et reipublicae copiis confidebat. Quid quaeris? Etsi mihi crebro *ξυνὸς 'Ενυάλιος* occurrebat, tamen levabar cura virum fortem et peritum et plurimum auctoritate valentem audiens *πολιτικῶς* de pacis simulatae periculis disserentem.

§ Juvenal x. 283-6:—

> Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
> Optandas sed multae urbes et publica vota
> Vicerunt. Igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
> Servatum victo caput abstulit.

from every quarter, but the roads and villages and harbours were filled with people feasting and sacrificing. Many too received him with crowns on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him in procession threw flowers upon him, so that his journey and progress was a most beautiful and splendid spectacle. However this, as much as any other circumstance, is said to have been one of the causes of the war. For a proud spirit entered into Pompeius, which, combined with the general enthusiasm, took away the cool consideration of real facts; so that, casting aside that cautious spirit which always laid a firm foundation for his good fortune and his exploits, he fell into an unmingled self-confidence and contempt of Caesar's powers, supposing that he would not require arms against Caesar, nor any laborious exertion, but that he would far more easily reduce the man to subjection than he had before raised him to eminence. Besides this Appius came from Gaul bringing the legion which Pompeius had lent to Caesar, and mightily depreciated the actions done there and uttered contemptuous (βλασφήμους) words about Caesar, declaring that Pompeius himself did not know his own power and glory in thus wanting to fence himself round with other arms against Caesar, 'for you will (he said) subdue Caesar with his own legions as soon as ever you appear; so great is their hatred of Caesar and longing for you.' At all this Pompeius was so elated, and through his confidence became filled with such extravagant and unbounded contempt of Caesar, that he even laughed at those who expressed fear of the war; and, when some people said that they could not see any forces to resist Caesar if he marched against the city, Pompeius, with a smiling and unruffled countenance (μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένος: cp. *quam clementer*, Fam. viii. 8. 9, Ep. ccxxiii.) ordered them to set their minds at ease, 'for wherever in Italy,' said he, 'I stamp my foot on the ground, infantry and cavalry will spring up.'*

Plutarch indeed in another passage (Caes. 29) states that the officers who led these troops to Pompeius spread abroad reports on behalf of Caesar which were neither decent nor honest (οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς οὐδὲ χρηστούς), implying that Caesar had told them to tell these falsehoods. But be that as it may, the reports were spread, and Pompeius, who was not very strong either in mind or body in this crisis, too readily believed them.

Just before the 10th of December, when Curio's year of office would expire, he delivered a vigorous speech to the people in which he violently declaimed against Pompeius and protested against the levy as illegal.† When his year of office was at length finished, he left the new tribunes, his own good friend, Marcus Antonius,

* Plutarch Pomp. 57.

† App. Bell. Civ. ii. 31 fin. Dio Cass. xl. 66 fin. Suetonius (Caes. 29) applies the term *violentissimus* to Curio.

and Q. Cassius Longinus, to carry on his attack, and hastened away himself to Caesar. The new tribunes did their work well. Antonius continued to protest against the levy, and urged that the two legions should be sent to Syria: and a few days later, on the 21st of December, he delivered an invective against Pompeius and his policy, reviewing his whole life from early boyhood. When Pompeius heard of this speech he said, 'What do you think the general himself will do if he gets possession of the State, when his feeble and needy quaestor ventures to talk like this.'* At Ravenna Caesar was waiting for some reply to the terms he had offered; and when no answer came, and December was drawing to a close, he composed a formal letter to the Senate, which he knew would meet on January 1st, setting forth the proposals which he had already informally made, and commissioned Curio once more to face the hostile assembly. In the trying scene which would have to be enacted, he knew that Curio would play his part with courage and effectiveness. Curio travelled with the greatest rapidity to Rome, doing the journey of over 200 miles in three days, and arrived just as the year was drawing to an end.†

According to an ancient custom the new consuls had called together the Senate to the Capitol for the first of January to consult generally concerning the interests of the State.‡ On this momentous 1st of January, the Senate met to consult not merely about the interests of the Roman State, but about the destinies of the world. Curio appeared in the house with the official letter from Caesar, and handed it to the consuls; but the consuls refused to allow it to be read. The tribunes, Antonius and Cassius, insisted that it should be read; the Senate might answer the letter as they pleased, but hear it they should. The consuls yielded, and the letter was read. It was not meant to be

* Att. vii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxcix. Habebamus autem in manibus Antonii concionem habitam x. Kal. Januar., in qua erat accusatio Pompeii usque a toga pura, querella de damnatis, terror armorum: in quibus ille 'Quid censes' aiebat 'facturum esse ipsum, si in possessionem rei publicae venerit, cum haec quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere?' Quid multa? non modo non expetere pacem istam, sed etiam timere visus est.

† Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 32.

‡ Caesar Bell. Civ. i. 1 init. *de republica infinite* according to the emendation of Hotomann. There is an excellent account of the proceedings at the beginning of 705 (49) in the opening chapters of Caesar's *de Bello Civili*.

conciliatory at the time,* but it could in a measure be represented as such later on. After an enumeration of the great services he had rendered to his country, and a statement of the terms of compromise he had already offered, Caesar went on to complain that the privilege of standing for the consulship which had been granted him by the people was being wrested from him by his enemies, and he concluded in these words: 'I am willing to lay down my military command if Pompeius will do the same; but if Pompeius will not, neither will I, and I shall come forthwith and speedily to defend my country and myself.'† A violent outburst ensued. The consul, Lentulus Crus, who knew as well as Caesar that the only course to take with the inert Senators was to threaten them, declared that he would stand by them if they boldly and courageously did their duty to their country; but if they looked as they had so often done to Caesar, he would take his own counsel and not obey their authority; for he, too, had influence and friendship to back him up—meaning Caesar.‡ To the same effect Metellus Scipio, Pompeius' spokesman (for neither Pompeius nor Cicero, as holding the *imperium*, could enter the city, and so both were absent from this meeting in the Capitol), declared that Pompeius was quite prepared to defend the State if the Senate supported him; but if they hesitated and faltered now, they would cry to him for aid when it was too late. Less violent motions followed. Marcus Marcellus moved that no decisive steps be taken till the levy now on foot should be completed: M. Calidius, that Pompeius should depart into Spain, and so cut away all causes for war; for (he urged) that it was only natural that Caesar should fear to disband his own army, while Pompeius and his legions remained in Italy; and to the same effect spoke Caelius. Lentulus assailed these moderate counsellors with virulent abuse; he point-

* Cicero Fam. xvi. 11. 2, says the letters were harsh and threatening (*minaces et acerbas*) and that Caesar was 'impudent' enough to want to keep his army and province against the will of the Senate.

† Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 32, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίῳ συναποθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τε τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τάχος ἀφίξεσθαι.

‡ The word *Caesaris* in Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 1. 4, is probably a gloss, but it perhaps rightly represents the sense of what Lentulus said. If the Senators did not act with vigour now, he and Pompeius and the rest of the men of position and vigour would come to an agreement with Caesar; and then what would become of the Senate?

blank refused to put the motion of Calidius, and Marcus Marcellus, 'the slow and inefficient person,'* was so brow-beaten that he gave up his motion. So the majority of the Senate, intimidated and coerced by the violent language of the consuls, the terror of Pompeius' army and the threats of his friends, voted for what Metellus Scipio had recommended—that Caesar should dismiss his army before a fixed day, and that, if he refused, he should be declared an enemy to his country. The tribunes did not vote; all the rest of the Senate, except Curio and Caelius, followed Scipio. When the vote was declared, Antonius and Cassius, the tribunes, at once vetoed it. The consuls, in reply, immediately put the question as to how the refractory tribunes should be dealt with, and bitter and savage speeches were made against Caesar amid shouts of applause. The Senate would now have outstared the lightning; they were thoroughly frightened out of fear. But the tribunes knew this and remained firm, and the meeting broke up as evening fell.

Next day the tribunes were urged to retract their veto, but they remained unshaken. The Senate moved that mourning garments be assumed as an expression of the grave nature of the crisis: the tribunes vetoed that, but of course ineffectually. The 3rd and 4th of January were comitial days, so that no meetings of the Senate were held. Pompeius used these days to hold private discussions with the principal members of the Senate, and to fill the city with his soldiers and most faithful adherents. On the fifth and sixth the debate on the veto was renewed. Moderate counsels were urged; the censor Piso and the praetor Roscius Fabatus asked for a period of six days to try private mediation with Caesar, and others advocated that official ambassadors should be sent to Caesar to lay before him the opinion of the Senate. But the extremists bore down all opposition. Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 4) thinks fit to assign the motives which impelled the different Senators to act in this hurried and disordered manner (*raptim atque turbate*)—rapacity, fear, hate, insolence, pride, intolerance of equals: we may add that, conscious of the savage way in which they would use their victory, they thought, and had always thought,

* See above, p. lxviii.

that Caesar would act no whit otherwise.* In this seething mass of conflicting emotions, their passions could not any longer bear the extreme strain to which they were being subjected all these days by the steady opposition of the tribunes.† But they had one course still open, and, as Caesar says, they took refuge in this.‡ On the 7th of January, they passed what was styled the *Senatusconsultum ultimum*, declaring the country in danger, and called upon the consuls, tribunes, praetors, and all proconsuls near the city to see that the State suffered no injury. This final appeal to force put all constitutional opposition at an end. That evening the tribunes, Antonius and Cassius, who, as tribunes, should never leave the city, but who appear to have been declared by the excited Senate enemies of their country,§ accompanied by Curio and Caelius, fled hastily to Caesar, who was waiting anxiously at Ravenna for news of the issue of the struggle, and (as he chooses to put it himself) waiting for answer to his most moderate demands, and to see if by any fairness of public sentiment peace could be restored.||

Caesar neither thought this nor wished it during those eventful days. War was inevitable; he knew it and was prepared. When he sealed the letter to the Senate on the 26th of December and handed it to his faithful Curio, the die was cast. About the 12th of January the news arrived at Ravenna that his demands had been finally rejected, and that the tribunes had been com-

* It must be allowed indeed that they had some reason to think so, when such a shrewd observer as Caelius thought that Caesar, on obtaining the victory, would carry out extreme democratic proposals like confiscation of property and abolition of debts.

† Cicero says that during this crisis a full house demanded that a triumph should be granted to him, but that the consul Lentulus said that he would see about it when proper provision had been taken for the safety of the State (Fam. xvi. 11. 2). We cannot think that the matter occupied the attention of the Senate very seriously. Cicero, however, made a virtue of necessity and took credit to himself for not being insistent in the matter (*nos agimus nihil cupide*).

‡ Bell. Civ. i. 5. 3, *Decurritur* ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus, quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis senatorum audacia numquam antea *descensum est:* Dent operam consules praetores tribuni plebis quique pro consulibus sint ad urbem; ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.

§ *Cp.* Cic. Phil. ii. 21. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis reipublicae iudicatus? and Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 33. *οἱ ὕπατοι Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μή τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὅμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον.*

|| Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 5. 5, exspectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa si qua hominum aequitate res ad otium deduci posset.

pelled to fly in slaves' clothing. Cicero says no violence was used towards the tribunes at all (Fam. xvi. 11. 2, *nulla vi expulsi*); but Caesar may have chosen to take this unseemly flight, to which the tribunes pretended they had been forced, as one of his many 'pretexts,' and indeed considerable importance appears to have been attached to it at the time: Plutarch, however, puts the matter in its proper light in his Life of Antonius (c. 6).

> 'For Gaius Caesar was not such a light person (εὐχερὴς) nor so easily moved by passion from his calculated plans, that, unless he had long since determined to do this, he would thus all of a sudden bear arms against his country because he saw Antonius and Cassius making their escape in a hired chariot to him. But he had been for a long time wanting an excuse (προφάσεως), and these things gave him a specious pretext and reason for the war (σχῆμα καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου). The motives which impelled him to wage war on all mankind were those which impelled Alexander formerly and Cyrus long ago, an uncontrollable (ἀπαρηγόρητος) love of empire, and a frantic (περιμανὴς) desire to be first and greatest, which he could not attain unless Pompeius were put down.'

There is a great deal in all this. Caesar *had* long ago formed his plans, and *had* with his consummate intellect foreseen the course of events; he *was* no light person easily swayed by passion, and he *had* a fixed determination to be the first man in the State. It was well for humanity that he became so: the century of the Senatorial domination had been one of the worst ages for the world which it ever endured, the period of the early Empire was one of the best which it ever enjoyed.* But in regarding the benefits which flowed to mankind from Caesar's victory, and in our admiration of the ability and coolness with which he not merely effected the conquest of Gaul and the destruction of the wicked oligarchy at Rome, but laid the foundation of the Roman Empire,†

* *Cp.* Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 5. 'Even now there are various regions of the East, as of the West, as regards which the imperial period marks a climax of good government, very modest in itself, but never withal attained before or since; and if an Angel of the Lord were to strike the balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and the greater humanity at that time or in the present day, whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded, it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favour of the present.'

† There is a grand passage in Cicero where he sums up Caesar's transcendent talents (Phil. ii. 116). 'He possessed genius, calculation, a large memory, learning,

we must not blind ourselves to the sides of Caesar's character which are open to grave censure. We are not by any means minded to fall down and worship the golden image which Mommsen, the king, hath set up. To us Caesar appears one of the most fortunate of men, and *the* most consummate and varied intellect that ever lived: but he had no moral nature. All his seemingly generous actions would appear to have been directed by calculations of expediency. He was a hard man, and, like Napoleon, seems never to have been able to make or keep friends: he had lieutenants and subordinates in plenty, but friends none. Most of his equals feared him, all respected him, none loved him. In the means he adopted to obtain his ends, he did not rise one inch above the ordinary morality of the day; he was beset by enemies, no doubt, who were even more unscrupulous than he was; but we must remember that he did not hesitate to stoop to bribery and corruption on the most extended scale, perhaps, that the world has ever seen, and to any kind of low deception that he thought would advance his purposes.* The end, *his* end, justified to him the means; and the

carefulness, reflection, energy: for many years he had set his heart on royal power and with great toil and through many dangers effected what he had purposed; by shows and buildings, b ylargesses and feastings he had soothed the passions of the ignorant crowd: he attached to his side his partisans by rewards, his enemies by the show of clemency. In a word he engendered in the State then free, partly by its fear, partly by endurance, the habit of submission.' This is a fine tribute to the genius of a fallen foe, and as such reminds us of the outburst by Tennyson's William over the dead body of Harold:—

We will not give him
A Christian burial: yet he was a warrior
And wise, yea truthful, till that blighted vow
Which God avenged to day.

. . . .

Three horses had I slain beneath me: twice
I thought that all was lost. Since I knew battle,
And that was from my boyhood, never yet—
No, by the splendour of God—have I fought men
Like Harold and his brethren, and his guard
Of English. Every man about his king
Fell where he stood. They loved him: and, pray God
My Normans may but move as true with me
To the door of death.

* See what Plutarch tells (referred to above, p. lxxxix.) about the falsehoods which Caesar's soldiers spread.

story (Cic. Off. iii. 82) that Caesar ever had in his mouth the lines of Euripides (Phoen. 524–5)—

> εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ τυραννίδος πέρι
> κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών—

is probably true, and shows that his great intellect did not deceive itself. But to know that one is doing wrong does not lessen, but rather aggravates the wrong; then indeed is iniquity triumphant.

To resume. When Caesar, at Ravenna, learned what had been done at Rome, feeling that promptitude of action was essential, he at once put his plans in operation. On the 12th or 13th of January he called together the thirteenth legion, and set before them the nature of the crisis. He pointed out how his enemies had wronged him, how they had misled and corrupted the character of Pompeius; how jealous the latter had ever been and how generous he himself; how the tribunes had been compelled to fly from the city because they exercised the right of veto, a right left untouched even by Sulla; how the nobles had acted with unprecedented and unjust violence in passing the final decree which declared the city in danger; and he concluded by an appeal to his comrades in arms, asking them as their general, who for nine years had led them from victory to victory till all Gaul and Germany were subdued, now that his dignity and reputation were being assailed, to lend him once more their faithful aid and to defend him from his enemies. With a cheer the soldiers promised to protect from all harm their general and the tribunes of the people:* and forthwith the order for march to Ariminum was given, in the course of which march the proconsul of Gaul would pass the little stream of the Rubicon, which was the limit of his authority. That crossed, he had transgressed the laws, and as a revolutionary leader was bearing arms against his country. The Civil War had begun.

* Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 7.

TABLE OF THE CHIEF EVENTS IN ROMAN POLITICS,

From April, 703 (51), to January, 705 (49).

703 (51).—CONSULS M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS: SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS.

April.—M. Marcellus attacks the action of Caesar in giving citizenship to the inhabitants of Novum Comum, and urges that Caesar be superseded. Vetoed by the tribunes. Report that Caesar had given the Roman Municipal Constitution to the Transpadanes.

May (end).—Marcellus scourges a Senator (or ex-Magistrate) of Novum Comum.

June 1.—Marcellus wishes to bring forward the question of the succession to the Gallic provinces; but it is suggested to him that it is better to do nothing in haste.

July 22.—The question comes up again, but is postponed till Pompeius should return from Ariminum. It is expected to be discussed on August 13.

July and August.—Elections for 704 (50). C. Claudius Marcellus (a strong optimate) and L. Æmilius Paullus (probably in the pay of Caesar) elected consuls. The tribunes favourable to Caesar. One of them, Servaeus, condemned for bribery, and C. Scribonius Curio, at this time an optimate, elected in his place. Dolabella chosen quindecemvir. Caelius defeats Hirrus for the Curule Ædileship.

August 13.—No discussion on the provinces on account of the trial for bribery of C. Claudius Marcellus, consul elect.

September 1.—House counted out. During a discussion, Scipio declared as his opinion that the question of the provinces should be fixed for March 1st, and no other subject be discussed till it was settled. During the month much discussion on the question.

September 29.—The Senate pass various proposals, which are, however, vetoed by the tribunes. The most important outcome of the meeting is that Pompeius declares that the question of the succession to the Gallic provinces be finally settled on March 1st. Pompeius shows in various ways that he is estranged from Caesar.

November.—News of danger from the Parthians in Syria: dilatoriness of the consuls.

Probably in this month the arrangement between Caesar and Curio is made.

December 10.—Curio enters on his office as Tribune. He proceeds to legislate.

704 (50).—CONSULS C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS: L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS.

January.—Curio continues to legislate vigorously.

February.—Curio fails to carry a proposal to insert an intercalary month: accordingly he deserts the optimate party.

March 1.—Adjournment of the debate on the provinces, probably by the aid of Paullus.

Pompeius appears to have come to the determination that Caesar should resign his command on November 13th, 705 (49.)

March.—Noisy meetings held, at which Curio attacks the whole of Pompeius' second consulship.

April.—Pompeius goes to Naples and falls ill of fever. Letter from Cicero to the Senate asking for a *supplicatio*. It is approved by the majority of the Senate, but opposed by Curio and by Cato and his party. A compromise is effected that the *supplicatio* be granted next year.

As regards the succession to the provinces, the majority of the Senate are for Caesar's resigning on July 1st, 705 (49), Pompeius for his resigning on November 13th, and Curio that both Pompeius and Caesar should resign simultaneously.

May.—Election of Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, father-in-law of Caesar, and Appius Claudius Pulcher as censors. Letter from Bibulus asking for a *supplicatio*, which was granted. Letter from Pompeius saying that he is willing to resign if the State wishes; refuted by Curio. Enthusiasm in Italy on the recovery of Pompeius from the attack of fever. Cato holds popular meetings.

June 1 (?).—Important meeting of the Senate in which the questions are distinctly put—

(1). That Caesar gives up his army—Passed almost unanimously —Vetoed by Curio.

(2). That Pompeius gives up his army—Rejected by a large majority.

(3). That *both* Caesar *and* Pompeius resign simultaneously—Proposed by Curio, and passed by a majority of 370 to 22—Vetoed by Furnius.

June.—Decreed that both Pompeius and Caesar should each give a legion for the Syrian war. Pompeius asks back the legion he had lent to Caesar. The legions are not sent to Syria, but are stationed at Capua.

Defeat of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (a strong optimate) by M. Antonius (a partisan of Caesar) for the place in the College of Augurs vacated by the death of Hortensius.

July.—Elections for 705 (49). Consuls elected: C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the consul of the present year, and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus—both energetic optimates. Among the tribunes elected are M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, both partisans of Caesar's.

August, September.—Activity of Appius Claudius Pulcher as censor.

September.—Caesar holds review of his troops at Nemetocenna.

,, (end).—False report that on October 15th Caesar will throw four legions into Placentia.

October (beginning).—In consequence, C. Marcellus, the consul, proposes that Caesar be declared an enemy and the two legions sent against him. Curio proves the report false, and vetoes the measure. Appius expresses his censorial judgment on Curio. The question as to how Curio is to be dealt with put, and the Senate decides in favour of Curio. Marcellus, on his own authority and that of the two designate consuls, entrusts Pompeius with the command of the war against Caesar. Pompeius accepts the illegal commission.

November.—Caesar returns to Cisalpine Gaul. He takes no notice of Marcellus' illegal commission of the war to Pompeius. Curio holds meetings and speaks against Pompeius.

November 24.—Cicero lands in Italy.

December.—Caesar lets his final demands be known privately, viz. that he would give up Transalpine Gaul and eight legions on March 1st, provided he be allowed to hold Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum with two, or even only Illyricum with one legion, till he was elected consul. Cicero urges the acceptance of these proposals.

,, 10 and 25.—Caesar has interviews with Pompeius.

,, 10.—Curio's tribunate at an end: he goes off to Caesar at Ravenna. His part taken up by Antonius.

,, 21.—Violent speech against Pompeius by Antonius.

,, 26.—Caesar despatches Curio with his formal Ultimatum to the Senate.

,, 29.—Curio arrives in Rome.

705 (49).—CONSULS C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS: L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

January 1.—Letter of Caesar's read in the Senate. Important debate. The proposal of Lentulus the consul and Metellus Scipio passed (Caelius and Curio opposing), that Caesar should resign on a fixed day or else he should be declared a public enemy. Vetoed by Antonius and Cassius.

" 2.—No efforts can move the tribunes to withdraw their veto—The Senators assume mourning.

" 3, 4.—Comitial days. Pompeius discusses with many of the Senators individually, and fills the town with his soldiers.

" 5, 6.—Debates on the Veto. Calpurnius Piso and Roscius Fabatus ask for six days to try private mediation with Caesar: but Lentulus, Cato, and Scipio insist that the motion passed on the first of the month be carried.

" 7.—The tribunes, Antonius and Cassius, declared public enemies, and the Senatusconsultum Ultimum passed. The tribunes, with Caelius and Curio, fly to Caesar.

" 12.—Caesar at Ravenna hears definitely of these final measures.

" 13.—Caesar crosses the Rubicon.

II.—LITERARY.

On the Language of Caelius.*

In Part I. § 2 we endeavoured to give a sketch of the characteristics of Caelius, and we found him to have been a hot-headed, violent speaker, very clever at applying nicknames; but (though he is said to have devoted a good deal of care to his speeches) he was too much carried away by the vehemence of his temperament to be very careful in the choice of his words or in the elaboration of his periods. There is only one letter of his in the collection which can be said to be literary, viz. the sixteenth, which he wrote to Cicero in the hope of persuading him to remain in Italy, and not join the Pompeian party in Greece. Indeed, Caelius did not aim at being literary, for he purposely chose a style of oratory and of writing which savoured of the language of the people and of familiar conversation; accordingly we frequently find in his writings the phraseology of the comedies. Later writers said that Caelius was archaic in style; but it was the language of common life around him which he affected, rather than the diction of Cato and Plautus; though he sometimes made an effort, and rose to the full height of powerfulness, which the great Latin language of his times permitted.† The author of the *Dialogue on Orators* did not love the ancients. 'Sunt enim (sc. antiqui oratores),' he says (c. 18), 'horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero'; and accordingly he passes a severe judgment on Caelius (c. 21), 'Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem illae verborum ("vulgar expressions") et hians compositio et inconditi sensus ("uncouth sentences") redolent antiquitatem nec quemquam adeo

* In this section we have to express a very large measure of obligation to the long and elaborate tract of Dr. Ferdinand Becher of Ilfeld, *Über den Sprachgebrauch des Cälius*, 1888.

† See above, p. lviii.

antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est.' We must confess that in a large measure these strictures seem just.

When we consider the small packet of letters by Caelius which we possess, we must own that he does use a considerable number of rare words, e.g. 1. 4, *susurratores;* 1. 5, *subrostrani;* 5. 3, *incile;* 6. 3, *conglaciare;* 6. 4, *cohorticula*, *aquarius* ('a water-commissioner'), *veternus;* 8. 1, *invocatus* ('unasked': only occurs once in Cicero, viz. N. D. i. 108); 9. 4, *columnarii;* 9. 5, *contristare;* 10. 2, *velificari* ('to give a lift to'); 15. 1, *nugax.*

All the above the author of the *Dialogue on Orators* would doubtless characterize as sordes verborum, to which we may add the following:—

1. 4, *vapulare*, 'to be thrashed' (of an army).

1. 5, *quod illorum capiti sit:* cp. Ter. Phorm. iii. 2. 6, which is a quite un-Ciceronian use of the *locativus finalis:* the only example in Cic. and Caes. is *tendere manus alicui.*

3. 2, *secundum eius fidem*, 'as far as his honesty is concerned.'

4. 3, *mea comitia opinionem incredibilem nacta sunt* = 'an extraordinary expression of opinion has been delivered as regards my election.'

6. 3, *ferventissime concerpitur*, wherein Caelius no more thought of the metaphor in *ferventissime* than the low-class Londoner does in his favourite 'blooming' (Caelius appears to affect the word *ferventer*, cp. 8. 2).

8. 9, *Pompeio cum Caesare esse negotium*, 'something (*i. e.* a quarrel) is going on between Caesar and Pompeius.'

Civem bonum ludit (9. 1), 'he is playing the good citizen': though Schmalz (Antibarbarus, ii. 36) says it means that his action is a perfect parody of the good citizen (the ordinary word is *agere:* cp. 17. 1, *mirificum civem agis*).

14. 1, *nunquam* = *non:* cp. Donatus on Ter. Andr. ii. 4. 7, *nunquam* plus habet negationis quam *non*, and Schmalz, ii., p. 161.

ibid. *iudicium in bona spe est* = 'there are good hopes about the result of the trial.'

15. 2, *discupio*, 'to be bursting' to do a thing (cp. Plaut. Trin.

iv. 2. 87, CH., Lubet audire, nisi molestum est. SY. Quin *discupio* dicere).

ibid. *se male dare*, 'to be going to perdition.'

Though not strictly vulgar, still as colloquial we may add:

4. 2, *perquam venuste*, though indeed this use of *perquam* occurs in Cic. De Orat. i. 129, ii. 201.

Perhaps 6. 4, *frigore frigescimus*, which is possibly the right reading (see Lehmann, p. 86; cp. also such passages as Plaut. Mil. ii. 6. 43, *curriculo transcurre*; iv. 3. 41, *ornatu ornatus*).

6. 5, *amabo te*, 'do, please.'

12. 1, *sibi imperare ut*, 'to prevail on himself to' (cp. Liv. xxxiv. 31. 2, nunc *imperare animo* nequivi, *quin*, priusquam perirem, cur periturus essem scirem).

The interjection *hui* (15. 2).

The pleonastic *nisi si* (15. 1) belongs to the language of the people, being found in Varro and Cornificius, but only in the earlier writings of Cicero (Schmalz, ii., p. 136).

As examples of hians compositio et inconditi sensus reference may be made to the whole of Caelius' correspondence; for it is all written in short, jerky sentences: see, for example, the opening paragraphs of 2, 3, 4. A notable feature of this jerkiness of style is his frequent use of interrogations, especially ones with *inquis*, e. g. 3. 3, *Quid tibi istuc, inquis, in mentem venit?* 7. 2, *Quaeres, ubi?* 9, 1, *Sic tu, inquis, Hirrum tractasti?* 15. 1, *Quid iam, inquis?* 17. 2, *Cur hoc, inquis?* An example of a clumsy sentence is 4. 2, Ep. ccvi., *Qua in re mihi videtur illud perquam venuste cecidisse quod a reliquis quoque usque eo est animadversum, ut Curio, qui nihil consilio facit, ratione et insidiis usus videretur in evitandis consiliis, qui se intenderant adversarios in eius tribunatum.*

It is not surprising to find that Ellipse is frequent in Caelius—(*a*). Of subject in accusative and infinitive construction—3. 1, *quod negaras* (sc. *me*) *curaturum tibi*; 11. 1, *respondit* (sc. *se*) *spem non habere*. (*b*). Of *esse*, with the future inf. act. and perf. inf. pass. always, except in three passages—9. 1, *ausum esse*; 9. 5, *questum esse*; 15. 1, *esse parti*. (*c*). Of *est*, e. g. 4. 4, *interrogatus*; 4. 5, *nuntiatum*; 8. 3, *factus*; 15. 1, *gloriose omnia* (sc. *sunt*). This use

of the adverb with *esse* is a colloquialism, like *pulcre ut simus*, Plaut. Merc. iii. 3. 22. It is also found in Cicero; see I[2] Introd. pp. 70–1. (*d*). Of the predicate (very frequent)—2. 1, *sed tum tam bene* (sc. *sibilatus est*); 3. 1, *ut mihi non modo ego solus esse* (sc. *videar*) *sed Romae te profecto solitudo videatur facta;* 6. 1, *Neque enim stulte, Appius* (sc. *fecit*)*;* 9. 3, *Curare soles libenter ut ego maiorem partem nihil curare* (sc. *soleo*); 10. 1, *Hoc quomodo acciperent homines* (sc. *veritus sum et*) *vereor etiam nunc* (the perfect must be mentally supplied to the past tense of the subjunctive: we should have alluded to this in our note); 10. 3, *plures* (sc. *occursuros Paulli cupiditati*) *suspicari non possum;* 11. 3, *quod videntur* (sc. *facturi*); 16. 2, where there is no apodosis to the long sentence with which the § begins. In 1. 4 Lehmann (p. 10) has shown that it is quite wrong to insert *attinet*, as Wesenberg does, for though in similar phrases Caelius inserts the verb about nine times (*e. g.* 2. 2; 3. 2; 4, 3; 5. 1, &c.), still such a phrase as *quid ad me?* (sc. *pertinet*) is common in epistolary style (Att. xii. 17; Fam. ix. 26. 3), and the omission is not unusual in legal phraseology: see note on 1. 4, Ep. cxcii. (*e*). Of the subject (not frequent)—8. 3, *ut solent* (sc. *iudices*); 15. 1, *cum expulisset* (sc. *Caesar*, if we are not to read *ipse*). (*f*). Of *ut* after verbs, *e. g.* 6. 5, *De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves suadeo:* cp. 10. 2. Also after *facere* (1. 3); *petere* (3. 3); *rogare* (11. 4); *impetrare* (12. 1); *censeo* (16. 5). It is a somewhat colloquial usage, very largely affected by the older writers. For an exhaustive treatise on it see Dräger, § 409 = ii. 282–290.

With regard to the common predicate to several subjects, Caelius' usage differs somewhat from Cicero. The rule in Cicero is—if the subjects are persons, the predicate is always plural; if concrete things, generally plural; if abstract nouns or personal collectives, generally singular. Caelius appears to use the singular in all cases, *e. g.* 2. 2, *M. Octavius et C. Hirrus mecum petit;* 4. 2, *initium et causa est;* 4. 3, *mentio et promulgatio deiecit;* 14. 2, *illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectationem;* 14. 4, *ferrum et vis iudicabit.* In disjunctive sentences the predicate generally agrees with the last subject, though not always—10. 3, *ut vos aut successores sustinere possint;* 16. 2, *si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valet*, where,

however, Wes. (Em. 127) wishes to read *valemus*, which appears as the reading of M, where this letter occurs among the Epp. ad Att. (x. 9. 2A) : cp. also Madv. on Fin. ii. 73.

The use of *quam* with the positive of an adjective, or adverb without *tam* following, is noticeable—8. 2, *quam clementer*, 'as mildly as you please;' 15. 2, *habeo quam multa*, 'as many as you please.' This use cannot be proved for Caesar, Livy, nor Tacitus. It appears in the MSS. of some passages of Cicero—Att. vii. 15. 2; xiv. 9. 2; xiv. 19. 1; but the editors get rid of it by various devices. It undoubtedly occurs in Ter. Andr. i. 1. 109, reiecit se in eum flens *quam familiariter* (*i. e*, tam familiariter quam potuit). Schmalz (Antibarbarus ii. 401) will allow it in Cicero only with parts of *volo*, e. g. Cael. 28. It is frequently found in the Augustan writers with *possum*, e. g. Liv. xxxv. 37. 9, and it is quite common with all verbs in Apuleius and the Fathers. See a long list of examples in Dräger, § 519 = ii. 643–645. Here we may compare the use of *tam*, qualifying adjectival phrases in such passages as 2. 1, *tam praeter opinionem, tam quod videretur omnibus indignum* ('so unexpected, so disgraceful as all thought').

The use of the pluperfect to express instantaneous action occurs at least once: 6. 1, *Neque enim stulte Appius* (sc. *fecit*): *qui, simul atque Dolabella accessit ad tribunal, introierat in urbem triumphique postulationem abiecerat*, 'at once entered the city and gave up all claim to a triumph.' Roby, § 1492, compares Liv. vi. 38. 9, Camillus addidit minas . . . terrorem ingentem *incusserat* plebi, and xxxviii. 60, fin. *Verterat* ('suddenly turned') Scipionum invidia in praetorem: also see Verg. Æn. ii. 256, flammas cum regia puppis *extulerat*, and Papillon's note.

We have the supine in -um after venire in 14. 4, *haec risum veni;* Richter (De supinis 20) quotes from the comedies for this phrase te *derisum* venio, Plaut. Aul. ii. 2. 46; Trin. ii. 4, 47; Ter. Eun. v. 2, 21, nunc venis etiam ultro *irrisum* dominum: Plaut. Amph. ii. 1. 40.

Certain phrases used by Caelius which have a legal colouring, *e. g.* 1. 1, *data opera* (where see note): 4. 4 and 8. 9, *senatui dicto audiens esse.* This construction is frequent in the comedies. Plaut. Amph. iii. 4. 6, Ego sum *Iovi dicto audiens*; Bacch. iii. 3, 35, *magistro* desinebat *esse dicto obediens:* and occurs

also in Cicero Verr. v. 85: Deiot. 23: Phil. 7. 2: cp. Liv. v. 3. 8, nec plebs *nobis dicto audiens atque obediens sit.*

Among miscellaneous peculiarities it may be noticed that Caelius uses moror passively: v. 2, *Sic multum ac diu ludetur atque ita diu ut plus biennium in his tricis moretur.* The active *moro* is archaic, and found in Naevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius. Caelius is very fond of using ut = adeo ut: 6. 3, *Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterum utrum de filiis ad te missurum:* 12. 2: 16. 2, *quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare, ut eam causam relinquere cogamur.* Another favourite expression is usque eo . . . ut: 3. 1, *usque eo suave est . . . ut:* 4. 2, *quod usque eo est animadversum est . . . ut:* 8. 1, *Sempronium usque eo perago ut:* 10. 2, *Senatum haberi nolunt usque eo ut.* Compare, too, his unusual order in the collocation, sic . . . quo modo: Cicero says (Off. i. 136), Sed quomodo in omni vita rectissime percipitur ut perturbationes fugiamus . . . sic est eiusmodi motibus sermo debet vacare; Caelius says, 4. 4: *Ego tamen sic nihil expecto quomodo Paullum primum sententiam dicentem.*

Wölfflin has shown (Lateinische und romanische Komparation p. 9 ff.) that valde was introduced into ordinary literary use by Cicero. It is used as often as nine times by Caelius (4. 2: 4. 5: 6. 3: 6. 5: 10. 4: 11. 3: 12. 4: 13. 1: 17. 2: cp. *validissime,* 2, 1). Hence Becher supposes that Caelius was influenced in this usage by his teacher. We must remember, however, that it is found in Plautus ap. Nonium 127. 26, insanum *valde* uterque deamat.

Caelius has no very remarkable usage of the genitive case. He has according to the ordinary phrase, 10. 5, *tui consilii est . . . mei officii est.* Similar phrases are *aliquid alicuius est arbitri, iudici, negoti, consili, muneris,* also *ducere aliquid offici sui:* see Reid on Acad. ii. 25. In 16. 3 Caelius, indeed, says: *quod porro tuum consilium sit,* but 14. 2, *mearum rerum quid consili capiam.* This last passage affords a strong use of the objective genitive in *mearum rerum.* There are other strong objective genitives, 1. 2, *successione Galliarum:* 4. 4: 5. 2, *Galliarum controversiam:* 8. 4, *expectatione Galliarum.* We find the usual locative *animi pendere* in 5. 1, where, however, *animis* is read by H: such variants are often found in this phrase: *cp.* Roby, § 1321.

The predicative datives in Caelius are *curae esse* (2. 2, 3. 3, 8. 10, 11. 4): *curae habere* (8. 10), where Becher is wrong in attributing the introduction of this form to Caelius: it occurs in Plaut. Men. v. 7. 2; *odio esse* (6. 1); *timori esse* (12. 4). His use of the dative of the thing after *opus esse* is very rare—5. 1, *quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset:* it occurs twice in Livy, as Schmalz, ii. 202, points out, viz. i. 41. 1; xxx. 30. 11. The more usual construction is *ad* with accus., as Cicero (Fam. ii. 10. 2) says, when answering this letter of Caelius, velles enim, ais, tantum modo ut haberem negotii quod esset *ad laureolam* satis. In 12. 2 we have another Livian construction, *homini alienissimo mihi:* Cicero would probably have said *alienissimo a me*, in the sense of 'an utter stranger to me': cp. Muren. 56. Caelius is very fond of the dativus ethicus, e. g. 1. 4; 2. 1; 6. 3; 10. 2; 14. 1.

The accusative *id genus*, in 4. 2, *Laelios et Antonios et id genus valentes dico*, is archaic. Cato (R. R. 8. 2) has coronamenta *omne genus*, and Varro, R. R. i. 29. 1, aves *omne genus:* cp. Att. xiii. 12. 3, aliquid *id genus*. Another adverbial accusative is 9. 3, *curare soles libentur ut ego maiorem partem nihil curare* (sc. *soleo*): cp. Plaut. Mil. ii. 1. 16, Itaque hic meretricis, labiis dum ductant eum, *maiorem partem* videas valgis saviis; and Lucret. vi. 1249, Inde *bonam partem* in lectum maerore dabantur. For rare accusatives after verbs compare: 8. 1, *calumniam tulisse* (see note); 8. 3, *calumniam iurasset* (a regular legal expression); gaudere, 'to rejoice at' (an unclassical usage); 2. 1, *ut suum gaudium gauderemus;* 14. 1, *tam gavisos homines suum dolorem:* gratulari; 13. 1, *gratulor tibi affinitatem:* cp. Att. v. 20. 1, *gratulatus es illius dici celebritatem* (though here M reads *celebritate*), and perhaps Att. i. 17. 6, *laudis nostrae gratulatio*; and Verr. i. 7. 19 (though see Zumpt). The usual construction in Cicero is *de*, or less frequently *in*, Fam. iv. 11. 2, vi. 11. 1; Planc. 91; but compare Phil. ii. 28, *atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus* and *consolari* with acc. in Fam. viii. 11. 2; Mil. 97.

For the ablative of time compare 10. 3, *novis magistratibus*, like the abl. in which the names of the consuls who mark a year are placed; 12. 3, *summis Circensibus ludis meis* (for *summis*, 'at the end of,' cp. Pollio ap. Fam. x. 32. 2, *summo* ludorum die), like Att. xiii. 52. 1, *secundis Saturnalibus*, and the familiar *nundinis*,

gladiatoribus, &c., 'the market-day,' 'the gladiator-show,' Roby, § 1180. The modal use of the gerund, *e.g.* 15. 1, *num tibi nostri milites qui . . . bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis orbiculatis esse pasti videntur*, is not found in Cicero or Caesar; but often in Sallust, the author of Bell. Hisp., Ovid and Livy (Schmalz' Syntax in Müller's Handbuch, p. 278). An interesting instrumental abl. is 2. 1, *absolutus est et quidem omnibus ordinibus*, just as *testibus* in Cicero himself (*e. g.* Mil. 47), who, like a genuine lawyer, does not regard a witness as a human being. As ablatives of quality are to be noticed: 4. 4, *quo numero esset*; 8. 3, *cum aequo numero sententiae fuissent.* Schmalz, op. cit., 267, Anm. 5, lays down the rule that, in Caesar, Cicero, Nepos, Livy, a substantive joined with a pronoun or with *par*, *similis*, *dissimilis*, *aequus*, if it expresses quality, is always in the abl. not the genit. To this category is not to be added 2. 1, Ep. cxcvi., *Itaque relictus, lege Licinia in maiore esse periculo videtur* (see note).

Caelius does not use Greek words to any great extent, the only ones he has are: 1. 3, πεινητικήν; 1. 4, πολιτικοί (perhaps); 3. 3, σύνταγμα; διδασκαλίαν.

As to archaic forms Quintilian, i. 5. 61, notices that Caelius said *Pelia cincinnatus* instead of *Pelias*. He doubtless also used the old forms *quoius* (1. 1; 14. 1; 16. 2: 17. 1); *quoi* (2. 1; 8. 2; 12. 2); *illi* for *illic* (15. 2: cp. Plaut. Amph. i. 3. 36, Nunc tibi hanc pateram, quae dono mi *illi* ob virtutem data est, and ib. i. 1. 97, 261); *istoc* for *istuc* (4. 1; 8. 10; 9. 4: cp. Plaut. Truc. iv. 2. 6, Ter. Ad. ii. 1. 15, just as we find *illoc* for *illuc* in Plaut. Truc. iii. 1. 3, Ter. Eun. iii. 5. 24); *rusus* for *rursus* (8. 3: see Lachmann on Lucret. p. 144). Both *illoc* for *illuc*, and *rusus* for *rursus* are found in the speech of the antiquarian Emperor Claudius (Col. i. ll. 40, 33 ap. Orelli's Tacitus i. p. 343); *hoc* for *huc*, 6. 4; Serv. on Aen. viii. 423, says, '*Hoc* pro *huc* posuit secundum antiquum morem, nam ante *hoc* adverbium loci fuit, quod nunc abolevit: nam crebro in antiquis lectionibus invenitur, sicut in epistolis probat Verrius Flaccus exemplis auctoritate ratione, dicens in adverbiis pro u o plerumque maiores ponere consuetos et sic pro *huc*, *hoc* veteres dicere solebant, sicut pro *illuc illo* dicimus, unde etiam hoc o longum esse apparet.' Cp. Plaut Capt. iii. 1. 20, Truc. ii. 2. 27: Plancus ap. Fam. x. 21. 5, 6 (according to MH),

Brutus ap. xi. 10. 3 (in MH). For further see Neue ii. 491 ed. 1861.

With regard to the syncopated forms of the perfect stem when that stem is formed by a suffix *v*, Caelius for the most part follows what was the usual practice. This is described by Roby §§ 660–1, as follows:—All forms are syncopated except in 1st sing., 3rd sing., 1st plu. of the perfect; there are occasional exceptions like *audieram*, &c., *audiero*, &c., such forms being especially found in the case of *peto*, *eo*, and their compounds: *novero* always, but *cognoro*, *norim*, *noris*; in *desino*, *peto*, *eo*, and compounds the omission of *v* usually (in the compounds of *eo* almost always) takes place in the excepted persons; in other verbs with *-i* stems, *-iit* is sometimes found, *-ii* hardly ever, *-iimus* never. This practice Caelius for the most part follows. The only full forms he uses are: 6. 1, *existimaveram*; *speraverat*; 8. 1, *audivi*; 16. 1, *cognoverim*. But Caelius generally uses the syncopated forms, such as 1. 4, *dissiparant*; 15. 1, *audisti*; though he not unfrequently uses the unsyncopated forms with the *v* omitted, *e. g.* 4. 4, *desieramus*; 8. 10, *petii*; 9. 3, *arcessierit*; 10. 1, *audiero*; 12. 2, *resciit*; 16. 4, *audierat*. In the second person sing. of passive tenses, just as Cicero does, Caelius uses the form *-ris* in the pres. indic.: 8. 2, *admiraris*; 11. 4, *suspicaris*. In the present subjunctive Cicero generally uses *-re*, Roby § 570. Caelius has 4. 1, *mirere*, but 6. 1, *videaris*; 10. 2, *dicaris*. As to the termination *-ere* for *-erunt* in the 3rd plural perf. ind. act., 'there is hardly a sound example of *-ere* in any really good MS. of Cicero or Caesar' (Reid ap. Cic. Orat. 157 ed. Sandys), and Caelius never uses it.

PART V.

NON DICI POTEST QUAM FLAGREM DESIDERIO URBIS, QUAM VIX HARUM RERUM INSULSITATEM FERAM.

PART V.

LETTERS FROM CICERO'S RESTORATION TO THE END OF HIS CAREER AS GOVERNOR OF A PROVINCE.

EPP. CLXXXIII.-CCLXXX.

A. U. C.	703, 704
B. C.	51, 50
ÆT. CIC.	55, 56

LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CLXXXIII.-CCXXXVII.

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

COSS M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS AND SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS.

CICERO goes to his province, Cilicia. The Letters of this year deal chiefly with the incidents of his provincial life, which was very distasteful to him. We also find him during this year annoyed by a misunderstanding with Appius, his predecessor in the government of Cilicia; and by a growing distrust of Philotimus, a freedman of Terentia's. This and the next four years seem to have been quite barren of literary product. No work, either extant or lost, is ascribed to this period of the life of Cicero.

CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

CLXXXIII. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, PROCONSUL IN CILICIA (FAM. III. 2).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AETAT. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero ab App. Claudio Pulcro, cui in provincia Cilicia successurus erat, petit, ut, quoad eius fieri possit, etiam suis rationibus benigne prospiciat. Scriptae litterae sunt Romae.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. APPIO PULCRO IMP.

1. Cum et contra voluntatem meam et praeter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis cogitationibusque meis haec una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere neque ego ab ullo provinciam acci-

By the Lex Cornelia of Sulla the consuls and praetors went to their provinces immediately after holding the magistracy. But in 701 (53) a decree of the senate was passed, that consuls and praetors should not obtain the administration of a province till five years after their tenure of office. The object of that law may have been as Lange (*R. A.* iii. 362) supposes, to check the extravagant expenditure of candidates for the magistracies, by putting off to a distant date the prospect of recouping themselves from a provincial administration (cp. Dio Cass. xl. 46). Anyhow the law could not pass the people at first. But afterwards in 702 (52) this decree of the senate was confirmed by a decree of the people, and became the Lex Pompeia *de provinciis*. In virtue of this law, in March 703 (51), Syria and Cilicia were declared the provinces to be administered by consulars; the tenure of office was to be for a year, and the oldest consulars who had not held a province were to draw lots. These oldest consulars were Cicero and Bibulus. Syria fell to the latter, Cilicia to the former. A number of praetorians were sent to the other provinces (Fam. viii. 8, 8, Ep. ccxxiii).

1. *contra voluntatem*] That Cicero had no wish to hold a provincial government is plain from his 'resigning his province' (*deponere provinciam*), as he calls it, after his consulship, Fam. v. 2, 3, Ep. xv.; Att. ii. 1, 3, Ep. xxvii.

molestiis cogitationibusque meis] 'the things that annoy me and that I have to think about.'

pere, qui mallet eam quam maxime mihi aptam explicatamque tradere. Quod si tu quoque eamdem de mea voluntate erga te spem habes, ea te profecto numquam fallet. A te maximo opere pro nostra summa coniunctione tuaque singulari humanitate etiam atque etiam quaeso et peto, ut, quibuscumque rebus poteris—poteris autem plurimis—prospicias et consulas rationibus meis. 2. Vides ex senatus consulto provinciam esse habendam. Si eam, quod eius facere potueris, quam expeditissimam mihi tradideris, facilior erit mihi quasi decursus mei temporis. Quid in eo genere efficere possis tui consilii est: ego te, quod tibi veniet in mentem mea interesse, valde rogo. Pluribus verbis ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem exspectaret aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. Hoc velim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis provisum a te esse intellexero, magnam te ex eo et perpetuam voluptatem esse capturum.

qui mallet] 'who would be more desirous to hand it over to me in the best order, and most free from difficulties.' To create difficulties for one's successor in a province was 'res non modo non abhorrens a consuetudine sed usitata etiamnunc et valde pervagata' Cic. Scaur. § 33.

summa coniunctione] They were both members of the College of Augurs, and both wrote treatises on augural law.

humanitate] 'kindliness,' 'fellow-feeling.'

quibuscumque rebus] 'as far as you can (and you can very far) exercise forethought and deliberation in what concerns my interest.'

2. *quod eius facere poteris*] This is a variation of the expression, so common in laws, *quod eius fieri potest*. The genitive is partitive: cp. Roby § 1297.

quam expeditissimam] 'as free as you possibly can from all perplexities.' The opposite is *impeditus*.

facilior] 'on this will depend my chance of some comfort in running what I may call the race of my term of office.' *decurrere* and *decursus* are technically used in the sense of running in armour at funeral games (Verg. *Aen.*, xi. 189): hence, too, of running races generally, *e.g.* in the Lampadephoria: cp. Pers. vi. 61; Lucret. iii. 1042. *Quasi* is often used to soften a metaphor, or apologise for a strange expression (Reid on Cic. Sull. 53). It is quite possible, though less likely, that we should here translate 'what I may call the even onflow of my term of office.'

si intellexero] The indicative in a subordinate clause of the Oratio Obliqua. With *si* cp. Fam. xvi. 1, 2, Ep. cclxxxv.; 2. Ep. cclxxxvi.; Att. vii. 3, 11, Ep. ccxciv.; viii. 12. C.; with *posteaquam*, Fam. x. 31, 1; *cum* Fam. xii. 6, 1, Att. ix. 9. 2; *antequam* Att. xiv. 22, 1; *dum* Just. i. 101.

te ex eo] We have retained *te* of the MSS in preference to *me*, as read by Müller and Baiter.

CLXXXIV. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 1).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Cum M. Ciceroni a. u. c. 703 Cilicia provincia suscipienda esset, iam Attico ex hoc ipso itinere hanc et, quae deinceps sequuntur, epistolas mittit. Et in hac quidem prima agit de Annio Saturnino, de satisdationibus praediorum, de negotio cum Oppio transigendo, de uxore Q. fratris, sorore Attici eiusque inhumanitate in Q. fratrem, de mandatis suis, de A. Torquato, quem Minturnis amantissime dimiserit. Scripta epistola est in itinere fortasse Minturnis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego vero et tuum in discessu vidi animum et mei in eo sum ipse testis. Quo magis erit tibi videndum ne quid novi decernatur, ut hoc nostrum desiderium ne plus sit annuum. 2. De Annio Saturnino curasti probe. De satis dando vero te rogo, quoad eris Romae, tu ut satis des. Et sunt aliquot satisdationes

1. *ego vero*] 'yes, I *did* see': for the emphatic *ego* see on Ep. lxii. 1.

mei in eo] The usual reading is *et meo sum ipse testis*. But Cicero almost always has a genitive after *testis*, the other constructions used by him being *de* with abl., *in* with abl., and *in* with accus. The *Codex Ravennas* (R) gives *in eo*, words which may have ousted *mei*, and given rise to *meo*. For the confusion between *m* and *in*, cp. *Esses sin* for *esses me*, Att. i. 10, 6, Ep. vi.; *in hercle* for *mehercle*, Att. i. 12, 3, Ep. xvii.; *in alam* for *malam*, Att. i. 19, 2, Ep. xxv.

ut ne] *Ut ne* in final sentences, as here, is common in Cicero and Latin Comedy. It is also found in Varro, Phaedrus, Suetonius, and the writer of the *Bellum Africanum*, but not in Caesar, Sallust, or Livy (except in xxxiv. 17, 8). *Ut ne* in sentences dependent on a foregoing verb or noun is often found in the comic drama and in Cicero, both in positive sentences, as Fam. ii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxxxvii., *peto . . . ut ne*, and in negative, as *caveamus . . . ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 38, Ep. xxx; but is very rare elsewhere. Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* §§ 411, 542, 2. The meaning is 'that no new (further) term of provincial government be assigned to me by the senate.'

plus sit annum] 'In descriptions of size, age, &c., *plus amplius minus* are used without change of case (as adverbs), and the noun of size, &c., if not put in the ablative, is subjoined in the proper case with or without *quam*': Roby, § 1273. Of the omission of *quam*, as here, good examples are: *me non amplius novem annos nato*, Nep. 23, 2; *boves minores trimos*, Varr. R. R. 1, 20; *nix minus quattuor pedes alta*, Liv. xxi. 61. 10.

2. *Annio Saturnino*] Probably a freedman of T. Annius Milo.

satis des] 'satisfy the purchaser of the validity of his title' to some property which Cicero was selling; or, if Cicero was now buying some property, *satisdes* must mean 'give security for the payment of the sum agreed on as the price.' The former meaning seems better suited to the subsequent phrase *satisdatio secundum mancipium*, 'forms of proof as regards ownership'. He recommends Atticus to use the *satisdatio* employed in the case of the sale of the Mennian estate, adding, 'or perhaps I should rather call it the Atilian property.' Cicero probably refers to a former sale by him of some farms which he had bought belonging to the estate of Mennius, who, he afterwards remembers, had previously disposed of the lands to Atilius, so that Atilius was really the seller of the farms to Cicero.

secundum mancipium, veluti Mennianorum praediorum vel Atilianorum. De Oppio factum est *ut* volui et maxime, quod DCCC. aperuisti: quae quidem ego utique vel versura facta solvi volo, ne extrema exactio nostrorum nominum exspectetur. 3. Nunc venio ad transversum illum extremae epistolae tuae versiculum, in quo me admones de sorore. Quae res se sic habet. Ut veni in Arpinas, cum ad me frater venisset, in primis nobis sermo isque multus de te fuit: ex quo ego veni ad ea, quae fueramus ego et tu inter nos de sorore in Tusculano locuti. Nihil tam vidi mite, nihil tam placatum, quam tum meus frater erat in sororem tuam, ut etiam, si qua fuerat ex ratione sumptus offensio, non appareret. Illo sic die. Postridie ex Arpinati profecti sumus. Ut in Arcano Quintus maneret dies fecit, ego Aquini, sed prandimus in Arcano. Nosti hunc fundum. Quo ut venimus, humanissime Quintus: 'Pomponia', inquit, 'tu invita mulieres, ego viros ascivero'. Nihil potuit, mihi quidem ut visum est, dulcius, idque cum verbis tum etiam animo ac voltu. At illa audientibus nobis: 'Ego

Oppio] The agent of Caesar, to whom Cicero owed 800,000 sesterces.

aperuisti] This verb is explained to mean 'to declare one's willingness to pay.' But this sense is not found elsewhere, and it is very hard to see how *aperire* could have this meaning. The same is said to be the meaning of *exposuisti*, 'you said the money was at his disposal,' Att. v. 4, 3, Ep. clxxxvii. But there M reads *de* DCCC., which makes the meaning easy. Perhaps here we should add *de;* for *aperire de*, 'to explain,' cp. Herenn. ii. 50. Cicero goes on to say 'I would willingly borrow to pay this debt (*versura facta solvi volo*) rather than keep Caesar waiting until the last penny due to me is gotten in.'

3. *transversum versiculum*] 'the crossing' of your letter, written along the margin of the page.

admones de sorore] We may gather from the words at the end of § 4, *haec . . . monendi*, that Atticus had asked Cicero to give his brother Quintus some advice about his demeanour towards Pomponia.

dies] sc. *festus*. Arcanum was *en fête*, so Quintus thought it was incumbent on him to stay there and entertain his tenants. He suggested to Pomponia that she should invite the women, while he should summon the men.

ascivero] 'In some few instances the meaning of the *futurum exactum* approaches that of the *futurum simplex* in signifying what will happen *while something else takes place*, or *what will soon be done:* Cic. Att. v. 1, 3;' Madv. § 340, Obs. 4. The MS here gives *ego vero ascivero pueros*. Probably *vero* is a mistake for *viros*. But what lurks under *pueros?* Possibly we should read *ego viros ascivero porro*, 'I shall ask the men in due course' (when you have given your invitation to the women). This would illustrate a slightly different employment of the future perfect, which is sometimes used when a thing is postponed to another time, as *quae causa fuerit mox videro*, Fin. i. 35. For the position of *porro* cp. Hand. Turs. ii., p. 266, who remarks that the placing of adverbs at the end of the sentence is characteristic of the *sermo popularis*, and quotes *quo evasurust denique*, Plaut. Trin. 938 (iv. 2. 93), and *in nervom erumpat denique*, Ter. Phorm. 325 (ii. 2, 11). We find *tamen* last word of a sentence in Att. i. 17, 10, Ep. xxiii., and *nunc* in Fam. xiii. 1, 1, Ep. cxcix.

animo ac voltu] 'the feeling which prompted the words and the expression of countenance which accompanied them.'

ego . . . hospita] 'I am treated as a stranger in this house': cp. *peregrinum atque hospitem*, Att. vi. 3, 4, Ep. cclxiv.

sum', inquit, 'hic hospita'. Id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius, ut prandium nobis videret. Tum Quintus: 'En', inquit mihi, 'haec ego patior cotidie'. 4. Dices: 'Quid, quaeso, istuc erat'? Magnum: itaque me ipsum commoverat: sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat. Dissimulavi dolens. Discubuimus omnes praeter illam, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit; illa reiecit. Quid multa? nihil meo fratre lenius, nihil asperius tua sorore mihi visum est, et multa praetereo, quae tum mihi maiori stomacho quam ipsi Quinto fuerunt. Ego inde Aquinum, Quintus in Arcano remansit et Aquinum ad me postridie mane venit mihique narravit nec secum illam dormire voluisse *et*, cum discessura esset, fuisse eius modi, qualem ego vidissem, Quid quaeris? Vel ipsi hoc dicas licet, humanitatem ei meo iudicio illo die defuisse. Haec ad te scripsi fortasse pluribus, quam necesse fuit, ut videres tuas quoque esse partes instituendi et monendi. 5. Reliquum est, ut ante quam proficiscare mandata nostra exhaurias, scribas ad me omnia, Pomptinum extrudas, cum profectus eris, cures ut sciam, sic habeas, nihil mehercule te mihi nec carius esse nec suavius. A. Torquatum amantissime dimisi Minturnis, optimum virum: cui me ad te scripsisse aliquid in sermone significes velim.

ex eo] 'all because Statius had gone on before us to see to dinner.' *Videre* in the sense of to 'see to, provide, look after,' is common enough in Cicero and the comic drama, *e.g.* Ter. Heaut., iii. 1, 50 (459), *aliud lenius sodes vide*. Perhaps this, too, is the right explanation of the verb in Juv. xiii. 57, *licet ipse videret plura domi fraga*. Munro conjectured *tu vides* for *tu bibes* in Hor. Carm. i. 20, 10, where *vides*, 'thou providest,' certainly supplies the required sense.

4. *sic absurde et aspere*] 'with such uncalled for acrimony.' This use of *sic* to express intensity with verbs and adjectives is found chiefly in Cicero, and the comic writers; *ita*, *tam*, *adeo*, are far more usual in this sense. This is another objection to the otherwise suspicious reading, *sic raro scribis*, in Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 1. For *absurde*, cp. Ep. liii. 9.

dissimulavi dolens] 'though I felt her conduct deeply, I did not let my feelings be seen.' *Dissimulavi* is used absolutely. *Dissimulavi dolens* would not be a correct alternative form of expression for *dissimulavi dolorem*.

de mensa misit] When Pomponia refused to take her seat at table (*discumbere*), Quintus sent her some food from the table (*de mensa misit*), which she refused.

5. *extrudas*] 'make my lieutenant Pomptinus leave Rome and come to me.' Cicero's three other *legati* were his brother Quintus, M. Anneius, and L. Tullius. We know nothing of Anneius and Tullius. Pomptinus was an old friend of Cicero; he had been a praetor during Cicero's consulate, and Cicero had proved his vigour and energy in the repressing of the Catilinarian conspiracy. We read of his being balked of his triumph (Ep. clii. 6; Ep. cliv. 4). Sallust calls him *homo militaris* (Cat. 45), and Cicero, no doubt, trusted to him and to his brother Quintus, to compensate for his own want of experience in military affairs.

me ad te scripsisse] 'I wish you would tell him I wrote to you about him.' Cicero wishes Atticus to repeat to Torquatus the warm expressions he has just used about him.

CLXXXV. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 2).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

De itineris sui ratione, de Hortensio, qui ad se in Cumanum venerit et mandata sua petierit, de Rufionis strategemate, qui ad se non venerit, sed in emporio Puteolanorum a se visus sit, de provincia sibi post annum non proroganda, de litteris ab Attico exspectatis et rumore de Transpadanis. Scripta epistola est in Pompeiano.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. vi. Id. Mai. cum has dabam litteras, ex Pompeiano proficiscebar, ut eo die manerem in Trebulano apud Pontium. Deinde cogitabam sine ulla mora iusta itinera facere. In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius: cui deposcenti mea mandata cetera universe mandavi, sed illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam. In quo eum tu velim confirmes gratumque mihi fecisse dicas, quod et venerit ad me et hoc mihi praetereaque si quid opus esset promiserit. Confirmavi ad eam causam etiam Furnium nostrum, quem ad annum tribunum pl. videbam fore. 2. Habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo, cum interim Rufio noster, quod se a Vestorio

1. *proficiscebar . . . manerem*] 'I am setting out from . . . and intend to spend the day'—a good example of epistolary tenses.

justa itinera] 'at the *regulation* rate of travelling.'

confirmes] 'keep him up to it.'

ad annum] 'for next year': cp. *ad diem*, Caes. B. G. ii. 5, and *ad Idus*, ib. i. 7. As tribune, he could veto the renewal of Cicero's tenure of his province.

2. *pusillam Romam*] 'a Rome in miniature.'

cum interim Rufio] C. Sempronius Rufus had borrowed (or perhaps had wrongful possession of) money from Vestorius, to whom (it would seem) he had been introduced by Cicero. We learn from a letter of Caelius to Cicero (Fam. viii. 8, 1, Ep. ccxxiii.) that this money was afterwards repaid to Vestorius by Rufus, who (apparently), not owning the debt, yet made the payment, alleging that he did so out of consideration for his introducer Cicero, whom he did not wish to compromise in any way. Caelius, in the letter referred to, writes—'I told the old story, how Rufus, out of consideration for you, allowed Vestorius to have a sum which he, Rufus, had no right to.' He ironically refers to the consideration shown by Rufus for Cicero in giving to Vestorius a sum—which he had no right whatever to keep from him—because Cicero had been, in a sense, his sponsor to Vestorius. Cicero afterwards (Ep. cclvi. 10) refers to this act of Rufus as a piece of εὐήθεια, and says he 'envies the faculty which Vestorius possesses' (perhaps of keeping Rufus at a distance). But we must suppose that the present letter refers to a time when Rufus still owed the money to Vestorius; else why should Vestorius have been watching him? No

observari videbat, στρατηγήματι hominem percussit. Nam ad me non accessit. Itane? cum Hortensius veniret et infirmus et tam longe et Hortensius, cum maxima praeterea multitudo, ille non venit? Non, inquam. Non vidisti igitur hominem, inquies? Qui potui non videre, cum per emporium Puteolanorum iter facerem? in quo illum agentem aliquid, credo, salutavi: post etiam iussi valere, cum me exiens e sua villa 'Numquid vellem' rogasset. Hunc hominem parum gratum quisquam putet? aut non in eo ipso laudandum, quod audiri non laborarit? 3. Sed redeo ad illud. Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse huius ingentis molestiae, nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis, tum scilicet, cum id agi debebit. Cum ex Epiro redieris, de re publica scribas ad me velim, si quid erit quod odorere. Nondum enim satis huc erat adlatum quo modo Caesar ferret de auctoritate perscripta, eratque rumor de Transpadanis, eos iussos IIII. viros creare. Quod si ita est, magnos motus timeo. Sed aliquid ex Pompeio sciam.

doubt, Vestorius wished to catch Rufus in the presence of Cicero, and then to seek to shame him into paying his debt, or agreeing to submit to the arbitration of Cicero. Rufus baffled him by a *ruse;* he did not go to pay his respects to Cicero, who here ironically asks, 'Does this show ingratitude on the part of Rufus for former favours from me? or is he not the more deserving of commendation for taking no steps to get his case submitted to me (*audiri*)'? *Laudari* for *audiri*, the reading of C accepted by Klotz and Boot, seems very hard to explain, unless the sentence could mean, 'Is he not the more to be commended for taking no steps to get from me the commendation which I owe him for not coming near me'? But this is very far-fetched. The passage would be clearer if we read *quod me a Vestorio observari videbat*. Vestorius would watch the house of Cicero to catch Rufus at the *salutatio*. The sequel of the passage appears to show that he did *not* watch the house of Rufus, who seems to have had chance meetings with Cicero, unobserved by Vestorius.

Rufio] 'my boy.' *Rufio* is the traditional name for a slave in Mil. 60, *Heus tu, Rufio, verbi causa*, 'Hullo, Ginger!' The ancient slave was represented on the stage as red-haired: cp. Ter. Phorm. i. 2, 1 (51), *Si quis me quaeret rufus.*

στρατηγήματι] 'a piece of generalship'; 'a *ruse*'. The word should certainly be given in Greek.

percussit] 'baffled', 'cheated': cp. *cum ferit astutos comica moecha Getas*, Prop. iv. (v.), 5, 44.

tam longe] from Bauli, where his villa was.

et Hortensius] 'and that man Hortensius'. Cp. *a tribuno plebis et a Curione tribuno*, 'and that tribune C.', Fam. ii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxxvii.; *gener et Piso gener*, Sest. 54.

numquid vellem] 'had I any commands'—the formula of leave-taking.

3. *auct. perscripta*] The bill of Marcellus the consul to recall Caesar from Gaul, and not allow him to be a candidate for the consulship in his absence; the bill was vetoed by the tribunes; hence it is called *auct. perscr.*, not *senatus consultum*.

iussos IIII. *viros creare*] Lit. 'that they have been directed to create *quattuorviri*.' These were municipal officers: cp. W. T. Arnold, *Rom. Prov. Adm.*, p.

CLXXXVI. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 3).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero acceptis in Trebulano apud Pontium Attici litteris de re publica ab eo edoceri cupit propter oppidanorum rumores: ad quas litteras sibi Atticus rescribi velit nescit. De Lentulo, de Dionysio, de Nicanore. Data est epistola a Pontio ex Trebulano a. d. v. Id. Mai.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. vi. Idus Maias veni in Trebulanum ad Pontium. Ibi mihi tuae litterae binae redditae sunt tertio abs te die: eodem autem exiens e Pompeiano Philotimo dederam ad te litteras. Nec vero nunc erat sane quod scriberem. Qui de re publica rumores scribe, quaeso. In oppidis enim summum video timorem, sed multa inania. Quid de his cogites et quando, scire velim. 2. Ad quas litteras tibi rescribi velis nescio. Nullas enim adhuc acceperam, praeter quae mihi binae simul in Trebulano redditae sunt, quarum altera edictum P. Licinii habebant, erant autem Nonis

221; the words therefore mean 'there is a report that the Transpadane Gauls are being encouraged to seek the *civitas*.' They now enjoyed the *ius Latii*. The giving of the Roman franchise to Transpadane Gaul was a favourite project of Caesar's. He carried it out two years after this time, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε, Dio Cass. xli. 36, 3.

1. *abs te*] 'after they left you.'

oppidis] the towns which Cicero passed in his journey to his province.

quid . . . velim] *De his* must refer to *oppidis*, because Atticus could not form an opinion about *multa inania* without knowing what the *multa inania* were. In *et quando* we have a strong case of ellipse, not, however, stronger than some examples given, vol. I[2] p. 70, and justified here by the risky nature of the matter here referred to. We must understand some such words as *timor erupturus sit*. What Cicero wants to know is, how Atticus interprets the feeling of alarm about the political outlook which seems to prevail in the Italian towns, and when this will declare itself by an open disavowal of Caesar or undisguised support of him. Possibly *de his* refers to *multa inania*, the purport of which Att. might be supposed to be able to conjecture. But there is nothing to daunt us in the supposed ellipse, when we consider the following examples:—nunc quid putas me Lanuvii (sc. *audire*)? At ego te istic cotidie aliquid novi (sc. *audire*) suspicor . . . . Nam cum Matius (sc. *talia loquatur*) quid censes ceteros (sc. *loqui*)? Att. xiv. 4, 1; spem triumphi? inquis (sc. *deponis* or *contemnis*), Fam. ii. 12, 3, Ep. ccxliii.; quid ergo? inquies: nihil litterae (sc. *consolantur*)? Att. xii. 46; sin quid (sc. *impedierit*) multa enim (sc. *sunt quae te impedire possint*), Att. xiii. 22, 4; Pisonem sicubi (sc. *conveneris*) de auro (sc. *conficias*), Att. xiii. 2, 1.

2. *edictum P. Licini*] No doubt a provincial edict from which Cicero wished to select some provisions for his own edict; in Att. vi. 1. 15, Ep. cclii., he speaks of an *edictum Asiaticum* of Q. Mucius.

Maiis datae, alterae rescriptae ad meas Minturnenses. Quam vereor ne quid fuerit σπουδαιότερον in iis, quas non accepi, quibus rescribi vis! 3. *Apud* Lentulum ponam te in gratia. Dionysius nobis cordi est. Nicanor tuus operam mihi dat egregiam. Iam deest quod scribam, et lucet. Beneventi cogitabam hodie. Nostra continentia diligentia † esse satis † faciemus satis. A Pontio, ex Trebulano a. d. v. Idus Maias.

CLXXXVII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 4).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se iam binas illas litteras, quarum mentionem fecisset in litteris superioribus accepisse Beneventi: ad has igitur illi de suis et aliorum rebus ac negotiis respondet. Scripta epistola est Beneventi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Beneventum veni a. d. v. Idus Maias: ibi accepi eas litteras, quas tu superioribus litteris significaveras te dedisse, ad quas ego ipso eo die dederam ex Trebulano a Pontio. Ac binas quidem tuas Beneventi accepi, quarum alteras Funisulanus multo mane mihi dedit, alteras scriba Tullius. Gratissima est mihi tua cura de illo meo primo et maximo mandato. Sed tua profectio spem meam debilitat. Ac de illo, illuc quidem labor non quo . . . sed inopia

σπουδαιότερον] Important, calling for immediate attention, *exigeant*.

3. *Beneventi*] There is no reason why we should write *Beneventum* against the reading of M. A verb of rest may be understood as well as a verb of motion: cp. *eo die cogitabam in Anagnino*, Att. xii. 1, 1; *in Tusculanum hodie, Lanuvii cras, inde Asturae cogitabam*, Att. xiv. 2, 4.

† *esse satis* †] Under these corrupt words there probably lurks the name of some person or persons, typical purists, whose severest views Cicero says he will meet in the purity of his administration: cp. Att. v. 20, 6, Ep. ccxxviii. Possibly Cicero wrote a Greek word, *e. g.* ἀηδεστάτοις, 'the hardest to please,' which, written in Latin characters (as often in the letters), might have been corrupted into *esse satis*.

1. *maximo mandato*] that Atticus should prevent a renewal of his term of provincial government. This is usually taken as referring to the subsequent question, the betrothal of Tullia; but I think the words are more suitable as applied to the one desire which is now always before Cicero's mind, and which finds expression in almost every letter—the desire to escape a renewal of his provincial government. The new subject, Tullia's betrothal, is introduced by *ac*. Lehmann (*Quaestiones Tullianae*, p. 63, 64) enumerates more than a dozen places in the letters where *Et* introduces a new subject. Here the conjunction used is *ac*.

Ac de illo] Dolabella, to whom Tullia was eventually married. The two contemplated husbands for Tullia were Dolabella and Servius Sulpicius. In v. 21, 14, Ep. ccl.,

cogimur eo contenti esse. De illo altero, quem scribis tibi visum esse non alienum, vereor adduci ut nostra possit, et tu ais δυσδιάγνωστον esse. Equidem sum facilis, sed tu aberis, et me absente res habebit mei rationem? Nam posset aliquid, si utervis nostrum adesset, agente Servilia, Servius fieri probabilis. Nunc, si iam res placeat, agendi tamen viam non video. 2. Nunc venio ad illam epistolam, quam accepi a Tullio. De Marcello fecisti diligenter. Igitur senatus consultum si erit factum, scribes ad me: sin minus, rem tamen *alteram* conficies. Mihi enim attribui oportebit, item Bibulo. Sed non dubito quin senatus consultum expeditum sit, in quo praesertim sit compendium populi. De Torquato probe. De

we read that Cicero agrees with Atticus in preferring the son of Postumia, Servius Sulpicius, 'since Pontidia (who was for Dolabella) seems not to be in earnest.' Again we find (vi. 1, 10, Ep. cclii.) that Atticus changes his mind, and writes: 'I wish you had gone to your own old party for a husband for Tullia' (Dolabella was an *eques*). To which Cicero replies: 'Your withdrawal of the advice of your former letter which Memmius brought to me (recommending Servius) caused no trouble. I much prefer Dolabella, backed by Pontidia, to Servius, backed by Servilia.' Servilia was the mother of M. Brutus, sister of Cato of Utica. Of Pontidia we know nothing, except that she seems to have approved of the suit of Dolabella.

labor] 'I am inclined that way (in favour of Dolabella); not that——but beggars must not be choosers.' He was going to say 'not that I look on Dolabella as a model suitor.' An *aposiopesis* very like this occurs in Fam. vi. 4, 1, *equidem cum haec scribebam aliquid iam actum putabam non quo——sed quod difficilis erat coniectura.* For the sense of *labor* cp. *ne labar ad opinionem*, Acad. ii. 138; *labor eo ut adsentiar Epicuro*, ibid. 139; *eo delabi*, ibid, 59; *delabor ad Clodiam*, Att. xii. 47, 1.

illo altero] Servius Sulpicius.

vereor] 'I fear our Tullia could not be induced to accept him.'

δυσδιάγνωστον] 'not a pin to choose.' Cicero does not care much for either suitor. Greek often answers to our slang in the letters of Cicero: see I², p. 67.

res . . . rationem] Cicero uses playfully an expression which was then in the mouth of everyone, *Caesaris absentis habebimus rationem?* Cicero asks, 'will the affair, in my absence, shape itself as if I were present'? (take account of me). He seems to think it will not.

nam posset] 'if either of us were present Servius might be made, to some extent, acceptable to her,' the repugnance to which he has above referred might be overcome. For *aliquid* 'to some extent,' cp. *aliquid suscensere*, Deiot. 35; *perlucens iam aliquid, incerta tamen lux*, Liv. xli. 2, 4. Perhaps we should read *aliqui* or *aliqua*, which in the comic drama mean 'somehow.' The common reading *posset aliquid. . . Servio fieri probabile* must be wrong, because Servius was willing. The somewhat strange use of *aliquid* must have given rise to the corruption.

si iam] = *etiamsi*: cp. Tusc. i. 50; iv. 65, 75, Boot.

2. *De Marcello*] See Fam. iii. 3, 1, Ep. cxci., where we read that the senate had formed an almost unanimous opinion that the troops at the disposal of Cicero and of Bibulus, governors of Cilicia and Syria, should be largely augmented in view of an approaching rising of the Parthians. Sulpicius the consul had opposed this project. Atticus had made interest with the other consul, Marcellus, to support it.

rem tamen] The *rem* must refer to the *money* grant as distinct from the reinforcement of the army. But this is not in the text as it stands. Unaltered, *rem* would refer to the reinforcement. We have therefore inserted *alteram*, making *rem tamen alteram*, the 'money grant,' as distinct from the reinforcement: *tamen* and *alteram* would be palaeographically very similar.

attribui] 'a grant in money ought to be made,' Att. xiii. 2, 1.

compendium] Cicero says that the strengthening of the provincial armies

Masone et Ligure, cum venerint. De illo, quod Chaerippus: quoniam hic quoque πρόσνευσιν sustulisti, o provincia! etiamne hic mihi curandus est? Curandus autem hactenus, ne quid ad senatum 'consule' aut 'numera'! Nam de ceteris . . . Sed tamen

contemplated by the *Senatus consultum* would be 'a public saving' (*si vis pacem para bellum*), and therefore he does not doubt that there will be no difficulty.

Torquato] See Ep. clxxxv. *fin.*

De illo quod Chaerippus] There were two ways of passing a *senatus-consultum* according to Gellius (xiv. 7, 9): 'senatus consultum fieri duobus modis aut per discessionem, si consentiretur, aut, si res dubia esset, per singulorum sententias exquisitas.' With regard to the former of these, Gellius says in another passage (iii. 18, 2): 'cum senatus consultum per discessionem fiebat, nonne universi senatores sententiam pedibus ferebant'? that is, there were no speeches, only voting: cp. Dio. Cass., xli. 2: *διαψηφίσεως δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα (μὴ καὶ δι' αἰδῶ ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα σφίσιν ἀποφήνωνται) ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Πομπήϊον οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐψηφίσατο.*

In certain matters (such as appeared absolutely imperative, or of little importance or interest, or mere matters of routine) the presiding magistrate might naturally suppose that none of the senators would dissent, and he would proceed to put the matter to the vote at once without any debate. However, any member who wished, honestly or dishonestly, for a discussion, could demand one; and this he did by the word '*consule*': cp. Trebellius Pollio *Triginta Tyranni* 21. Arellius Fuscus, consularis primae sententiae, qui ad locum Valeriani successerat, ait, 'Consul, consule'; cumque consultus esset 'Divinos' inquit 'honores Pisoni decerno.' This points to a correction of the text in Festus, p. 170, Müller, where the methods of obstruction in the senate are stated. There we should read, 'numera senatum [vel divide, vel consule senatum]. ait quivis senator consuli cum impedimento vult esse quominus faciat senatus consultum postulatque, aut ut res quae adferuntur dividantur, aut singuli consulantur, aut si tot non sint senatores quo numero liceat praescribi senatus consultum. . . .' For *divide*, cp. Cic. Mil. 14, and Asconius ad loc., pp. 44, 45, Orell. Evidence need scarcely be adduced to prove that a minimum of senators was required to make a house, e. g. Sctum. de Bacchanalibus, l. 18, *dum ne minus senatoribus C. adesent quom ea res cosoleretur*; Liv. xlii. 28, 9: but that the practice of counting out the house was a common piece of obstructive tactics requires proof, and for this we may refer to what Caelius tells us (Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvii.) about Hirrus, who 'cum de hostiis ageretur et posset rem impedire, si ut numeraretur postularet, tacuit.' That *consule* was used in obstruction rests, as far as direct evidence is concerned, on our passage and on the statement of Festus as corrected.

What Cicero then means is—We must see after Chaerippus to this extent at all events, that at the Senate there be no 'debate the matter,' or 'count out the house,' the former method of obstruction being the one which would be employed in a full house, the latter in a small one. Cicero wants the motion to be passed, as a matter of course, entirely or almost without a debate.

Chaerippus, who may have been the Chaerippus in Quintus Cicero's retinue in Asia (Q. Fr. i. 1, 14, Ep. xxx.), appears to have asked Cicero, through Atticus, to do something for him, probably in Asia; and Cicero says he must needs do it for him, as otherwise Chaerippus might be able to get some obstruction raised in the house when the question comes on whether the tenure of Cicero's governorship is to be prolonged for another year or not. This is, doubtless, the motion Cicero is thinking of, not that about the grant of forces; for the latter was coming on immediately, if it had not been already discussed; see above, *non dubito quin senatus consultum expeditum sit* ('has been got clean through').

quoniam hic quoque] 'since you have suppressed your own *penchant* in this matter too,' *i. e.* have given me no hint what you wish me to do.

Nam de ceteris] 'about any others, not being senators, whom Chaerippus might prejudice against me, I care not.'

commode, cum quod Scrofa. De Pomptino, recte scribis. Est enim ita, ut, si ante Kal. Iunias Brundisii futurus sit, minus urgendi fuerint M. Anneius et L. Tullius. 3. Quae de Sicinio audisti, ea mihi probantur, modo ne illa exceptio in aliquem incurrat bene de nobis meritum. Sed considerabimus: rem enim probo. De nostro itinere quod statuero, de quinque praefectis quid Pompeius facturus sit cum ex ipso cognoro, faciam ut scias. De Oppio bene curasti, quod ei de DCCC. exposuisti: idque, quoniam Philotimum habes, perfice; et cognosce rationem, et, ut agam amplius, si me amas, prius quam proficiscaris effice: magna me cura levaris. 4. Habes ad omnia. Etsi paene praeterii chartam tibi deese: mea captio est, si quidem eius inopia minus multa ad me scribis. Tu vero aufer ducentos, etsi meam in eo parsimoniam

quod cum Scrofa] sc. *locutus es*. Atticus had had some interview with Scrofa, at which Cicero expresses his satisfaction. *Sed tamen* means 'though Scrofa is not a senator, and though I have just said I only care about keeping senators in good humour with me, *yet*, I am glad you arranged matters with Scrofa.'

est enim ita] 'it comes to this: if Pomptinus is sure to be at Brundisium before June, the other two *legati* need not be so hurried to leave Rome.'

3. *Sicinio*] We read of an *edictum Licinii* in the last letter. But it would be rash to read *Licinio* here. Sicinius had advised Cicero to introduce a certain *restriction* or *limitation* of some clause in his edict which Cicero says he will introduce, provided it does not bear heavily on any one who has obliged him. *Exceptio* is here used in its broad sense, not in the sense of 'an equitable plea,' on the part of the defendant, as, for instance, some counter-claim on the plaintiff in a suit for the recovery of a debt.

quod statuero] 'I shall let you know what course I make up my mind to adopt as regards my route.' There is no reason why we should change *quod* to *cum* with Or. Indeed *statuere* used absolutely, 'to make up one's mind,' would need defence.

quinque praefectis] five *praefecti* whom Pompeius was about to appoint in Spain, or in *each of the two* Spains (which he held as his province after his third consulship), as we may infer from the use of the distributive numeral *quinis* in v. 7, Ep. cxc. The office of *praefectus* carried with it certain privileges, for instance, exemption from serving on juries, a much coveted privilege, as may be gathered from Brut. 117. For further remarks on the *praefecti*, see Addenda

exposuisti] 'explained the transaction.' The edd. omit *de* of the MSS, and give an extraordinary meaning to *exponere*. See on Att. v. 1, 2, Ep. clxxxiv.

Philotimum] Terentia's freedman.

ut agam amplius] These words cannot mean *ut locupletior sim, ne sim in angustiis*, as Gron., approved by Boot, explains them. *Agere* does not mean 'to live,' 'to be.' The words do not depend on *effice*, which means the same as *perfice* in the line before. *Ut agam amplius* is 'to go further in my appeal to you,' by asking you, not only to settle the debt to Cæsar, but to settle it before you leave Rome. The passage has been variously amended: see Adn. Crit. But *ut agam amplius* is quite right when rightly explained: cp. *quid quaerat amplius*, Acad. ii. 19; *amplius non desideramus*, Ibid. 81; *quaeris quid pro liberis meis amplius quam pro Plancio facio facere possem*, Planc. 69.

4. *captio*] 'loss,' found in this sense only in the comic drama. This is quite sufficient defence for the usage, and it is not necessary to read *cautio*, 'it is my look-out,' as many editions do.

ducentos] *sestertios ad emendam chartam de mea pecunia: iocose*, Ern.; *scapos papyri*, Boot; perhaps it would be better to read *ducentas* (sc. *chartas*), with Wes. Or., as *chartas* is certainly the word which would naturally be understood in agreement with the numeral. Preserving *ducentos*, we

huius paginae contractio significat, dum acta et rumores vel etiam, si qua certa habes de Caesare, exspecto: litteras et aliis *et* Pomptino de omnibus rebus diligenter dabis.

CLXXXVIII. TO ATTICUS (ATT. V. 5).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico significat sibi scribendi materiem paene nullam esse, ipsius litteris Brundisii se exspectare de rebus omnibus, scire vult quo suas ad Atticum litteras mittat, suasque res ei commendat. Scripsit Venusiae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Plane deest quod scribam. Nam nec quod mandem habeo—nihil enim praetermissum est—nec quod narrem—novi enim nihil—nec iocandi locus est: ita me multa sollicitant. Tantum tamen scito, Idibus Maiis nos Venusia mane proficiscentes has dedisse. Eo autem die credo aliquid actum in senatu. Sequantur igitur nos tuae litterae, quibus non modo res omnes, sed etiam rumores cognoscamus. Eas accipiemus Brundisii. Ibi enim Pomptinum ad eam diem, quam tu scripsisti, exspectare consilium est. 2. Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγους de re publica habuerimus ad te perscribemus, etsi id ipsum scire cupio, quod ad tempus recte ad te scribere possim, id est, quam diu Romae futurus sis, ut aut quo dem posthac litteras sciam aut ne dem frustra. Sed ante quam proficiscare, utique explicatum sit illud *de* HS. xx. et DCCC. Hoc

might regard it as agreeing with *chartas*, in accordance with its archaic gender. The Greek form of the word was χάρτης, -ου masc.; and Non. 196, 17, writes '*chartam generis feminini*: masculini Lucilius, lib. xxvii.', where L. Müller gives *ubi nunc Socratici charti*, but prob. *Socratici chartae* is the true reading. For *aufer* = 'get, take,' cp. *a quo adhuc* 'Ηρακλείδειον *illud non abstuli*, Att. xvi. 11, 3, and (the best instance) Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 236. *Aufer a me* would have been clearer.

contractio] 'contracted writing,' as usually explained; more accurately 'the shortness of this page': to spare his paper he had used a shorter sheet than usual and written smaller.

1. *nec iocandi*] Cicero here intimates what he thinks ought to be the ingredients of a letter. The fact that he looks on his letters as natural vehicles for banter constitutes much of their difficulty. We shall hardly ever go wrong in ascribing to Cicero a jest in his letters, especially if it take the form of a play on a name: see on Att. v. 20, 4, Ep. ccxxviii.

2. διαλόγους] 'cracks,' or '*causeries*'; cp. Att. ii. 9, 1, Ep. xxxvi.

recte] 'up to what date I can safely write to you to Rome.'

HS. xx. *et* DCCC.] The HS xx = 20,000 sesterces. Boot suspects this to be the interest on the large sum 800,000 sesterces.

velim in maximis rebus et maxime necessariis habeas, ut, quod auctore te velle coepi, adiutore adsequar.

CLXXXIX. TO ATTICUS (ATT. V. 6).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Tarentum venisse et plures dies cum Cn. Pompeio se futurum, tum de litterarum commercio, quam ob rem cupit tempus profectionis Attici cognoscere. Scripta epistola est Tarenti.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tarentum veni a. d. xv. Kal. Iunias. Quod Pomptinum statueram exspectare commodissimum duxi dies eos, quoad ille veniret, cum Pompeio consumere, eoque magis, quod ei gratum esse id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit ut secum et apud se essem cotidie: quod concessi libenter. Multos enim eius praeclaros de re publica sermones accipiam, instruar etiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc nostrum negotium. 2. Sed ad te brevior iam in scribendo incipio fieri, dubitans Romaene sis an iam profectus. Quod tamen quoad ignorabo, scribam aliquid potius quam committam ut tibi, cum possint reddi a me litterae, non reddantur. Nec tamen iam habeo quod aut mandem tibi aut narrem. Mandavi omnia, quae quidem tu, ut polliceris, exhauries: narrabo, cum aliquid habebo novi. Illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse putabo, de Caesaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Avide exspecto tuas litteras et maxime, ut norim tempus profectionis tuae.

velle coepi] Atticus had, no doubt, suggested to Cicero that he ought not to remain in Cæsar's debt.

1. *hoc nostrum negotium*] His provincial government.

2. *committam ut*] 'run the risk of.'

rogare] The omission of *te* is characteristic of Cicero's epistolary style: cp. Fam. iii. 1, 3, Ep. clxxxi.; xiii. 57, 2; Att. xii. 6, 2; xii. 22, 3. So *me* should not be inserted before *delectarunt*, Att. iv. 16, 1, Ep. cxliv., nor *te* before *detineat* in Att. iv. 15, 2, Ep. cxliii.: cp. *numquam enim Curio sustinuisset*, Att. vii. 7, 5, Ep. ccxcviii.

CXC. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 7).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero ad Atticum de sermonibus cum Cn. Pompeio habitis breviter scribit, quod eum iam esse profectum in Epirum suspicatur, Tarenti proficiscens Brundisium.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cotidie vel potius in dies singulos breviores litteras ad te mitto. Cotidie enim magis suspicor te in Epirum iam profectum. Sed tamen, ut mandatum scias me curasse quo de ante; ait se Pompeius quinos praefectos delaturum novos vacationis iudiciariae causa. Ego cum triduum cum Pompeio et apud Pompeium fuissem, proficiscebar Brundisium a. d. XII. Kal. Iunias. Civem illum egregium relinquebam et ad haec, quae timentur, propulsanda paratissimum. Tuas litteras exspectabo, cum ut quid agas tum *ut* ubi sis sciam.

quotidie vel potius in dies singulos] See on Ep. xxvi. 7.

quo de ante] sc. *ad me scripsisti*. The position of the preposition is characteristic of the letters. For the ellipse see p. 12, above, and I², p. 70. Atticus, no doubt, wished to secure the position of *praefectus* for some friend of his.

ait . . . causa] 'Pompeius says he will appoint five new *praefecti* in each of the Spains, to secure them immunity from serving on juries.' The appointment probably involved no duties, but was a bit of patronage in the hands of the provincial governor. The reading in the text is Madvig's: for various other attempts to emend, see Adn. Crit. Pliny, in a letter to Trajan, refers to a case where Flavius Archippus sought this privilege: *cum citarem iudices, Domine, conventum inchoaturus, Flavius Archippus vacationem petere coepit ut philosophus*, Epp. x. 58 (66), 1.

proficiscebar . . . relinquebam] 'I am setting out and leaving,' that is, 'I am going to set out and leave.' See on Att. v. 17, 1, Ep. ccix.

CXCI. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, Proconsul in Cilicia (Fam. iii. 3).

IX. KAL. IUN.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero scribit se ex Q. Fabio legato Appii audivisse eum adhuc integrum militum numerum habere: quapropter cum sibi supplementa a senatu decerni Sulpicius consul negavisset, eum rogat, ut integrum militum numerum sibi tradat. Ipse se fere Kalendis Iuniis, si navigandi facultas detur, esse profecturum significat. Scripta epistola est Brundisii.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. A. d. xi. Kalendas Iunias Brundisium cum venissem, Q. Fabi*us Vergili*anus legatus tuus mihi praesto fuit eaque me ex tuis mandatis monuit, quae non mihi, ad quem pertinebant, sed universo senatui venerant in mentem, praesidio firmiori opus esse ad istam provinciam. Censebant enim omnes fere, ut in Italia supplementum meis et Bibuli legionibus scriberetur. Id cum Sulpicius consul passurum se negaret, multa nos quidem questi sumus, sed tantus consensus senatus fuit, ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit: itaque fecimus. Nunc, quod a te petii litteris iis, quas Romae tabellariis tuis dedi, velim tibi curae sit, ut, quae successori coniunctissimo et amicissimo commodare potest is, qui provinciam tradit, ut ea pro nostra consociatissima voluntate cura ac diligentia tua complectare, ut omnes intellegant nec me benevolentiori cuiquam succedere nec te amiciori potuisse provinciam tradere. 2. Ex iis litteris, quarum ad me exemplum misisti, quas in senatu recitari voluisti, sic intellexeram, permultos a te milites esse dimissos, sed mihi Fabius idem demonstravit te id cogitasse facere, sed cum

1. *Q. Fabius Vergilianus*] See Crit. Notes, and cp. Fam. iii. 4, 1, Ep. cxciv.

Bibuli] As not having taken any province after his consulship in 695 (59), he too had to draw lots for a province in accordance with Pompeius's law.

sed tantus . . . proficisceremur] 'so unanimous was the feeling of the senate in favour of our setting out speedily.'

ut . . . ut] cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 38, Ep. xxx.

nec me benevolentiori . . . tradere] 'that I could not have a more kindly predecessor, and that you could not hand over the province to a more friendly successor.'

2. *cogitasse*] This is the emphatic word. The first news was that the soldiers had been discharged. But Fabius has pointed out that you had had *some intention* of doing so, but had not done so at the time of his departure.

ipse a te discederet, integrum militum numerum fuisse. Id si ita est, pergratum mihi feceris, si istas exiguas copias, quas habuisti, quam minime imminueris: qua de re senatus consulta, quae facta sunt, ad te missa esse arbitror. Equidem pro eo, quanti te facio, quidquid feceris approbabo, sed te quoque confido ea facturum, quae mihi intelleges maxime esse accommodata. Ego C. Pomptinum legatum meum Brundisii exspectabam, eumque ante Kalendas Iunias Brundisium venturum arbitrabar. Qui cum venerit, quae primum navigandi nobis facultas data erit, utemur.

CXCII. FROM CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 1).

BETWEEN IX. KAL. AND KAL. IUN.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius mittit ad M. Ciceronem Ciliciae procos. commentarium rerum urbanarum et se excusat, quod eum non ipse confecerit. Addit de comitiis Transpadanorum, de successione Galliarum, de Cn. Pompeio, de C. Caesare et Domitio, de M. Cicerone et Q. Pompeio, de Planco, de Ciceronis libris politicis. Scripta haec epistola est Romae.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Quod tibi decedenti pollicitus sum, me omnes res urbanas diligentissime tibi perscripturum, data opera paravi qui sic omnia persequeretur, ut verear ne tibi nimium arguta haec sedulitas videatur. Tametsi tu scio quam sis curiosus et quam omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit minimarum quoque rerum, quae domi

pro eo quanti te facio] 'in virtue of the high estimation I hold you in': cp. *pro imperio*, Liv. i. 51, 2; *pro tua prudentia considerabis*, Fam. iv. 10, 2; *pro eo quod*, De Orat. ii. 75: cp. Roby, § 2074.

accommodata] 'helpful.'

1. *decedenti*] 'leaving town': cp. viii. 10, 5, Ep. ccxxvi. Except in these passages of Caelius we do not know of any place where *decedere* is used absolutely in this sense. It is, therefore, uncertain whether we should consider this a peculiar usage of Caelius or alter to *discedenti*.

data opera] A somewhat archaic form of the more usual *dedita opera* = 'intentionally.' 'I deliberately procured a man to describe *everything* so very fully, that I fear his efforts in this direction may seem to you rather long-winded.' The expression is careless. Fully expressed it should be: 'I got a man to describe everything, and he did so in such great detail that, &c.' For *data opera*, Becher compares Dig. 29, 5, 1, 37, *dicendum est parci eis debere nisi si ipsi sibi vulnera ista fecerunt data opera ne punirentur:* also 4, 7, 1 pr.: 9, 2, 9, 4; Plin. Epp. vii. 12. 6. For *argutus* in the sense of 'very detailed,' almost 'garrulous,' see Att. vi. 5, 1, Ep. cclxix., *velim obvias mihi litteras quam argutissimas de omnibus rebus crebro mittas.*

gerantur, fieri certiores, tamen in hoc te deprecor, ne meum hoc officium adrogantiae condemnes, quod hunc laborem alteri delegavi, non quin mihi suavissimum sit et occupato et ad litteras scribendas, ut tu nosti, pigerrimo tuae memoriae dare operam, sed ipsum volumen, quod tibi misi, facile, ut ego arbitror, me excusat. Nescio quoius otii esset non modo perscribere haec, sed omnino animadvertere: omnia enim sunt ibi senatus consulta, edicta, fabulae, rumores: quod exemplum si forte minus te delectarit, ne molestiam tibi cum impensa mea exhibeam, fac me certiorem. 2. Si quid in re publica maius actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quem ad modum actum sit et quae existimatio secuta quaeque de eo spes sit diligenter tibi perscribemus. Ut nunc est, nulla magno opere exspectatio est. Nam et illi rumores de comitiis Transpadanorum Cumarum tenus caluerunt: Romam cum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi. Praeterea Marcellus, quod adhuc nihil rettulit de successione provinciarum Galliarum et in Kalendas Iunias, ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem, sane quam eos sermones expressit, qui de eo tum fuerunt, cum Romae nos essemus. 3. Tu si

meum hoc officium] 'not to stigmatise as supercilious the way I have fulfilled this duty in that I have deputed,' &c. This sense of *officium*, viz. performance of duty, is found chiefly in writers of the Empire.

ad litteras scribendas . . . pigerrimo] 'A wretchedly bad correspondent.'

tuae memoriae] 'to memories of you.'

volumen] 'packet'; *misi* 'herewith send,' epistolary perfect.

quoius] For this archaic form see critical note; and cf. Fam. viii. 2, 1, Ep. cxcvi.; 2, 8, Ep. ccxxiii.; 12, 2, Ep. cclxxix.

non modo . . . sed] Without *etiam* or *modo*, cp. Fam. v. 16, 1; Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2, Ep. cii.; Mil. 66; Off. i. 99. It is not true, as it is sometimes stated, that when *etiam* is omitted, there is a descent from a more extensive to a less extensive idea, cp. (besides the passages quoted above) Fam. i. 6, 1; Ep. civ., *non solum interfuit sed praefuit*, Dräger, ii. 103.

animadvertere] 'to look over them.'

fabulae] 'gossip.'

ne molestiam] 'lest I should spend money in boring you.'

2. *operarii*] 'clerks.'

spes sit] All MSS read *est*, which must be altered to *sit*. Note *spes* used in the neutral sense of 'expectation entertained about it.'

nulla magno opere expectatio est] 'interest is not very keen on any topic.' For *magno opere* in negative sentences, cf. Liv. i. 17, 1; iii. 26, 3; Att. iv. 16, 6, Ep. cxliv.

comitiis Transpadanis] See Att. v. 2, fin., Ep. clxxxv.

Cumarum tenus caluerunt] 'kept up their heat only as far as Cumae.'

ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem] 'not even the slightest whisper.' This is the regular word for 'hearsay,' (cf. Nägelsbach, p. 181, for such words in *-io*.)

de successione Galliarum] that Cæsar should give up his provinces on March 1st, 49. This was the persistent demand of the republican party in their proceedings to bring matters to a crisis with Cæsar.

expressit] 'wrung from people those criticisms about himself which had been made when we were in Rome,' viz. that he had no energy: cp. viii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxxvi. *Nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit* (Hoffm.). The subjunctive is often used with *cum* after *tum*, *nunc*, &c. where we should rather have expected the

Pompeium, ut volebas offendisti, qui tibi visus sit et quam orationem habuerit tecum quamque ostenderit voluntatem—solet enim aliud sentire et loqui neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat—fac mihi perscribas. 4. Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores, sed susurratores dumtaxat veniunt: alius equitem perdidisse, quod, opinor, certe fictum est: alius septimam legionem vapulasse, ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi interclusum ab reliquo exercitu: neque adhuc certi quidquam est neque haec incerta tamen vulgo iactantur, sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti, palam secreto narrantur: at Domitius, cum manus ad os apposuit. 5. Te a. d. IX. Kal. Iunias subrostrani—quod illorum capiti sit!—dissiparant perisse: urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuit te a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum. Ego, qui scirem Q. Pompeium Baulis

indicative: cf. Att. v. 11, 7, Ep. cc., *tum videlicet datas cum ego me non belle haberem*, Fam. xiii. 16, 1. *Apollonium iam tum equidem cum ille viveret et magis faciebam et probabam*, and Dräger, ii. 576. *Expressit* could hardly mean '*reproduced*' in the sense of '*justified*.'

3. *Pompeium*] who was at Tarentum.

solet . . . cupiat] 'For his wont is to think one thing and say another, and not to have sufficient adroitness to conceal his aims.' It is rare to find *aliud . . . et;* yet cf. Caecin. 57, Off. ii. 61, and Dräger, ii. 29. On the insincerity of Pompeius, Manutius refers to Att. iv. 9, Ep. cxxii.; Q. Fr. iii. 8, 4, Ep. clix., *Velit nolit scire difficile est:* cp. vol. ii. p. xxxiii.

4. *Quod ad Caesarem*] sc. *attinet*. For this omission Hoffmann refers to Verr. i. 116, *quod id ad praetorem uter possessor sit*, De Orat ii. 139, and Att. i. 13, 6, Ep. xix.; Dig. 41, 1, 3, 1.

belli] 'pleasant,' 'nice.' There is always a slight touch of colloquialism about this word.

susurratores] 'croakers,' or 'whispering messengers.'

equitem] The collective use of *eques* for 'the cavalry,' is not Ciceronian. Hoffmann thinks that Caelius here intends a joke, taking equitem in the sense of 'a single horseman.'

vapulasse] This word is never used in Cicero of troops being beaten, but is sometimes so used in Livy. It, too, is somewhat colloquial, 'were thrashed.'

Bellovaci] They lived about the modern Beauvais. The modern names of French towns are derived partly from names of clans (especially in the north), partly from the names of cities; in Spain and Britain wholly from the names of cities: cf. Merivale, iv. 132.

neque iactantur] 'nor are these, uncertain though they are, yet generally talked about.' This use of *iactari* without any sense of 'boasting' attached is common in Livy, i. 50, 2; x. 46, 16: cp. Caes. B. G. i. 18, 1. For another much less common use of *iactari*, see note on Ep. cxxii. 1.

palam secreto] 'as an open secret.' Compare perhaps *aperte tecte* 'with obvious guardedness,' Att. i. 14, 4, Ep. xx.: if we are to not take that 'openly *or* covertly,' as Hoffmann does, comparing for the asyndeton *serius ocius*. There is no *certain* intelligence of the disaster, and no prevalent talk about the mere reports which have arrived: amongst some few they are talked about as an open secret, but Domitius makes a wonderful mystery about them.

cum manus ad os apposuit] the gesture of one telling a secret. Understand some such words as *tum demum narrat*.

5. *subrostrani*] idlers about the *rostra:* cp. *subbasilicani*, Plaut. Capt. iv. 2, 35; *columnarii*, Fam. viii. 9, 5, Ep. ccxi.

illorum] So the MSS. Wesenberg reads (*Em. Alt.*, p. 18) *ipsorum*, in opposition to *te*. More probably we should read *illorum ipsorum*.

Q. Pompeio] sc. *Rufo*. He was a violent opponent of Milo's, and accordingly an enemy of Cicero's also, against whom he

iam πεινητικὴν facere, et usque eo, ut ego misererer eius, esurire, non sum commotus, et hoc mendacio, si qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut defungeremur optavi. Plancus quidem tuus Ravennae est et magno congiario donatus a Caesare nec beatus nec bene instructus est. Tui πολιτικοὶ libri omnibus vigent. . . .

excited great odium on the occasion of the trial of Milo. He was accused *de vi*, on account of his harangues to the people on the occasion when they burned Clodius's body in the Senate-house, and in so doing burned down the Basilica Porcia. Pompeius did not support him on the trial as he ought to have done (Momms. *R. H.*, iv. 326).

iam πεινητικὴν facere] sc. τέχνην. This is, perhaps, the most reasonable emendation of the corrupt reading of the MSS *embeneticam*. It may mean 'is doing Banting' (cp. *Introduction* to vol. I², p. 67). It is true that Caelius does not much affect Greek words, but Greek was the regular language for the prescriptions of physicians. However we are not quite sure that there is not an allusion to the saying of Pompeius to Marcellinus, when the latter attacked the former, that it was owing to him that Marcellinus had become ἐμετικὸς ἐκ πεινητικοῦ (Plutarch, Pomp. 51 fin.). No reader of Plutarch need be reminded how often he relates sayings, stating in addition that they were uttered in Greek, even ἀνερρίφθω κύβος (Plut. Pomp. 60). The reortt on Marcellinus was doubtless on the lips of everyone, and in allusion to it perhaps Caelius says of Rufus πεινητικὴν *facere*, that he is now in the most abject state of poverty and starving. An annotator, thinking of *esurire* and the Roman practice of vomiting (cp. Att. xiii. 52, 1, ἐμετικὴν *agebat*) put ἐμε above πεινη, and the two ran together.

esurire] So the MSS. There is no necessity to read *esuriei*.

et hoc . . . optavi] 'and I prayed that at the cost of this lie we might get rid of whatever danger hung over you.' For abl. instrum. after *defungi*, see Livy, ii. 35, 3, *adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius poena defungendum esset patribus*.

Plancus tuus] 'Your friend, Plancus': irony, for T. Munatius Plancus was an associate of Q. Pompeius, and a bitter enemy of Cicero. At the trial of this Plancus, Pompeius, in violation of his own laws, appeared as a *laudator*, or witness to the character of Plancus; yet Plancus was condemned. His brother, L. Plancus, was a lieutenant of Cæsar's in Gaul.

non beatus] 'neither rich nor even well-to-do.'

πολιτικοί] *Politici* is not a Latin word. Nägelsbach (p. 22) shows that wherever the idea 'political' occurs in Latin, it is expressed by a periphrasis, *civilis et popularis*, some combination with *respublica* or the like. In De Orat. iii. 109 it is expressly used as a Greek term. We have accordingly printed it in Greek characters. The books referred to are the six books *De Republica*, begun in 54; also, probably, the *De Legibus*, written in 52.

omnibus vigent] 'are popular with all parties': cp. *gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigebamus, amissis*, Fam. vii. 33, 1.

CXCIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 8).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Brundisio post longiorem commorationem cursum exspectans Attico exponit quibus de causis Philotimum in bonis Milonis socium esse voluisset: quod si molestum illi sit, et si idem Fausta uxor Milonis velit, recedere posse Philotimum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me et incommoda valetudo, *e* qua iam emerseram, utpote cum sine febri laborassem, et Pomptini exspectatio, de quo adhuc ne rumor quidem venerat, tenebat duodecimum iam diem Brundisii, sed cursum exspectabamus. 2. Tu, si modo es Romae—vix enim puto—, sin es, hoc vehementer animadvertas velim. Roma acceperam litteras, Milonem meum queri per litteras iniuriam meam, quod Philotimus socius esset in bonis suis. Id ego ita fieri volui de C. Duronii sententia, quem et amicissimum Miloni perspexeram et talem virum, qualem tu iudicas, cognoram. Eius autem consilium meumque hoc fuerat, primum ut in potestate nostra esset res, ne illum malus emptor alienus mancipiis, quae permulta secum habet, spoliaret, deinde, ut Faustae, cui cautum ille esse voluisset, ratum esset. Erat etiam illud, ut ipsi nos, si quid servari posset, quam facillime servaremus. 3. Nunc rem totam perspicias velim. Nobis enim scribuntur saepe maiora. Si ille queritur, si scribit ad amicos, si idem Fausta vult, Philotimus, ut ego ei coram dixeram mihique ille receperat, ne sit invito

1. *utpote cum*] 'as there were no feverish symptoms in my ailment.'

cursum] 'an opportunity to sail.'

2. *in bonis suis*] sc. *emendis.*

in potestate nostra res esset] 'to keep a hold over Milo's property.' Philotimus became one of the joint purchasers of Milo's property, lest if it fell into the control of a purchaser ill-disposed to Milo, that purchaser might claim, as part of the estate, the large number of slaves which Milo had taken with him when he went into exile at Massilia. Philotimus also wished to secure the marriage portion of Fausta, the wife of Milo (daughter of Sulla). *Male emere* means 'to buy a thing dear,' but *malus emptor* here refers to a purchaser who, being a stranger to Milo (*alienus*), would be the more likely to drive a hard bargain.

3. *maiora*] sc. *vero*, 'exaggerated'; so elsewhere *leviora* is 'less serious' than they have been represented.

Milone in bonis: nihil nobis fuerat tanti: sin haec leviora sunt, tu iudicabis: loquere cum Duronio. Scripsi etiam ad Camillum, ad Lamiam, eoque magis, quod non confidebam Romae te esse. Summa erit haec: statues, ut ex fide, fama reque mea videbitur.

CXCIV. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, PROCONSUL IN CILICIA (FAM. III. 4).

NON. IUL.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Exspectare se scribit L. Clodium cum mandatis Appii. Suum studium pollicetur, cuius causas exponit.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. Pridie Nonas Iunias, cum essem Brundisii, litteras tuas accepi, quibus erat scriptum te L. Clodio mandasse, quae illum mecum loqui velles. Eum sane exspectabam, ut ea, quae a te adferret, quam primum cognoscerem. Meum studium erga te et officium tametsi multis iam rebus spero tibi esse cognitum, tamen in iis maxime declarabo, quibus plurimum significare potuero tuam mihi existimationem et dignitatem carissimam esse. Mihi et Q. Fabius Vergilianus et C. Flaccus L. F. et diligentissime M. Octavius Cn. F. demonstravit me a te plurimi fieri: quod egomet multis argumentis iam antea iudicaram maximeque illo LIBRO

nihil . . . tanti] 'nothing would compensate for offending Milo.' This is certainly the meaning of the phrase here, though Madvig and Boot explain 'at the time of the transaction I had not paid any attention to the matter.' See on Ep. xl. 2. The mood of *fuerat* is to be explained in the same way as that of *sustulerat* in Hor. Carm. ii. 17, 27: cp. Madvig, Lat. Gramm. 348 c.

Camillum, Lamiam] real property lawyers.

1. *L. Clodio*] the *praefectus fabrum* of Appius: see Fam. iii. 5, 3, Ep. ccv., compared with iii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxii.

meum . . . officium] 'all I desire to do for you, which is but my duty.'

plurimum] 'to the widest extent.'

carissimam] 'nearest to my heart.'

Q. Fabius Vergilianus] One of the *gens Vergilia* adopted by a Quintus Fabius. It was customary for one who was adopted to take the name of his adopter, with the addition of his own gentile name with the suffix *-anus*, *e. g.* P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus was son of L. Æmilius Paullus, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio. From the time of Sulla, it was not unusual to add, instead of the gentile name with suffix *-anus*, the cognomen unaltered, *e. g.* Q. Metellus Pius Scipio; but the original practice continued in the main, *e.g.* C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus; cp. Marquardt, *Privatleben*, p. 15.

libro augurali] This system of augural

AUGURALI, quem ad me amantissime scriptum suavissimum misisti. 2. Mea in te omnia summae necessitudinis officia constabunt. Nam cum te ipsum, ex quo tempore tu me diligere coepisti, cotidie pluris feci, tum accesserunt etiam coniunctiones necessariorum tuorum—duo enim duarum aetatum plurimi facio, Cn. Pompeium filiae tuae socerum et M. Brutum generum tuum—collegiique coniunctio, praesertim tam honorifice a te approbata, non mediocre vinculum mihi quidem attulisse videtur ad voluntates nostras copulandas. Sed et, si Clodium convenero, ex illius sermone ad te scribam plura, et ipse operam dabo, te ut quam primum videam. Quod scribis tibi manendi causam eam fuisse, ut me convenires, id mihi, ne mentiar, est gratum.

procedure is alluded to by Festus s. v. *Solistimum*, p. 298, Müller, *solistimum Appius Pulcher in auguralis disciplinae libro I., ait esse tripudium quod avi excidit ex ore quod illa fert.*

quem misisti] 'which, with its affectionate address, was a most delightful present you sent me.' We are unable to find another example of *scribere* used in the sense of 'dedicating.' Caelius uses *conscribere* thus in Fam. viii. 3, 3, Ep. cxcvii.: *illud nunc a te peto, si eris, ut spero, otiosus, aliquod ad nos, ut intellegamus nos tibi curae esse, σύνταγμα conscribas.*

2. *summa*] We should expect *summae*, and such is indeed found in an inferior MS. Harl. 2591.

constabunt] 'will remain unshaken.'

me diligere] 'to show regard for me.' Not so strong as *amo*: see Ep. ad Brut. i. 1, 1, *Clodius trib. pleb. designatus valde me diligit, vel ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam valde me amat.*

cotidie] 'every day I have felt an increasing esteem for you.' For *cotidie* with comparatives, see note on Ep. xxvi. 7.

coniunctiones] 'close intimacy with relations of yours.'

duo] So the best MSS here. Cicero, probably, as a rule wrote *duos*. After the time of Augustus *duos* was always used. See Reid on Academica, i. 17.

filiae tuae socerum] Appius had two sons, Gnaeus and Sextus. The latter married the daughter of Libo; so the former is probably alluded to here.

generum tuum] It was later than this that Brutus married Porcia.

collegiique coniunctio] 'our connexion in the College of Augurs, especially as you have expressed approval of it in such complimentary terms.' For *approbo* in this sense of 'proving,' cp. Cic. Inv. i. 65; Tac. Ann. i. 44: *si tribuni si legio industriam innocentiamque approbaverant retinebat ordinem.*

ad voluntates . . . copulandas] 'in linking us to one another': cp. Hamlet, i. 3, 62, 'Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.'

ne mentiar] 'to tell you the truth,' *i.e.* though it may be somewhat inconvenient to you to meet me. *Mentior* is sometimes not so strong as 'to lie,' *e.g.* in Plaut. Trin. ii. 2, 83, it means 'to be mistaken.' Schütz and Ursinus alter *ne mentiar* into *vehementer*.

CXCV. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 9).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico gratias agit de muneribus sibi Actium missis et exponit de ratione itineris sui, de provincia abstinenter administranda, Attici litteras de negotiis suis Romanis exspectat et eum rogat, ut omnia faciat ne sibi provincia plus quam annua sit, addit de Cicerone suo, de Dionysio. Scripta epistola est in itinere Athenas versus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Actium venimus a. d. xvii. Kal. Quinct., cum quidem et Corcyrae et Sybotis muneribus tuis, quae et Areus et meus amicus Eutychides opipare et φιλοπροσηνέστατα nobis congesserant, epulati essemus Saliarem in modum. Actio maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui incommodissime navigassemus, et Leucatem flectere molestum videbatur. Actuariis autem minutis Patras accedere sine his impedimentis non satis visum est decorum. Ego, ut saepe tu me currentem hortatus es, cotidie meditor, praecipio meis, faciam denique, ut summa modestia et summa abstinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus. Parthus velim quiescat et fortuna nos iuvet: nostra praestabimus. 2. Tu, quaeso, quid agas, ubi quoque tempore futurus sis, quales res nostras Romae reliqueris, maxime de xx. et dccc., cura ut sciamus. Id unis diligenter litteris datis, quae ad me utique perferantur, consequere. Illud tamen—quoniam nunc abes, cum id non agitur, aderis autem ad tempus, ut mihi rescripsti—memento curare per te et per omnes nostros, in primis per Hortensium, ut annus noster maneat suo statu, ne quid novi decernatur. Hoc tibi ita mando, ut dubitem an etiam te rogem, ut pugnes ne intercaletur. Sed non audeo tibi

1. *Sybota*] a group of small islands between Corcyra and the mainland.

muneribus] Gifts of food and wine which Areus and Eutychides, freedmen of Atticus at Corcyra, heaped on Cicero by direction of Atticus.

Saliarem in modum] 'like Aldermen.'

pedibus] 'by land.'

qui . . . navigassemus] 'as we had had a wretched passage.'

decorum] an amusing instance of Roman *gravitas*.

currentem] 'nothing loth': cp. Att. vi. 7, 1, Ep. cclxx., and σπεύδοντ' ὀτρύνειν in Greek.

extraordinarium] So called because Cicero held his present office long after his consulship, not immediately after, as was usual.

praestabimus] 'guarantee (answer for) my own behaviour.'

2. *suo statu*] *In* is not used in this phrase; so the common expression *in statu quo* is wrong.

ne quid novi] 'new term of official government.'

intercaletur] 'not have any intercalary days added,' which was at the discretion of the *Pontifices*.

omnia onera imponere. Annum quidem utique teneto. 3. Cicero meus, modestissimus et suavissimus puer, tibi salutem dicit. Dionysium semper equidem, ut scis, dilexi: sed cotidie pluris facio, et meherculo in primis, quod te amat nec tui mentionem intermitti sinit.

CXCVI. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 2).

JUNE; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Nuntiat M. Caelius M. Ciceroni de absoluto Messalla eiusque defensore Q. Hortensio a populo male accepto. Addit de re publica et de suis in aedilitate competitoribus. Scripta est epistola Romae.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Certe, inquam, absolutus est—me in re praesente pronuntiatum est—et quidem omnibus ordinibus et singulis in uno quoque

annum . . . teneto] 'be firm on the subject of my year,' *i. e.* 'stick to (insist on) only a single year of provincial government for me; do not allow any renewal of my tenure.'

cotidie] See on xxvi. 7.

1. We have, with Grüber, put Fam. viii. 2 and 3, Epp. cxcvi., cxcvii., in June, not in July, as Schütz does, because in Fam. viii. 4, 3, Ep. ccvi., written on Kal. Sext., Caelius says he has not sent any letters for a long time.

2. *Certe inquam*] This is very harsh and abrupt; but *hians compositio et inconditi sensus* were characteristics of Caelius's style (Tac. Or. 21). For *certe inquam* used in an emphatic reply cp. Plaut. Asin. iii. 3, 132 (= 715).

absolutus est] sc. M. Valerius Messalla, accused probably of *ambitus* (cf. Brut. 328, compared with Val. Max. v. 9, 2), in the middle of this year. This must have been connected with the elections of this year, not with the elections for 701 (53), in which year Messalla had been elected consul: for all irregularities in the latter had been settled by the exceptional trials of 702 (52). Messalla had been previously accused of *ambitus* in October 700 (54), by Q. Pompeius Rufus (Q. Fr. iii. 2, 3, Ep. cl.). Either this case did not come on for trial, or Messalla was acquitted: see A. W. Zumpt, *Criminalprocess*, p. 533–4. Rein (*Criminalrecht*, 731–2) seems to think that the prosecution for *ambitus* in 700 (54) was delayed owing to the *supplicationes* granted to Cæsar, during which, Rein asserts, the courts did not sit; but there is no evidence for that in Q. Fr. iii. 2, Ep. cl., to which he refers.

me praesente] The MSS read *me repraesentante* (or *repraesentare*), out of which nothing can be made. The ordinarily adopted emendation is that of Rutilius, adopted by Klotz, Baiter, and Wesenberg, which, in default of a certain one, we leave in the text. Becher (p. 11) wishes to read *meme praesente*, quoting Priscian xii. 5, 22, p. 937, *tete* utraque producta accusativus esse geminatus ostenditur vel ablativus quod et *in prima* et in tertia solet fieri persona, comparing *meme* of M in Fam. v. 9, 1, Ep. cxxxi. (*me* in HT), and in xiii. 1, 2, Ep. cxcix. (*me* in H). Gronovius, reading *me in re praesente*, takes *in re praesente* together, 'on the spot': cp. Fam. v. 8, 4, *sed in Marcum benevolentia pari* (ὢν) *hoc magis sum Publio deditus quod*, &c., and Nägelsbach, p. 309. For another example of omission in the MSS of the *in* of this phrase see Livy, xlii. 23, 2. But still the construction here is unusual. We think it may be *me in re praesenti adstante*, the copyist having gone on at the wrong *t*. For the common phrase *in rem praesentem venire*, meaning 'to appear in court,' see Off. i. 32; De Orat. i. 250; Caec. 20.

omnibus] Wesenberg (*l. c.*) adds *ab*, which is in none of the MSS., comparing

ordine sententiis. †Vide modo, inquis. Non, mehercules: nihil umquam enim tam praeter opinionem, tam quod videretur omnibus indignum accidit. Quin ego, cum pro amicitia validissime faverem ei et me iam ad dolendum praeparassem, postquam factum est, obstipui et mihi visus sum captus esse. Quid alios putas? Clamoribus scilicet maximis iudices corripuerunt et ostenderunt plane esse quod ferri non posset. Itaque relictus, lege Licinia in maiore esse periculo videtur. Accessit huc, quod postridie eius absolu-

Q. Fr. ii. 16, 3, Ep. cxlvii., *Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus;* but Becher (p. 38) points out that it is not necessary. The abl. of the instrument in such a case is surely allowable in Caelius, just as in Cicero so frequently *testibus* is used without *ab*, e. g. Cluent. 116, *Scaevola condemnatus est frequentissimis Apuliae testibus*, Font. 3, Mil. 47: cp. Dräger, i. 547.

singulis in unoquoque ordine sententiis] 'by but one vote in each class,' *i.e.* he was acquitted by all the classes of the jury. The votes of the three classes (Senators, Equites, Tribuni aerarii) were counted separately: see Asconius in Milon., pp. 53, 54.

† *Vide modo, inquis*] We can see no meaning in these words. Wesenberg's (*Em.* 93) *Ride modo, inquis*, 'just laugh it off, you say,' 'dismiss it with a smile,' is very attractive. It suits the context admirably: 'no, i' faith, I cannot take it so easily as that, for nothing ever happened so unexpected, so calculated to excite universal indignation.'

tam quod . . . indignum] Note that *tam* is out of place; it should go before *indignum*. Its position is owing to the attraction of the *tam* of the preceding clause.

validissime] This superlative is not found in Cicero, but is often used by Pliny the Younger, i. 20, 22, *ille mihi validissime placeat*, iii. 15, 2; ix. 35, 1.

obstipui . . . captus esse] 'I stood amazed, and seemed to be stunned.' This is the natural sense to take; but the fact that we have failed to find an example of *capi* with this meaning, without *mente* or *animo* being added, makes us pause. Perhaps accordingly we should interpret: 'I felt sure I must be mistaken': cf. *uti ne propter te fidemve tuam captus fraudatusve siem*, words of an old formula of trusteeship found in Cic. Off. iii. 70. Becher lays some stress (p. 7) on the probability that Caelius's practice at the bar gave a flavour of antique phraseology to his style.

clamoribus] When *clamores* signifies expression of disapprobation, it generally has some word added which indicates this idea; thus *corripuerunt* here and *infesto* in 2 Verr. i. 12.

Itaque relictus, lege Licinia] If we put the comma after *relictus*, 'left in this plight,' there will be no necessity to alter the MSS reading to *legi Liciniae* with Ernesti, whom Wunder, Baiter, and Klotz all follow, though that construction is, no doubt, allowable: cp. Fam. iv. 1, 2, *relictam direptioni;* Liv. xxvi. 2, 4 (cp. Wesenberg, *Em.* 30, note). For the law see *Addenda to the Commentary.* The penalties inflicted by this law were far greater than under the usual law for bribery (*ambitus*). Messalla, who was so scandalously acquitted, is likely now to be accused under this law, and to incur greater danger thereby than in the former trial. He was actually tried and condemned under the Licinian law (Fam. viii. 4. 1, Ep. ccvi).

in maiore esse periculo] With some hesitation we agree with Baiter in adding *in* before *maiore*. But the parallel passages which Becher adduces (p. 40) from Nepos (Dio. 2, 4; Datam. 5, 3) show this phrase in the MSS without *in*, though it is added there by Fleckeisen and Halm. To these passages add Att. v. 14, 2, Ep. cciv. Becher thinks that an ablative which expresses the circumstances in which a man is may be regarded as a mode of his being. We confess to be unable to feel this of a transitory state of circumstances, though it might be allowable of a constant—'a man of sorrows,' or 'a man of great wealth'; but not 'a man of great danger.' The parallels Becher adduces, Fam. vii. 30, 3; Phil. viii. 18, are not sufficiently close, and are too much disputed to afford any support to his view.

tionem in theatrum Curionis Hortensius introivit, puto ut suum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi

strepitus, fremitus, clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus.

Hoc magis animadversum est, quod intactus ab sibilo pervenerat Hortensius ad senectutem, sed tum tam bene, ut in totam vitam quoivis satis esset et paeniteret eum iam vicisse. 2. De re publica quod tibi scribam nihil habeo. Marcelli impetus resederunt, non inertia, sed, ut mihi videbatur, consilio. De comitiis consularibus incertissima est existimatio. Ego incidi in competitorem nobilem et nobilem agentem: nam M. Octavius Cn. filius et C. Hirrus mecum petit. Hoc ideo scripsi, quod scio te acriter propter Hirrum nuntium nostrorum comitiorum exspectaturum. Tu tamen simul ac me designatum audieris, ut tibi curae sit, quod ad pantheras

theatrum Curionis] For the theatre, or rather theatres, of Curio, built in 701 (53), which consisted of two semicircular theatres, which stood back to back for theatrical performances in the morning, but which could revolve with all their spectators so as to form one amphitheatre for gladiatorial spectacles in the evening, see the description and satirical comments in Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 116 ff., also Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* ii³ 336. Curio probably gave games in honour of his deceased father (Fam. ii. 2, 2; iii. 3, 1, Ep. clxvii., clxviii.).

suum gaudium gauderemus] For this phrase cf. Ter. Andr. v. 5, 8, *hunc scio mea solide gavisurum gaudia.* It is rare to find *gaudere* = 'to rejoice at' with accusative except the neut. of the pronouns. *Gaudium* is not cognate accusative (correct the statement that it is, made in I², p. 62): cp. Caelius in 14, 1, Ep. cclxxx., *gavisuros suum dolorem.*

strepitus] 'the sound of confusion and cries, roar of thunder, and whistling of cordage.' A line said to be from Pacuvius describing a shipwreck (cf. Ribbeck, Trag. Reliq. p. 100). For *clamor* of inanimate objects, cf. *non sine montium clamore*, Hor. Carm. iii. 29, 39. *Rudentum*, 'the rigging' (from *rŭdens*) was perhaps meant by Caelius to be taken with a side allusion to *rūdo* 'to roar like a beast': cf. Verg. Æn. vii. 16.

intactus ab sibilo] Compare for the preposition *gentis integras a cladibus belli* (Liv. ix. 41, 8), *imparati cum militibus tum a pecunia*, Att. vii. 15, 3.

sed tum tam bene] sc. *sibilatus est:* cf. *non modo ego solus esse* sc. *videar* in the next letter.

iam vicisse] 'to be now victor.' We have read *quoivis* for *quo ius* of all the MSS with Becher, p. 11.

2. *impetus*] 'violent proceedings (about appointing a successor for Caesar) have stopped, not from loss of energy, but, as it appears to me, from policy.'

nobilem agentem] 'one who is noble and one who plays the noble.' Octavius is the one alluded to as 'the noble.' C. Lucilius Hirrus (cp. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii.), who stood against Cicero for the augurate, was the man who 'played the noble.' For the construction *nobilem agere* cf. Caelius 9, 1, Ep. ccxi., *civem bonum ludit;* Tac. Hist. ii. 83, *Mucianus socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens.*

petit] Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 19) reads *petunt* (*petūt*). Caelius could have written, he says, *Petit mecum M. Octavius et C. Hirrus.* The construction in the text is no doubt rare; but examples can be found even in Cicero, *e. g.* De Orat. ii. 53, *qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes Hellanicus Acusilaus fuit*, iii. 67, Brut. 30. We have not then thought well of changing the reading, though it must be confessed the other examples in Caelius (4. 2, 3; 14. 2, 4, Ep. ccvi., cclxxx.) are not so harsh as this one.

pantheras] Caelius wanted these panthers for the *venationes* which he intended to give as aedile. |Cicero had a refined mind's abhorrence of such brutal exhi-

attinet, rogo. Syngrapham Sittianam tibi commendo. Commentarium rerum urbanarum primum dedi L. Castrinio Paeto, secundum ei, qui has litteras tibi dedit.

CXCVII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 3).

JUNE; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius scribit de suis ad Ciceronem litteris, de Hirro, de Philotimo et de Milone. Denique librum aliquem ad se scribi a Cicerone cupit. Epistola scripta est Romae.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Estne? vici? et tibi saepe, quod negaras discedens curaturum tibi, litteras mitto? Est, si quidem perferuntur quas do. Atque hoc eo diligentius facio, quod cum otiosus sum, plane ubi delectem otiolum meum non habeo. Tu cum Romae eras, hoc mihi certum ac iucundissimum vacanti negotium erat, tecum id otii tempus consumere, idque non mediocriter desidero, ut mihi non

bitions (Fam. vii. 1, Ep. cxxvii.); but he did not any the less hesitate to gratify a friend.

Syngrapham Sittianam] *Syngrapha* was a written bond signed by both parties, used among foreigners, and between Romans and foreigners. It was the regular form of contract in the eastern provinces. It did not in law constitute a *litterarum obligatio*, as it had not necessarily the form the latter had, and the parties were not citizens; but in the provinces the Roman governors treated the *syngrapha* as a quiet valid instrument, and allowed a man to sue on a contract contained in any written agreement without regard to its form. (See Long on Cic. Verr. ii. 1, 36; Walter, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, § 606). Sittius was probably the agent of Caelius, and was owed some money on a *syngrapha*. Caelius commends him to Cicero, asking the latter to do his best to get the bond paid. There may have been some difficulty owing to the nature of the *syngrapha* (for instance it may have been invalid owing to the Gabinian Law of 686 (68): cf. Att. v. 21, 12, Ep. ccl.) If something of this kind were not the case, it is hard to understand why Cicero's influence was so persistently asked for.

Commentarium] 'record.'

dedit] Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 19) reads *reddidit*; yet cp. Att. v. 4, 1, Ep. clxxxvii., *quarum alteras Funisulanus multo mane mihi dedit*.

1. *negaras*] Before this word Lambinus, followed by Baiter, add *me*. But it is no more necessary than the *se* they both add before *spem* in Fam. viii. 11, 1, Ep. cclxvii. The omission of the subject when a pronoun before the infinitive (especially the future infinitive or *posse*) is very common in the comic drama (See Becher, p. 19). See also on Att. v. 6, 2, Ep. clxxxix.

facio] So H: accordingly there is no need to adopt *factito* to explain the *facito* of M. We have changed *ego* into *eo* with nearly all editors. For the same corruption of *eo* see Fam. i. 7, 10, Ep. cxiv.

delectem otiolum meum] For the impersonal object cp. Cic. Arch. 16, *senectutem oblectant*.

modo *ego* solus esse, sed Romae te profecto solitudo videatur facta, et qui—quae mea neglegentia est—multos saepe dies ad te, cum hic eras, non accedebam, nunc cotidie non esse te ad quem cursitem discrucior. Maxime vero, ut te dies noctesque quaeram, competitor Hirrus curat. Quo modo illum putas auguratus tuum competitorem dolere et dissimulare me certiorem quam se candidatum? de quo ut quem optas quam primum nuntium accipias, tua me dius fidius magis quam mea causa cupio. Nam mea, si fio, forsitan cum locupletiore referam: sed hoc usque eo suave est, ut, si acciderit, tota vita risus nobis deesse non possit. Est tanti? Est, mehercules! Non multum M. Octavius eorum odia, quae Hirrum

mihi . . . ego solus esse] Supply *videar* out of *videatur*. For the converse, *i. e.* the verb supplied to the second clause, cp. the preceding letter, § 1, *tam bene;* sc. *sibilatus est*, also Fam. ii. 8, 3, Ep. cxcix. Wesenberg (*Em.* p. 94, 95) adds *ego*, which could only be omitted if the correlative sentence referred also to Caelius himself, and not to the whole of Rome; and it is all the more necessary on account of the omission of *videar*.

Quo modo . . . candidatum] Though *quo modo* is often used in exclamations, 'Just look how' (*e. g.* Att. viii. 16, 1), yet the expression here is strange for 'you can't imagine how he tries to hide his chagrin.' A comic writer would say, 'At scin quo modo.' Wesenberg (*Em. Att.* p. 19) adds *esse* before *candidatum;* but this omission is, as he acknowledges, common in Cicero (Off. ii. 78; Tusc. v. 54, 66): cf. Nägelsbach, p. 588.

Nam mea . . . referam] 'for, as for my case if I am elected, most probably I shall carry off the prize with a richer colleague,' and so have to incur considerable expense in endeavouring to rival the magnificent shows he will give. Editors generally leave out the *re-* of *referam*, for *referre* cannot be used in the sense of *reportare* (praemium). Wesenberg (*l. c.*) does not think this view worth refutation, and reads *nam si fio forsitan cum locupletiore fiam*, supposing *mea* to have been inserted after *nam*, owing to the proximity of *quam mea*, and *re* having been written by dittography, *refiam* was altered to *referam*. Possibly the words admit of another interpretation: 'I'll let you, for your sake, have at once the line you ask me to send; but for my sake, if I'm elected, I shall probably relate the event with richer details.' With *locupletiore* understand *nuntio;* and for *locuples* in this metaphorical sense of 'rich,' cp. Fin. v. 13, *Lyco oratione locuples.*

Sed hoc . . . mehercules!] 'but this (my election) is so delicious, that if it does come to pass, merriment can never fail us for our whole life. Is it so very important? (you ask). It is indeed.' This abl. without *in* (in reference to time) is analogous to *urbe ac foro toto*, in reference to space, Fam. viii. 1, 5, Ep. cxcii. In *Est tanti? Est* is the correction of Wesenberg (*Em.* p. 95) for *sed tanti sed* of the MSS.

non multum . . . sublevat] We adhere to the reading of the MSS. We can suppose that Octavius was supporting the candidature of Hirrus, and did not benefit him much. Wesenberg (*Em.* 99) reads *non multum M. Octavium . . . sublevant.* Octavius, he says, was the *ignobilis* who was competing, and therefore of little influence; and he adds that the words evidently allude to the candidature of Octavius—neither of which statements we can agree to. Why should Octavius, who was of an Equestrian family, necessarily be of little influence? The whole paragraph, and indeed all the letters relating to Caelius's candidature, speak of the contest as between Caelius and Hirrus. Octavius appears to have been certain of election, and was elected. For *eorum odia quae*, which is certainly harsh, see Madvig on Fin. ii. 39, *minuam contentiones omnesque sententias eorum in quibus nulla est virtutis adiunctio*, where *quibus* has *sententias* as its antecedent. Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 16) wishes to read *civium* or *fori odia*. Ernesti simply omits *eorum*.

premunt, quae permulta sunt, sublevat. 2. Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium et bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut et Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti eiusque necessariis satis faceret et secundum eius fidem et sedulitatem existimatio tua conservaretur. 3. Illud nunc a te peto, si eris, ut spero, otiosus, aliquod ad nos, ut intellegamus nos tibi curae esse, *σύνταγμα* conscribas. Qui tibi istuc, inquis, in mentem venit, homini non inepto? *Opto* aliquod ex tam multis tuis monumentis exstare quod nostrae amicitiae memoriam posteris quoque prodat. Cuius modi velim, puto, quaeris. Tu citius, qui omnem nosti disciplinam, quod maxime conveniat excogitabis. Genere tamen, quod et ad nos pertineat et διδασκαλίαν quamdam, ut versetur inter manus, habeat.

CXCVIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 10).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se a. d. VII. Kal. Quinct. Athenas venisse ibique Pomptinum quartum iam diem exspectare. De recordatione Attici, de sumptu Athenis nec in se neque in suos nec publice nec privatim facto, de molestia administrandae provinciae, de desiderio suo cognoscendi ubi Atticus sit et quid de rebus suis Romae agatur, de urbe Athenarum, de Aristo, de Xenone. Scripta epistola est Athenis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ut Athenas a. d. VII. Kal. Quinct. veneram, exspectabam ibi iam quartum diem Pomptinum, neque de eius adventu certi

2. *Philotimi*] cp. Att. v. 8, 2, Ep. cxciii.

secundum] An irregular extension of the use of *secundum*, 'in accordance with' to 'by reason of.'

3. *aliquod ad nos σύνταγμα conscribas*] 'dedicate some *brochure* to us.' It is a kind of pregnant construction, 'compose and address to me': cf. Fam. iii. 4, 1, Ep. cxiv., *quem ad me amantissime scriptum suavissimum misisti*. *σύνταγμα* was a later Greek word for a book or treatise: cp. Plutarch, De Stoic. Repug. 1036, 27, ed. Reiske, *καὶ τὸ σύνταγμα τοῦ συντάγματος μαλακώτερον*.

Opto] This certain addition appears to be due to Klotz. Wesenberg (*Em. Att.* p. 19) objects that *opto* is too strong, and wishes to read *volo* before *aliquid* owing to the following *velim*, and because it might readily have fallen out, he thinks, between *o* and *ali*. The emphatic word in the sentence which Caelius pleads in justification of his request is *amicitiae*.

Genere tamen] sc. *sit*. This is a rather harsh abl. of quality, the clauses which follow doing duty for adjectives.

et διδασκαλίαν] 'treat of some instructive subject so that it may be widely read.' For *inter manus versari*, used of books, see Dig 1. 2, 2, 42, *denique nec versantur omnino scripta eorum inter manus hominum*: cf. Hor. A. P. 269.

quidquam habebam. Eram autem totus, crede mihi, tecum, et quamquam sine iis per me ipse, tamen acrius vestigiis tuis monitus de te cogitabam. Quid quaeris? Non mehercule alius ullus sermo nisi de te. 2. Sed tu aliquid de *me* ipso scire fortasse mavis. Haec sunt: adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim nec in quemquam comitum: nihil accipitur lege Iulia, nihil ab hospite: persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famae meae. Belle adhuc. Hoc animadversum Graecorum laude et multo sermone celebratur. Quod superest, elaboratur in hoc a me, sicut tibi sensi placere. Sed haec tum laudemus, cum erunt perorata. 3. Reliqua sunt eius modi, ut meum consilium saepe reprehendam, quod non aliqua ratione ex hoc negotio emerserim. O rem minime aptam meis moribus! O illud verum ἔρδοι τις! Dices: 'Quid adhuc? Nondum enim in negotio versaris.' Sane scio, et puto molestiora restare: etsi haec ipsa fero equidem fronte, ut puto, et voltu bellis, sed angor intimis sensibus: ita multa vel ira-

1. *iis*] sc. *vestigiis tuis.*

vestigiis tuis monitus] 'I was beside you all the time, I assure you; and, though I could not have failed to think of you even without such associations, yet my thoughts ran the more earnestly on you as I felt I was treading in your steps.' Cicero says, Fin. v. 2, *tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis*, 'places are wonderful vehicles of association.'

crede mihi] Except here and Att. viii. 14, 1, Cicero always writes *mihi crede*. On the other hand, *crede mihi* is used by Brutus, Fam. xi. 26; Cassius, Fam. xii. 12, 4; Caelius, Fam. viii. 17, 1. According to Böckel (*epistulae selectae*, p. 323), *crede mihi* is a vulgarism, or, at least, belongs more properly to very familiar intercourse.

quid quaeris] 'in a word.' At the end of a clause, *quid quaeris* means 'can I say more?', that is, 'I have now left no doubt about my view.'

Haec sunt] 'very well.'

lege Iulia] The lex Julia of Caesar's consulship defined the nature and limit of the supplies which proconsuls and propraetors could legally accept from the province, forbidding them, when travelling, to take anything without compensation but wood, salt, and hay; and ordained that on his retirement from office the governor should draw up a full statement of his accounts, his expenditure and receipts, and should deposit one copy of this document in each of the two principal towns in his province, and bring a third copy with him to Rome to be deposited in the *aerarium* immediately on his arrival in the city. See Att. v. 16, 3; 21, 5, Ep. ccviii., ccl.; Fam. v. 20.

nihil ab hospite] *Hospes* was the name given to a provincial on whom the governor or his suite were *billeted*. This *billeting* is called *deductio* in Latin, and is referred to by its Greek name ἐπισταθμεία in Att. xiii. 52, 2.

persuasum] 'they have all made up their minds that they must devote themselves to the maintenance of my reputation' for *continentia*, &c.

cum erunt perorata] *i. e.* when my term of office is over; we might say 'when I have resumed my seat,' metaphor from a speech concluded.

3. ἔρδοι τις] 'how true is the saying *ne sutor supra* (not *ultra*) *crepidam*': see I², p. 67. The Fr. form is *chacun son métier*.

sane scio] 'too true'; the ellipse is *me nondum in negotio versari*.

intimis sensibus] 'in my heart of hearts.'

ita multa] 'such countless examples do I find in my staff every day of bad temper (shall I call it), or bad manners, or bad

eunde vel isolenter vel in omni genere stulte insulse, adroganter et dicuntur et tacentur cotidie. Quae non quo te celem, *non* perscribo, sed quia δυσεξείλητα sunt. Itaque admirabere meam βαθύτητα, cum salvi redierimus: tanta mihi μελέτη huius virtutis datur. 4. Ergo haec quoque hactenus. Etsi mihi nihil erat propositum ad scribendum, quia quid ageres, ubi terrarum esses ne suspicabar quidem; nec hercule umquam tam diu ignarus rerum mearum fui, quid de Caesaris, quid de Milonis nominibus actum sit, ac non modo nemo domo *sed* ne Roma quidem quisquam, ut sciremus, in re publica quid ageretur. Qua re si quid erit quod scias de iis rebus, quas putabis scire me velle, per mihi gratum erit, si id curaris ad me perferendum. 5. Quid est praeterea? Nihil sane nisi illud:

judgment, and bad taste of every kind, not only in what they say, but in what they leave unsaid.'

non] For the omission of *non* cp. Att. vi., 6, 4, Ep. cclxviii., and note on Ep. lxxi. 1, above. In those places, as here, the falling out of the *non* is to be accounted for by the almost immediate juxtaposition of another *non*.

δυσεξείλητα] ἐξίλλω and ἐξειλέω mean 'to unfold.' Lucian uses the latter word in that sense, and Lucian's Greek is of the kind most often found in these letters. Cicero means that he can 'hardly force himself to disclose' those wretched little breaches of taste and of good manners of which his suite are so often guilty. This is the simplest and best of the many readings (see Adn. Crit) proposed here; but it is not exactly the word which seems to be required, which would rather be one meaning 'hard to define, intangible, indefinite,' 'things more easily felt than described.' Qu. δύσεκτα et ἐξίτηλα or δύσθικτα καὶ ἐξίτηλα, 'intangible and evanescent'?

βαθύτητα] 'self-restraint': see Att. iv. 6, 3 (cx).

μελέτη] 'practice,' *commentatio*.

4. *haec quoque hactenus*] 'enough of this topic too.' He had already, § 2, dismissed the subject of his own moderation, to which he briefly returns in the end of § 3; we must therefore suppose the subject here dismissed to be the shortcomings of his suite.

etsi] 'though indeed I have nothing to make me write to you at all.' *Etsi* refers to a suppressed sentence by a figure familiar to the readers of these letters. When he writes *haec quoque hactenus*, 'enough of this topic too,' his correspondent would naturally expect him to turn to another topic. *Haec hactenus* is usually followed by some such phrase as *nunc audi reliqua*, *nunc hoc cognosce;* but Cicero is suddenly struck by the uselessness of writing at all in his ignorance of the whereabouts of Att. Sch. saw that there was no anacoluthon in the sentence, and that *etsi* referred to the foregoing words, as it often does; but he explains wrongly; Cicero cannot mean 'I dismiss this topic, *though indeed I have nothing else to tell you because* I have not an idea where you are.' Cicero's ignorance of the whereabouts of Atticus would not deprive him of the materials for a letter, but would make it useless to write a letter which could not be delivered.

nemo domo . . . ageretur] We have given the reading of this sentence exactly as it stands in M, with the one correction (Kayser's) of *domo* for *modo* after *nemo*, and the insertion (not absolutely necessary) of *sed*. The meaning is 'Not only no news comes from my own household, but not even from Rome (comes) any one to let us know how public matters are going.' The ellipse of some such word as *venit* is too common in the letters to require defence. The only objection to the reading as it stands is that it conveys an antithesis between *domo* and *Roma*. Now Lehmann has shown (see vol. ii. p. xx.) that in Cicero *domus* very often *means* Rome, as opposed to the suburbs and the country. The common reading of this passage is that of Kl. in ed. 1, *ac non modo nemo sed ne rumor quisquam, ut sciremus*. Madv., who reads

valde me Athenae delectarunt, urbe dumtaxat et urbis ornamento et hominum amore in te et in nos quadam benevolentia; sed multum †ea† philosophia sursum deorsum; si quidem est in Aristo, apud quem eram. Nam Xenonem tuum vel nostrum potius Quinto concesseram, et tamen propter vicinitatem totos dies simul eramus. Tu velim, cum primum poteris, tua consilia ad me scribas, ut sciam quid agas, ubi quoque *tempore*, maxime quando Romae futurus sis.

(Adv. Cr. ii. 235) with Kayser, points out that *rumor quisquam* is wrong, as Cicero (with other writers of the Ciceronian and Augustan age) never uses *quisquam* except with names of men or classes, e. g. *cuiquam generi*, *ordini*, Verr. ii. 17; *legationi*, Fam. iii. 10, 6, Ep. cclxi. The only other passage in Cicero or any classical writer where *quisquam* is found, save with names of men or classes, is Att. xi. 25, 1, where for *consolationis cuiusquam* Madv. would read *consolationis usquam*. The same remedy might easily be applied to the reading of Kl., *non modo nemo sed ne rumor usquam*. But the reading in the text is far nearer to the MS.

5. *urbe dumtaxat*] This sentence has been read and explained in various ways. It seems pretty clear that, broadly, Cicero means to say that he likes the city itself (cp. Att. vi. 1, 26, Ep. cclii., *ipsas Athenas amo*), but is disappointed with the state in which he finds philosophy. 'I am delighted with Athens, that is, with the material city and all that embellishes it, and with your evident popularity and the degree of good feeling shown to me; *but* philosophy—the real *soul* of Athens, while the *urbs et urbis ornamentum* are only the body—philosophy is in a state of complete flux;—topsyturvydom!—if it is represented by Aristus, with whom I was staying.' *Dumtaxat* and *sed* clearly point to some contrast between the sentiments expressed in the former and latter clauses. The latter part of the passage I have rendered on the hypothesis (suggested by Wes. and accepted by Boot), that *ea* is corrupt, and represents a lost verb. Wes. suggests *commeat*, remembering, I suppose, *naturis his ex quibus omnia constant sursum deorsum ultro citro commeantibus*, Nat. Deor. ii. 84. We think it quite possible that Cicero here used in a letter the simple verb *meat* (which after *multum* would easily have been corrupted to *ea*) as an equivalent for the Greek ῥεῖ, or, possibly, Cicero wrote ῥεῖ, and *meat* was a gloss which first usurped the place of ῥεῖ, and then was misunderstood and corrupted into *ea* (for corruptions arising from Greek expressions see on cvii. 2). Indeed *meat* might possibly be a gloss on ῥεῖ πάντα, a phrase which Cicero might have used to indicate by a familiar form of phrase the unsettled state in which he found philosophical speculation. We should then have to transpose thus: *sed philosophia—ῥεῖ πάντα, ἄνω κάτω*, 'but philosophy—a case of constant flux, topsyturvydom.' At all events we agree with Wes. that a verb should take the place of *ea*. Cicero here complains of the absence of any fixed method in the Academic philosophy: cp. Att. xiii. 25, 3, *O Academiam volaticam et sui similem* ('characteristically volatile') *modo huc modo illuc*. Aristus was a leading Academic philosopher; Xeno was an Epicurean, a friend, possibly an agent, of Atticus at Athens.

concesseram] 'I resigned Xeno to Quintus,' that is, 'I allowed Q. to take advantage of Xeno's offer to entertain me at his house.'

tempore] supplied from Att. v. 9, 2, Ep. cxcv.

CXCIX. TO CAIUS MEMMIUS, AT MITYLENE (FAM. XIII. 1).

ABOUT KAL. QUINCTILIS; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero a C. Memmio, qui Athenis, ubi damnatus lege de ambitu exsulabat (vide *epist. ad Att.*, lib. iv., ep. 18), ante Ciceronis adventum Mitylenas discesserat, his litteris petit, ut in gratiam cum Patrone Epicurio redeat eique locum concedat, ubi Epicurus habitaverat. Scripta epistola est Athenis.

M. CICERO S. D. C. MEMMIO.

1. Etsi non satis mihi constiterat cum aliquane animi mei molestia an potius libenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod iniuria, quam accepisti, dolore me adficeret, sapientia tua, qua fers iniuriam, laetitia, tamen vidisse te mallem. Nam quod est molestiae, non sane multo levius est, cum te non video: quod esse potuit voluptatis, certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam ut te videam, cum id satis commode facere potero. Interea, quod per litteras et agi tecum et, ut arbitror, confici potest, agam nunc. 2. Ac te illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea causa facias, sed id, quod mea intelleges multum, tua nullam in partem interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id libenter facias, ante persuaseris.

For an account of this Gaius Memmius see Introduction. Cicero says that this letter was written with great care (*accurate*, Att. v. 11, 6, Ep. cc.). Gibbon (iv. 352, ed. Bohn), referring to it, points out how it 'displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dexterous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece.' It is indeed a model of adroit letter-writing.

1. *cum . . . molestia*] 'with somewhat painful feelings,' *libenter*, 'with joy.'

iniuria] It is quite true that Memmius did suffer wrong: for he had to drop the accusation on the charge of *ambitus* which he brought against Metellus Scipio, father-n-law of Pompeius. Memmius expected himself to get exemption from punishment for *ambitus* by successfully prosecuting another on a similar charge, in accordance with the Lex Acilia Calpurnia: cf. Appian, B. C. ii. 24, Plut. Pomp. 55, Dio. Cass. xl. 51.

sapientia tua] 'your philosophic spirit.'

satis commode] 'with any reasonable convenience.'

nunc] emphatic at the end of the sentence, 'now, at once.'

2. *sed id . . . persuaseris*] 'but that request which you will perceive to be of much importance to me, and in no way of much importance to you, I would only have you grant me if you feel sure that you do so cheerfully.' The clause with *si* is explanatory of *ita*, as often in Cicero, *e. g.* Senect. 38: cp. *ita . . . quasi*, ib. 12, and Reid's notes on these passages.

Cum Patrone Epicurio mihi omnia sunt, nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, cum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis, et nuper, cum ea quae voluit de suis commodis et praemiis consecutus est, me habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem: et iam a Phaedro, qui nobis, cum pueri essemus, ante quam Philonem cognovimus, valde ut philosophus, postea tamen ut vir bonus et suavis et officiosus probabatur, traditus mihique est commendatus. 3. Is igitur Patro, cum ad me Romam litteras misisset, uti te sibi

mihi omnia sunt] 'I am all in all with.' *Communia* was added by Cratander, and is adopted by Baiter; but it is not in the best MSS, and was added partly from a reminiscence of κοινὰ φίλων, partly from ignorance of the phrase *omnia esse alicui*, e. g. *Coniuge qui nobis omnia solus erat*, Ov. Her. xii. 162: *Demetrius iis unus omnia est*, Liv. xl. 11, 3. For the opposite compare *mihi enim . . . nihil erat cum Cornificio*, Att. xii. 17.

observabat . . . me coluit] 'was paying his respects to you . . . he cultivated my acquaintance.'

de suis commodis et praemiis] What these were is hard to say. The philosophical schools were private foundations, and regular salaries do not appear to have been paid at Athens by the State to Epicurean Professors till the time of the Antonines. It is quite possible that the most eminent men in the schools, if they did not get actual money from the State, got exemptions from certain duties (as professors are exempted with us from serving on juries) and perhaps certain positive distinctions (such as maintenance in the prytaneum). If any such privileges were granted to Patro, they appear to have fallen into abeyance or been disputed, and from this arose an action at law. We read in Plutarch (Cic. 24) that Cicero advised the Areopagus to try to secure the services of the philosopher Cratippus for Athens; and in passing their decree to that effect we may well suppose they made some allusion to honours which they would give him if he stayed. But we can hardly believe that any such privileges were granted to the Epicureans, for at this time they were more or less an unrecognized and proscribed sect. The privileges alluded to were probably some *honoraria* due to Patro for his teaching at Rome, which Cicero aided him in recovering.

Phaedrus] lived at the end of the second century and beginning of the first, B. C. Cicero, when a boy (about 90, B. C.) attended his lectures at Rome, and afterwards at Athens. Cicero always thought very highly of him. Atticus is introduced in Fin. v. 3 as saying, *sum multum equidem cum Phaedro quem unice diligo*. In Nat. Deor. i. 93, Cotta says, *Phaedro nihil elegantius nihil humanius*, in contrast to the *acriculus senex*, Zeno (Tusc. iii. 38). Phaedrus died in 51 B. C., and was succeeded in the headship of the school by Patro (cp. Madvig on Fin. i. 16, Reid's *Academica*, p. 1). For some time it was believed that the Herculanean rolls contained some of the writings of Phaedrus: and that the discussion in the first book of the *De Nat. Deorum* was taken from this author. However, it is now proved that the Herculanean rolls contain writings of Philodemus, and Cicero and Philodemus probably copied a common original—perhaps Zeno. See Prof. J. B. Mayor's edition of the *De Nat. Deorum*, vol. I., xlii.-lii.; Scott's *Fragmenta Herculanensia*, pp. 43-46.

Philonem] Philo of Larissa, the head of the Academic School, came to Rome in 88, B. C. Cicero says (Brut. 306), *totum ei me tradidi*. He calls him *magnus vir* in Acad. i. 13, and mentions as his own four teachers in philosophy, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, and Posidonius. For a detailed account of Philo, see Zeller, iv^2, 522 ff.

officiosus] 'obliging.'

traditus mihique est commendatus]. This the reading of H, is the best to adopt: 'was introduced to me and my influence on his behalf requested.' For the collocation of words cp. Fam. vii. 17, 2, Ep. cxlvi., *sic ei te commendavi et tradidi*.

placarem peteremque, ut nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes, nihil scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium commendatione mea nolebam impediri. Idem, ut veni Athenas, cum idem ad te scriberem rogasset, ob eam causam impetravit, quod te abiecisse illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes amicos tuos. 4. Quod si ita est et si iam tua plane nihil interest, velim, si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui perversitate aliquorum—novi enim gentem illam—, des te ad lenitatem vel propter summam *tuam* humanitatem vel etiam honoris mei causa. Equidem, si quid ipse sentiam quaeris, nec cur ille tanto opere contendat video nec cur tu repugnes, nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest quam illi laborare sine causa. Quamquam Patronis et orationem et causam tibi cognitam esse certo scio. Honorem, officium, testamentorum ius, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis viam rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc eius contentionem volumus reprehendere. Sed mehercules, quoniam illi ceterisque,

3. *nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum*] 'some ruined house or other of Epicurus.' For *parietinae* compare the fine sentence, Fam. iv. 3, 2: *Dices quid me ista res consolatur in tantis tenebris et quasi parietinis reipublicae?*

mea commendatione] 'by a favour asked by me for another.'

abiecisse] 'abandoned,' for which the milder *deposuisse*, 'laid aside,' is used, § 5.

4. *Offensiuncula animi tui*] 'slight hurt has been done your feelings.'

perversitate] 'preposterousness' (Verkehrtheit) is the word Mommsen (R. H. iv. p. 573) uses to describe the Greek character.

gentem] 'set': probably the Epicureans alone are referred to.

des te ad lenitatem] 'yield to a lenient view of the case.'

honoris mei causa] 'out of compliment to me'—a phrase frequently found in the comic drama, *e.g.* Plaut. Aul. iv. 4, 4; Amphitr. iii. 1, 7.

laborare sine causa] 'to put yourself to needless annoyance.' Cicero implies that Memmius is too important a personage to be allowed to disturb his mind about trifles.

Honorem . . . dicit] 'his reputation and his duty, the execution of the will, the influence of Epicurus, the solemn injunction of Phaedrus, the abode, the dwelling-place, the footprints of men of the highest worth—all these Patro says he must jealously guard.' By *honorem* is meant that Patro would suffer in reputation if he let the house of Epicurus be destroyed, and so be lost irrevocably to the brotherhood. In *testamentorum ius* the reference is to the fact that Epicurus had left his house in Melite to Amynomachus and Timocrates, enjoining that it be assigned to Hermarchus and his followers to live therein, and that after the death of Hermarchus it should become the property of the school (Diog. Laert. x. 17–18). From *Phaedri obtestationem* we may infer that Phaedrus had solemnly enjoined Patro to use his best endeavours to recover the house of Epicurus.

viam rationemque] a probable emendation of Schütz for *vitam rationemque*. For the collocation cp. Verr. i. 48. It would be absurd to say that they might laugh at the whole life of Patro after having said he was a dear friend (§ 2). But indeed Cicero hints all through this section at the paltriness and trifling nature of Patro's interests.

quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tanto opere laborat: in quo etiam si peccat, magis ineptiis quam improbitate peccat. 5. Sed ne plura—dicendum enim aliquando est—Pomponium Atticum sic amo, ut alterum fratrem: nihil est illo mihi nec carius nec iucundius. Is—non quo sit ex istis: est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus: sed valde diligit Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit—sic a me hoc contendit, homo minime ambitiosus, minime in rogando molestus, ut nihil umquam magis; nec dubitat quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possem, etiam si aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero, si audierit te aedificationem deposuisse neque tamen me a te impetrasse, non te in me illiberalem, sed me in se neglegentem putabit. Quam ob rem peto a te, ut scribas ad tuos posse tua voluntate decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμὸν illi vocant, tolli. 6. Sed redeo ad prima. Prius velim tibi persuadeas, ut hoc mea causa libenter facias quam ut facias. Sic tamen habeto: si feceris quod rogo, fore mihi gratissimum. Vale.

si tanto opere laborat] 'since he is so very anxious.'

ineptiis] 'folly': *improbitate*, 'knavery.'

5. *Is . . . amavit*] 'He, not as being one of the Epicureans (for he is most highly cultivated in every branch of liberal study; yet has a great esteem for Patro, and had a great love for Phaedrus), has so earnestly,' &c. For the difference between *amare* and *diligere*, see Ep. cxciv. 2. A man of culture would be ashamed to let himself be considered an Epicurean. The uncouth style of the Epicureans was such that Cicero (Tusc. ii. 7) remarks that their books were *said* to be in Latin. He censures them as bad translators (Fam. xv. 19, 2). Cicero really could never see any literary ability in any Epicurean except Phaedrus, and perhaps Philodemus. Of the latter he says, Pis. 70: *Est autem hic, de quo loquor, non philosophia solum, sed etiam litteris, quod fere ceteros Epicureos negligere dicunt, perpolitus.* The chief point in Epicurus which seems to have struck Quintilian is his hostility to liberal education, *e.g.* ii. 17, 15, *Epicuro qui disciplinas omnes fugit:* xii. 2, 24, *Epicurus qui fugere omnem disciplinam navigatione quam velocissima iubet.*

ambitiosus] 'self-seeking': *molestus*, 'importunate.'

illiberalem] This is a strong word, 'impolite,' almost too strong for such a cautiously written letter. H reads *inliberalem.* Could the right reading be *minus liberalem*? The symbol for *minus* is very like *in* (see Chassant, p. 54).

ὑπομνηματισμὸν] The decrees of the Areopagus had this name: cp. C. I. A. iii. 806, 843, &c. In the time of Cicero the Areopagus was the chief administrative body in Athens: cp. Nat. Deor. ii. 73; *ut si quis dicat Atheniensium rempublicam consilio regi, desit illud 'Areopagi': sic cum dicimus providentia mundum administrari deesse arbitrator 'deorum.'* On some of its functions, besides the judicial, see Gilbert, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*, i. 160 ff.

6. *Prius velim . . . gratissimum*] 'I should much rather have you make up your mind to do this cordially for my sake than merely make up your mind to do it. However, the long and the short of it is, if you grant my request I shall be extremely grateful' (cp. § 2).

CC. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 11).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Atticum rogat ut operam det ne sibi provincia prorogetur, de Marcello, de Pompeio eiusque voluntate in Hispaniam eundi, de commoratione sua Atheniensi et itinere per Graeciam a se suisque summa abstinentia facto, de mandatis Attici, de Xenone, Patrone eiusque causa Memmio a se commendata, de Pilia uxore Attici, de litterarum commercio. Scripta epistola est Athenis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Hui, totiensne me litteras dedisse Romam, cum ad te nullas darem? At vero posthac frustra potius dabo quam, si recte dari potuerint, committam ut non dem. Ne provincia nobis prorogetur, per fortunas! dum ades, quidquid provideri *potest*, provide. Non dici potest quam flagrem desiderio urbis, quam vix harum rerum insulsitatem feram. 2. Marcellus foede in Comensi. Etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro *quam* Caesari fecisse. Sed hoc ipse viderit. 3. Pompeius mihi quoque videbatur, quod scribis

cum . . . nullas darem] 'and never a line to you'—Jeans.

recte] 'safely.'

committam] 'than do such a thing as not write.' *Committere ut* is sometimes used in the same sense as *admitterent*, though it far oftener means 'to run the risk of,' as in *non committam ut tibi ipsi insanire videar*, Fam. v. 5, 3, Ep. xviii.

per fortunas] see on Ep. lxxviii. 1.

desiderio urbis] see I² p. 40.

2. *Comensi*] 'The Transpadanes, who possessed according to the existing constitution only Latin rights, were treated by Caesar, during his administration, practically as full burgesses of Rome . . . He adhered in this matter to the standpoint of his party, who, instead of seeking to procure the franchise for the Transpadanes, rather regarded it as already legally belonging to them.' Mommsen, R. H. iv. 312, and note: see also 158. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompeius Magnus, had given the Latin franchise to Upper Italy; but the Latin franchise did not carry immunity from corporal punishment, which was reserved for those who possessed the Roman franchise. Now, one who held a magistracy in a Latin town, *ipso facto* acquired a right to the Roman franchise. There seems to have been a doubt whether this particular native of Novum Comum held a magistracy or not; so Cicero writes, 'even supposing him not to have been a magistrate, he was at all events a Transpadane' and a participator in the rights of these. Novum Comum was a colony established by Caesar, and it was well known that Caesar claimed for the Transpadanes the Roman franchise with its personal immunities. If the man was a magistrate, Marcellus acted illegally; even if not, he acted 'foully,' in thus wantonly insulting Caesar.

nostro] Pompeius, whose father had given the *ius Latii* to Upper Italy.

ipse] Marcellus.

Varronem dicere, in Hispaniam certe iturus. Id ego minime probabam, qui quidem Theophani facile persuasi nihil esse melius quam illum nusquam discedere. Ergo Graecus incumbet. Valet autem auctoritas eius apud illum plurimum. 4. Ego has pridie Nonas Quinct. proficiscens Athenis dedi, cum ibi decem ipsos fuissem dies. Venerat Pomptinus, una Cn. Volusius, aderat quaestor: tuus unus Tullius aberat. Aphracta Rhodiorum et dicrota Mytilenaeorum habebam et aliquid ἐπικώπων. De Parthis erat silentium. Quod superest, di iuvent! 5. Nos adhuc iter per Graeciam summa cum admiratione fecimus, nec mehercule habeo quod adhuc quem accusem meorum. Videntur mihi nosse [nos] nostram causam et condicionem profectionis suae. Plane serviunt existimationi meae. Quod superest, si verum illud est οἵαπερ ἡ δέσποινα, certe permanebunt. Nihil enim a me fieri ita videbunt, ut sibi sit delinquendi locus. Sin id parum profuerit, fiet aliquid a nobis severius. Nam adhuc lenitate dulces sumus et, ut spero, proficimus aliquantum. Sed ego hanc, ut Siculi dicunt, ἀνεξίαν in unum annum meditatus sum. Proinde pugna ne, si quid prorogatum sit, turpis inveniar. 6. Nunc redeo ad quae mihi mandas:

3. *Varronem*] Varro had been appointed by Pompeius one of his legates.

incumbet] Cicero says Theophanes will 'put pressure' on Pompeius not to go to his province, Spain—not to stir from Rome. It is touching to see what importance Cicero attaches to the presence of Pompeius in Rome, though it really was not of the least consequence.

4. *decem ipsos*] 'exactly ten'; so *nunc ipsum* 'this instant,' &c.

quaestor] L. Mescinius Rufus. He is described afterwards as *levis libidinosus tagax* (Att. vi. 3, 1, Ep. ccIxiv.); but Cicero was glad enough to leave the province in his hands in default of a better man. He was sorry for the province, but he would let nothing hinder his departure from *harum rerum insulsitas*. Tullius, Anneius, and Pomptinus were his three *legati*.

5. *quod adhuc quem acusem*] 'any charge to bring against any of my staff so far.'

videntur . . . suae] 'they seem to understand thoroughly what my attitude is' (that of a governor who is determined to signalise his administration by its mildness and purity), 'and on what terms they are on my staff' (that they shall carry out his views).

οἵαπερ ἡ δέσποινα] *τοία χἠ κύων*, Schol. ad Plat. de Rep. viii. 563. 'Like master like man' is our proverb.

ἀνεξίαν] 'it is only for one year more that I have studied the *rôle* of *ἀνεκτός*, to use the expression of our Sicilian friends.' If *Siculi* for *singuli* of the MSS is the true correction, we must only suppose that the Sicilian Greeks used *ἀνεκτός* in the sense of 'patient,' 'enduring,' instead of the classical sense of 'endurable.' The noun *ἀνεξία* is formed rightly from *ἀνεκτός*, but is not found elsewhere. The active use of words like *ἀνεκτός* is of course quite common, *e.g.* *ἀφοβητός*, *ἀψαυστός*, *μεμπτός*, *ὑποπτός*. The classical Greek word is *ἀνεξικακία*. Classical Greek is opposed to Sicilian by Plautus Pers. III. 1, 67 (394), *sescenti logi Atque Attici omnes; nullum Siculum acceperis*; and by Cicero himself in Div. in Caecil. 39, *Si litteras Graecas, Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae non in Sicilia didicisses*. So Chaucer speaks of French 'after the schole of Stratford atte Bow' as opposed to 'French of Paris'.

in praefectis excusatio: iis, quos voles, deferto. Non ero tam μετέωρος, quam in Appuleio fui. Xenonem tam diligo quam tu, quod ipsum sentire certo scio. Apud Patronem et reliquos barones te in maxima gratia posui et hercule merito tuo feci. Nam mihi is ter dixit te scripsisse ad se mihi ex illius litteris rem illam curae fuisse, quod ei pergratum erat. Sed cum Patro mecum egisset, ut peterem a vestro Ariopago, ὑπομνηματισμὸν tollerent, quem Polycharmo praetore fecerant, commodius visum est et Xenoni et post ipsi Patroni, me ad Memmium scribere, qui pridie, quam ego Athenas veni, Mytilenas profectus erat, ut is ad suos scriberet posse id sua voluntate fieri. Non enim dubitabat Xeno quin ab Ariopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset. Memmius autem aedificandi consilium abiecerat, sed erat Patroni iratus. Itaque scripsi ad eum accurate, cuius epistolae misi ad te exemplum. 7. Tu velim Piliam meis verbis consolere: indicabo enim

6. *in praefectis excusatio*] Preserving this reading we may explain, referring to Att. v. 7, Ep. cxc., 'it is as I have said; *praefecti* have exemption from service as jurymen. My *praefecturae* you may confer on whomsoever you please.' *Excusatio*, however, does not bear this sense except in Ulpian. But the reference is more probably to a subsequent passage, Att. v. 21, 10, Ep. ccl., in which Cicero says he will not confer this place on any *negotiator*. We must in that case read *excusatio ni sit*, 'unless the condition on which I excuse myself (my excuse) intervenes' (*i. e.* unless the applicant is a *negotiator*); or we must read *exceptio ni sit*, 'unless they are barred by my exclusion of *negotiatores*.'

μέτεωρος] 'stiff,' '*difficile*.' In the same way we might say 'on my high horse': sometimes the word means 'doubtful,' 'at sea.'

barones] 'dunces,' 'blockheads,' as he jestingly calls the Epicureans: cp. Fam. ix. 26, 3.

rem illam] We read in the last letter that a minute of the council of Areopagus had granted Memmius the ruins of a house of Epicurus. Memmius, with a vandalism worthy of one whose name so closely resembled Mummius, was about to build on the site. Patro and other Epicureans were anxious to obtain the remains of the house, and asked Cicero to use his influence to have the minute of the Areopagus rescinded. Cicero thought it better to write to Memmius the letter which immediately precedes this in the collection, and of which he now sends a copy to Atticus. Memmius had given up the idea of building, but was anxious to spite Patro, with whom he had some difference. Memmius was now in banishment at Mitylene for bribery. It is strange that the man to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem should have had so little interest in the house of Epicurus as to make it a site for a dwelling-house.

7. *Piliam meis verbis consolere*] Pilia, wife of Atticus, had written a letter to Quintus, condoling with him on the petulance of his wife, Pomponia, her sister-in-law. Cicero opened and read this letter. The words are usually explained:—'say something comforting to Pilia in words which might naturally come from me: I will let you into a secret, but don't let her know—I opened her letter,' &c. But *meis verbis* ought to mean 'in my name': see Fam. xv. 8, Ep. ccxxv. and Att. xvi. 11, 8, *meis verbis suavium des*. We may explain well enough without giving *meis verbis* such an extraordinary meaning as 'words such as I might use.' Cicero asks Atticus to assure Pilia *in his name* that things are not so bad between Quintus and Pomponia as she supposes; he only requests Atticus to keep from Pilia the knowledge of the way in which he discovered how much Pilia was concerned. He desires that Atticus should not disclose to Pilia

tibi: tu illi nihil dixeris. Accepi fasciculum, in quo erat epistola Piliae: abstuli, aperui, legi: valde scripta est *συμπαθῶς*. Brundisio quae tibi epistolae redditae sunt sine mea, tum videlicet datas, cum ego me non belle haberem. Nam illam † *νομανα ρια* me † excusationem ne acceperis. Cura ut omnia sciam, sed maxme ut valeas.

CCI. TO M. CAELIUS RUFUS, AT ROME (FAM. II. 8).

PRID. NON. QUINT.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius de rebus levioribus urbanis ad M. Ciceronem perscripserat aut eius modi, quae nihil ad ipsum pertinerent. Eum igitur commonefacit his litteris, ut graviores res ad se perscribat. Se cum Cn. Pompeio fuisse, cui ut se addicat admonet M. Caelium, et cum Caninio Athenis. Denique res suas Caelio commendat. Scripta epistola est Athenis.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. M. CAELIO.

1. Quid? tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum compositiones, ut vadimonia dilata et Chresti compilationem

that he had opened her letter. Atticus could of course carry out his friend's wish in this matter by conveying Cicero's reassuring message to Pilia, and leading her to believe that he had himself informed Cicero of the nature of the letter which she had written to Quintus.

συμπαθῶς] 'with great sympathy' for Quintus.

videlicet datas] Here, as in the comic poets, *videlicet* is treated as if it were *videre licet* and governs a case: see I[2] pp. 61–63. To change *datas* to *datae sunt* is very rash criticism. Why do the MSS give us *datas*?

illam . . . acceperis] Various attempts have been made to emend the corrupt words; but no editor save Schütz is bold enough to print his correction in the text. He reads *νομαρχίας excusationem*, 'that excuse for not writing drawn from *pressure of business*—the *business excuse* of which I availed myself in excluding *negotiatores* from the prefecture—I will not ask you to accept from me.' This is ingenious; but does *νομαρχίας* give an adequate Greek word for *praefecturae*? Taking a hint from Schütz's theory of the meaning, we would suggest *νομαίαν ἀργίας a me excusationem ne acceperis*, 'business—the conventional excuse of Idleness.' This would be very good if some comic poet had written some such line as,

πράγματα νομαίαν ἀργίας πρόφασιν λέγω,

meaning 'business I look on as the idler's conventional excuse for neglect of duty.' For other conjectures see Adn. Crit. The meaning apparently is 'the excuse of illness is the only one I will ask you to accept from me as a valid reason for not writing—I will not ask you to accept the plea of business (occupation) as an excuse for not writing.'

1. *compositiones*] The regular word for matching combatants together, especially gladiators: cf. *συνιέναι*, *συμβάλλειν*.

vadimonia dilata] 'the adjournment of the day of appearance': cf. Att. ii. 7. 2, Ep. xxxiv. It practically does not differ from 'the adjournment of the trials.'

Chresti compilationem] 'robbery by Chrestus.' No doubt an actual robbery;

mitteres, et ea, quae nobis, cum Romae sumus, narrare nemo audeat? Vide quantum tibi meo iudicio tribuam—nec mehercule iniuria: πολιτικώτερον enim te adhuc neminem cognovi:—ne illa quidem curo mihi scribas, quae maximis in rebus rei publicae geruntur cotidie, nisi quid ad me ipsum pertinebit. Scribent alii: multi nuntiabunt: perferet multa etiam ipse rumor. Qua re ego nec praeterita nec praesentia abs te, sed ut ab homine longe in posterum prospiciente futura exspecto, ut, ex tuis litteris cum formam rei publicae viderim, quale aedificium futurum sit scire possim. 2. Neque tamen adhuc habeo quod te accusem: neque enim fuit quod tu plus providere posses quam quivis nostrum in primisque ego, qui cum Pompeio complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de re publica sermonibus versatus sum: quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt. Tantum habeto, civem egregium esse Pompeium et ad omnia, quae providenda sunt in re publica, et animo et consilio paratum. Qua re da te homini: complectetur, mihi crede. Nam iidem illi et boni et mali cives videntur, qui nobis videri solent. 3. Ego cum Athenis decem ipsos dies fuissem multumque mecum

cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1, 78, *Ne te compilent fugientes:* not as Lewis and Short say, 'sportively used of a collection of documents, a compilation.' *Chrestus* was a common name of slaves and freedmen.

Vide . . . pertinebit] Wesenberg's punctuation (*Em. Alt.* p. 4), which we have adopted, suits the sense far better than if a note of exclamation is put after *tribuam*, and the sentence be referred to what goes before. 'See the great value I put on you in my judgment (and rightly, indeed, too; for I have never met a man more *au fait* at politics): I don't want you to write to me even the most important events in politics each day, but only what shall have reference to myself.' It is questionable if *nisi quid* is right; such a passage as *nisi quid me ctesiae morabuntur . . . vos videbo*, Fam. ii. 16, 5, Ep. cclxxiii., where *quid* is accus., is not parallel. It should be either *nisi quod*, as in Verr. ii. 62, or *nisi si quid*, most probably the latter, as in Att. ii. 3, 2, Ep. xxix.; ii. 11, 1, Ep. xxxix.

formam] 'plan': cf. Q. Fr. ii. 2. 1, Ep. c., where the word is used of an architect's plan of a house, Att. i. 1, 2, Ep. x., *Petitorum haec est adhuc informata cogitatio.*

2. *complures dies*] i. e. three days, Att. v. 7, Ep. cxc.

quae nec scribenda sunt] 'which neither could nor should be written': *quae* is used in loose apposition with *sermonibus*, 'discussions on such points as, &c.': cp. De Sen. 7, *Saepe enim interfui querellis . . . quae . . . nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant*, where Mr. Reid refers to De Amicit. 14, *cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum quae se . . . audisse dicebat.* In such phrases as *ex eo genere quae* (Fin. iii. 70), *ex eo numero qui*, with plural verb (Arch. 31), the addition of the demonstrative pronoun renders the want of formal agreement of relative and antecedent less harsh: cp. Ep. xii. 13.

Tantum habeto] 'Take this much for certain, that Pompeius is a patriotic citizen, and ready in heart and head to take every precaution which is required for the political outlook.'

Nam] So Wesenberg (Em. Alt. p. 4) reads instead of *iam*, probably rightly. It assigns the reason why Caelius should enter into close alliance with Pompeius: cp. *Idem velle atque idem nolle ea demum firma amicitia est*, Sall. Cat. 20, 4.

3. *multumque mecum*] sc. *fuisset*.

Gallus noster Caninius, proficiscebar inde pridie Nonas Quintiles, cum hoc ad te litterarum dedi. Tibi cum omnia mea commendatissima esse cupio tum nihil magis quam ne tempus nobis provinciae prorogetur: in eo mihi sunt omnia. Quod quando et quo modo et per quos agendum sit tu optime constitues.

CCII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 12).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico exponit de molestiis cursus maritimi Athenis Delum confecti, de Messalla de ambitu reo, de exspectatis Attici litteris, de rebus urbanis, de negotiis suis Romanis. Scripta epistola est in mari ad Delum insulam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Negotium magnum est navigare atque id mense Quinctili. Sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Pridie Nonas Quinctil. a Piraeeo ad Zostera, vento molesto, qui nos ibidem Nonis tenuit. A. d. VIII. Idus ad Ceo iucunde. Inde Gyarum saevo vento, non adverso: hinc Syrum, inde Delum, utroque citius quam vellemus

Gallus noster Caninius] When the prenomen is left out (which was universal in conversation, and in writing customary after Caesar's time), it appears that Cicero almost always, both in his speeches as well as in his letters, puts the *cognomen* before the *nomen*, e.g. *Balbus Cornelius*, Att. viii. 15. 3; *Ahala Servilius*, Mil. 8. *Vespa Terentius*, De Orat. ii. 253. Caesar always puts the *nomen* before the *cognomen*; but the order is varied quite arbitrarily in Horace, Livy, and Tacitus: cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben*, p. 9, note 2. Gallus Caninius was propraetor of Achaia in 702 (52, B. C.)

proficiscebar] Note the epistolary tenses, 'Having been (*fuissem*) exactly ten days at Athens, I am now going to set out (*proficiscebar*) when I have despatched (*dedi*) this scrap of a letter to you.' Such seems the distinction between *has litteras* and *hoc litterarum*. For *ipsi*, 'exactly,' with numerals, cp. Att. iii. 21, Ep. lxxx.; v. 11, 4, Ep. cc.; vi. 8. 4, Ep. cclxxxi.

omnia mea commendatissima] 'I hope all my orders meet with your most careful attention.'

et per quos] *Et* with the last member only of an enumeration, yet with no special emphasis on that member, seems a mark of the epistolary style: Att. i. 20, 1, Ep. xxvi.; Fam. xvi. 11, 3; also Dräger, ii. p. 3. For *atque* similarly used in the comic drama and in letters, see Dräger, ii. p. 54.

1. *negotium*] 'A piece of business,' like Greek ἔργον: sometimes it is used like Greek χρῆμα, as Teucris is called *lentum negotium*, 'a slow coach,' Att. i. 12, 1 Ep. xvii; cp. also Att. v. 18, 4, Ep. ccxviii.; Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4, Ep. cxxxv.

Zostera] Zoster was a promontory of Attica, with a town and harbour, now C. Lombarda.

Ceo] = Κέω, the accus. of Κέως, according to the so-called Attic declension.

cursum confecimus. Iam nosti aphracta Rhodiorum: nihil quod minus fluctum ferre possit. Itaque erat in animo nihil festinare nec me Delo movere, nisi omnia ἄκρα Γυρέων pura vidissem. 2. De Messalla a te statim ut audivi de Gyaro dedi litteras, et—id ipsum consilium nostrum—etiam ad Hortensium, cui quidem valde συνηγωνίων. Sed tuas de eius iudicii sermonibus et mehercule omni

iam nosti] 'you know by this time what the open (undecked) Rhodian boats *iam* are like.' There is no need to change to *nam;* for the sentence does not explain why they went quicker than they wished; the effect of the Rhodian vessels is the opposite, to make them go slower, not quicker, as we see in next letter.

ἄκρα Γυρέων *pura*] The absurd reading accepted here by all the edd., without even an *obelus*, is ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια, which is supposed to mean 'such signs of fair weather as may be given by pennants on flagstaffs and at mastheads,' *signa secundae tempestatis ex vexillis in fastigiis domorum ac navium.* The reading in the text, which has never before appeared in any ed. of the letters, was admirably restored by L. Dindorf from a fragment of Archilochus (54 Bergk.)

Γλαῦκ', ὅρα, βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος
σῆμα χειμῶνος· κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.

The fragment is quoted by Plut. de Superstit., c. 8, and by Theophr. de Signis Tempest., 3, 8. So the heights on the promontory of Gyrae afforded a recognised, almost proverbial, weather-gauge, and nothing is more natural than that Cicero, who knew the works of Archilochus well, and who was now close to Paros, the birthplace of the poet, should refer to this passage, finding himself in the neighbourhood of the very place. Dio. Chrysost., Or. vii., p. 222 R. mentions a similar weather-presage drawn from the clouds round the peaks of Euboea, βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας λῆξαι τὸν ἄνεμον· ἀλλὰ οὐ ῥᾴδιον, εἶπεν, ὅταν οὕτω πιεσθῇ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τῶν νεφῶν ὥς γε νῦν κατειλημμένα ὁρᾷς. So Cicero says, here, 'I don't mean to stir from Delos until I see *all the peaks of Gyrae clear.*' The promontory of Gyrae is the south point of Tenos, due north of Paros, with a large expanse of open sea to the north; heavy clouds round the peaks of Gyrae would threaten bad weather from the north, the most dangerous point. A reference to the critical note will show that the reading in the text is far nearer to the MS reading, ακρατηρεων iura, than the vulgar reading, ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια, which is mere nonsense, and which would never have established itself at all, but for the general belief in the fictitious *codices* of Bosius, in which he declared it was to be found. To Prof. Mahaffy we owe the following note on the position of the Gyrae:—'Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 389, 390,

διπλῶν μεταξὺ χοιράδων σαρούμενον.
Γυραῖσι δ' ἐν πέτρῃσι τερσαίνων πτερά,

alludes to the story in Homer, Od. δ. 500 *sq.*, of Ajax Oïleus being cast upon these very rocks. The note of the scholiast is:—διπλῶν μεταξύ] ἤτοι Μυκόνου καὶ Τήνου, ἢ μεταξὺ τινων χοιράδων περὶ τὰς Γύρας οὕτω καλουμένας πέτρας. Καὶ Ὅμηρος,

Γυρῇσίν μιν πρῶτα Ποσειδάων ἐπέλασσε

Γυραὶ δὲ ἤκουον κυρίως αἱ πέτραι ἐν αἷς ὁ Αἴας ἀπώλετο. Hesychius *sub voc.* says ὄρος ἐν Τήνῳ.'

2. *a te*] We have thus corrected *ad te*, which makes the passage quite unintelligible, as was seen by Madvig, who reads, *Ad Messallam* (Adv. Crit. iii. 175), and omits *ad te*. He justly points out that Cicero would not inform Atticus that he had written to him about Messalla. The state of the case was:—Atticus had informed Cicero that Messalla had been acquitted on the charge of *ambitus* brought against him, and he had advised Cicero to write to Messalla. Cicero answers that he did so at once, 'and, moreover—this was my own idea—I wrote also to Hortensius', Messalla's uncle, who had defended him. *A te ut audivi de Messalla* is good epistolary Latin for the more formal phrase *ut litteris a te acceptis audivi*. A much greater laxity will be noticed in the note in the next section on *cui rei fugerat me rescribere*. The insertion of *ad eum* after *dedi litteras* would make the sentence clearer, but the words are not indispensable. Atticus

de rei publicae statu litteras exspecto, πολιτικώτερον quidem scriptas, quoniam meos cum Thallumeto nostro pervolutas libros, eius modi, inquam, litteras ex quibus ego non quid fiat—nam id vel Helonius, vir gravissimus, potest efficere, cliens tuus—sed quid futurum sit sciam. Cum haec leges, habemus consules. Omnia perspicere poteris de Caesare, de Pompeio, de ipsis iudiciis. 3. Nostra autem negotia, quoniam Romae commoraris, amabo te, explica. Cui rei fugerat me rescribere, de strue laterum, plane rogo, de aqua, si quid poterit fieri, eo sis animo, quo soles esse: quam ego cum mea sponte tum tuis sermonibus aestimo plurimi. Ergo tu id conficies. Praeterea, si quid Philippus rogabit, quod in tua re faceres, id velim facias. Plura scribam ad te, cum constitero: nunc eram plane in medio mari.

would understand whom he referred to. We read in Fam. viii. 4, 1, Ep. ccvi., a letter written shortly after this, that immediately after his acquittal Messalla was tried again (under the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis*) and found guilty. If the present letter contained the latter announcement as well as the former, *συνηγωνίων* refers to the condemnation. But even if only the acquittal was announced he might say, 'I sympathised greatly with Hortensius for the anxiety which the defence of his nephew must have cost him, and the marks of disapprobation with which Hortensius was received in the theatre.'

πολιτικώτερον] 'more on public topics.'

gravissimus] This word seems here to mean 'very tiresome,' with a play on the ordinary meaning of the adjective.

habemus] 'the consuls will have been made,' Lehmann, p. 89, defends *habemus*, the reading of M, by saying that the present is sometimes used for the future to indicate the certainty of the occurrence of a thing; so we might say, 'I am there,' in the sense of 'I will certainly go there.' So here 'by the time you read this the consuls are made.' He compares Att. i. 20, 6, Ep. xxvi., *simul atque hoc nostrum legerunt . . . retardantur*, which I do not think is at all parallel: see on Att. v. 17, 1, Ep. ccix.

3. *cui rei fugerat me rescribere*] 'I forgot to answer one thing in your letter—about the brickwork. I beg you, without any qualification (*plane*), to show your usual attentiveness to my affairs, and about the aqueduct to show the same, if anything can be done about it.' *Fugerat* is 'I forgot': cp. *fugit me ratio*, Catull. 10, 29. *Rei rescribere*, 'to answer a point in a letter,' would seem to be bad Latin if we had not Cicero as authority for it: it arose out of the other not quite accurate usage, 'I answered your letter,' instead of 'I answered you,' or 'I answered what you asked me in your letter,' *antemeridianis tuis litteris heri statim rescripsi, nunc respondeo vespertinis*, Att. xiii. 23, 1. The *aqua* seems to have been the *Aqua Crabra*, which, perhaps, he thought of bringing into Tusculanum (cp. Fam. xvi. 18, 3). Philippus was the contractor, as we learn from the end of the next letter.

CCIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 13).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Ephesum se venisse scribit et exponit de multitudine hominum, qui sibi Sami et magis etiam Ephesi praesto fuerint, et de spe sua provinciae administrandae, Attici negotia se Ephesi diligenter curasse, petit ut Atticus curet ne sibi provincia prorogetur, mandata sua Attico commendat et ut de omnibus rebus, maxime de iudiciorum statu, sibi scribat petit. Scripta epistola est Ephesi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ephesum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext. sexagesimo et quingentesimo post pugnam Bovillanam. Navigavimus sine timore et sine nausea, sed tardius propter aphractorum Rhodiorum imbecillitatem. De concursu legationum, privatorum, et de incredibili multitudine, quae mihi iam Sami, sed mirabilem *in modum* Ephesi praesto fuit, aut audisse te puto aut 'quid ad me attinet?' Verumtamen decumani *quasi* venissem cum imperio, Graeci quasi Ephesio praetori se alacres obtulerunt. Ex quo te intellegere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas. Sed, ut spero, utemur ea palaestra, quam a te didicimus, omnibusque satis faciemus et eo facilius, quod in nostra provincia confectae sunt pactiones. Sed *haec* hactenus, praesertim cum cenanti mihi nuntiarit Cestius se de nocte proficisci. 2. Tua negotiola Ephesi curae mihi fuerunt, Thermoque, tametsi ante adventum meum liberalissime erat pollicitus tuis omnibus, tamen Philogenem et Seium tradidi, Apollonidensem Xenonem commendavi. Omnino omnia se facturum recepit. Ego praeterea rationem

1. *Bovillanam*] 'the battle of Bovillae' is the name which he gives to the fray in which Clodius perished near Bovillae, on the Appian Way. He also calls it 'the battle of Leuctra,' vi. 1, 26, Ep. cclii.

'*quid attinet*'] sc. *puto te dicturum*.

verumtamen] resumptive, as usual.

decumani] the publicans who farmed the tithes of Asia. The *pactiones* spoken of below are the agreements between these farmers-general and the provincials as to the amount of money which would be taken to represent the tithes.

Ephesio praetori] the governor of Asia, Thermus, who was *pro-praetor*; but *praetor* is a general term for a provincial governor: see Att. v. 20, 11, Ep. ccl.

2. *tradidi*] 'I introduced,' lit. 'I put them in his hands,' 'made them over to him.' *Trado* is used to strengthen *commendo* in Fam. ii. 6, 5, Ep. clxxvii. We have already met in the letter introducing Trebatius to Caesar, *trado de manu ut aiunt in manum*, Fam. vii. 5, 3, Ep. cxxxiv.

Philogeni permutationis eius, quam tecum feci, edidi. Ergo haec quoque hactenus. 3. Redeo ad urbana. Per fortunas! quoniam Romae manes, primum illud praefulci atque praemuni, quaeso, ut simus annui, ne intercaletur quidem. Deinde exhauri mea mandata, maximeque, si quid potest, de illo domestico scrupulum quem non ignoras, dein de Caesare: cuius in cupiditatem te auctore incubui, nec me piget. Et, si intellegis quam meum sit scire et curare quid in re publica fiat—fiat autem? immo vero etiam quid futurum sit, prescribe ad me omnia, sed diligentissime, in primisque num quid iudiciorum status aut factorum aut futurorum etiam laboret. De aqua, si curae est, si quid Philippus aget, animadvertes.

CCIV. TO ATTICUS (ATT. V. 14).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico se Epheso Tralles pervenisse scribit, de provincia, in qua se sperat fore Kal. Sext., bonos nuntios se accepisse, de adventu suo in Asiam et de rebus in provincia gerendis, de omnibus rebus urbanis ab Attico vult certior fieri suaque omnia ei commendat. Scripsit Trallibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ante quam aliquo loco consedero, neque longas a me neque semper mea manu litteras exspectabis. Cum autem erit spatium,

permutationis] 'I submitted to Philogenes the account of the sum I got from you by negotiating a bill of exchange.'

3. *ut simus annui*] Instead of saying 'that our office may only last for a year,' he carelessly writes 'that we may only last for a year.'

scrupulum] sc. *tolle:* cp. I^2, p. 70, 'hitch.' Some hitch seems to have arisen in the arrangements about Tullia's betrothal. The same matter is referred to as *illud* ἐνδόμυχον in the next letter. Perhaps the Greek word should stand in both places. The Latin word may have been a gloss. So παράπηγμα ἐνιαύσιον is found, Att. v. 14, 1, Ep. cciv., in exactly the same sense as *clavum anni* in v. 15, 1, Ep. ccvii.

cuius in cup.] He has hinted that Att. had urged him to pay his debt. He now says, 'it was you who urged me to try to pay this debt, and I am not sorry you did.'

quam meum sit] 'what a passion I have for knowing everything that is happening —happening do I say? nay, about to happen—in public life.' With *autem* cp. *probari autem*, Att. vi. 2, 1, Ep. cclvi.; *fecissent autem*, ibid. 8; *meum autem*, Fam. i. 9, 10, Ep. cliii. The expression is common in the comic drama.

numquid . . . laboret] 'whether the trials are breaking down at all.' See I^2, p. 62.

factorum] 'past or future': cp. cxviii. 2.

si curae est] It is strange that he should say 'if you feel any interest in the matter,' or 'if you are attending to the matter,' having urged him in the last letter to show his usual assiduity 'if anything can be done.' Perhaps we should read, as Boot suggests, *De aqua tibi curae esto. Quid Philippus agat animadvertes.*

1. *consedero*] 'settle down': *constitero* is used in the same sense in Ep. ccii. *fin.*

utrumque praestabo. Nunc iter conficiebamus aestuosa et pulverulenta via. Dederam Epheso pridie: has dedi Trallibus. In provincia mea fore me putabam Kal. Sextilibus. Ex ea die, si me amas, παράπηγμα ἐνιαύσιον commoveto. Tamen interea haec mihi, quae vellem, adferebantur: primum otium Parthicum, dein confectae pactiones publicanorum, postremo seditio militum sedata ab Appio stipendiumque eis usque ad Idus Quinct. persolutum. 2. Nos Asia accepit admirabiliter. Adventus noster nemini *ne* minimo quidem fuit sumptui. Spero meos omnes servire laudi meae. Tamen in magno timore sum, sed bene speramus. Omnes iam nostri praeter Tullium tuum venerunt. Erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, aestivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos iuris dictioni. 3. Tu velim, si me nihilo minus nosti curiosum in re publica quam te, scribas ad me omnia quae sint, quae futura sint. Nihil mihi gratius facere potes, nisi tamen

spatium] 'time,' 'leisure': cp. Fam. ix. 5, 3; xv. 17, 1.

praestabo] 'I will guarantee both,' that is, 'I will undertake to write long letters, and these not dictated to my *librarius*, but written by myself.'

conficiebamus . . . dederam . . . dedi] epistolary tenses: the imperfect *conficiebam* stands for the mediate present, 'I am travelling'; the perfect *dedi* for the immediate present, 'I send (now)'; the pluperfect *dederam* for the past indefinite, 'I sent.'

παράπηγμα] The very same meaning is conveyed by *clavum anni movebis* in the next letter. The phrase is said by the old commentators to take its rise 'from an old custom which came from Etruria to Rome, whereby the *Pontifex Maximus*, on the Ides of September, struck a nail into the right wall of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to keep count of the years.' *Commoveto*, like *movebis*, in the next letter, is used as a Latin equivalent for *κινεῖν* in the sense of 'to take in hand,' e.g. ἐκίνουν θύρσον ἐς βακχεύματα, Eur. Bacch. 724. Cp. *commotis excita sacris*, Verg. Aen. iv. 301; *mea si commovi sacra*, Plaut. Pseud. i. 1, 110 (110); *nummus commovetur* 'is put in circulation,' Cic. Font. 11; *glebam commosset*, Verr. iii. 45. *Ea die* compared with *hoc die* in the next letter seems to call for correction; but see Lewis and Short on *dies*, where it is shown that the gender of *dies* often varies within the limits of a sentence.

quae vellem] 'this welcome news': the subjunctive makes *quae vellem* an attribute of the 'news brought,' *haec adferebantur*. If he had written *haec quae volebam* (or *volui*) *adferebantur*, the meaning would be 'this intelligence was brought, and I am glad of it.'

2. *Asia*] The province of Asia comprised Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia, and Ionia.

ne minimo] 'did not cost anyone a farthing.'

in magno timore] The insertion of *in* makes the expression far more normal, and *in* would very easily fall out before *m*; the MS gives *in alam* for *malam* in Att. i. 19, 2, Ep. xxv., and we have often had occasion to point out how common this error is: cp. Ep. cxcvi. 1.

3. *si me nosti*] 'as you know me,' 'as sure as you know me,' like *si me amas*, above.

nisi tamen] This elliptico-adversative use of *nisi* is quite a feature in the comic drama. He had said 'you can't do me a greater favour than by writing to me regularly'; then he adds, 'save one thing—the greatest favour of all—your carrying out my commissions.' Cp. *nescio: nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99; *nisi unum: epityrum illi estur insanum bene*, Mil. Glor. i. 1, 24 (24); *nisi mirumst facinus*, Ibid. ii. 4, 24 (376).

id erit mihi gratissimum, si, quae tibi mandavi, confeceris, in primisque illud ἐνδόμυχον, quo mihi scies nihil esse carius. Habes epistolam plenam festinationis et pulveris. Reliquae subtiliores erunt.

CCV. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (Fam. iii. 5).

VI. KAL. SEXT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Appio M. Cicero gratias agit, quod suis commodis prospiciat, et dierum et itinerum suorum rationem exponit, ut ille qua secum congrediatur statuere possit. Scriptae litterae sunt Trallibus.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. Tralles veni a. d. vi. Kalendas Sextiles. Ibi mihi praesto fuit L. Lucilius cum litteris mandatisque tuis: quo quidem hominem neminem potuisti nec mihi amiciorem nec, ut arbitror, ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiorem prudentioremve mittere. Ego autem et tuas litteras legi libenter et audivi Lucilium diligenter. Nunc, quoniam et tu ita sentis—scribis enim quae de nostris officiis ego ad te scripserim, etsi tibi iucunda fuerint, tamen, quoniam ex alto repetita sint, non necessaria te putasse—et re vera confirmata amicitia et perspecta fide commemoratio officiorum supervacanea est, eam partem orationis praetermittam, tibi tamen agam, ut debeo, gratias. Animadverti enim et didici ex tuis litteris te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem, ut mihi consuleres praestitueresque et praeparares quodam modo omnia, quo mea ratio facilior et solutior esse posset. 2. Hoc tuum officium cum mihi gratissimum esse dicam, sequitur illud, ut te existimare velim mihi magnae curae fore atque esse iam, primum ut ipse tu tuique omnes, deinde ut etiam reliqui scire possint me tibi esse amicissimum. Quod quibus adhuc non satis est perspectum, ii mihi nolle

scies] 'you must know,' 'you will have seen by this time,' that I am not more concerned about anything than about Tullia's betrothal. Kl. rightly retains *scies* of the MSS, with the comment 'futurum tempus ponit rem ita esse.'

subtiliores] 'more detailed.'

1. *hominem neminem*] Cp. *ut hominem neminem pluris faciam*, Fam. xiii. 55, 1, Ep. ccxxxii.

quoniam ex alto repetita sint] 'since they go back so far.'

ratio . . . posset] 'course of action might be easier and less complicated.'

magis nos hoc animo esse quam non intellegere videntur. Sed profecto intellegent: neque enim obscuris personis nec parvis in causis res agetur. Sed haec fieri melius quam dici aut scribi volo. 3. Quod itinerum meorum ratio te non nullam in dubitationem videtur adducere, visurusne me sis in provincia, ea res sic se habet: Brundisii cum loquerer cum Phania liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem me libenter ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer. Tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe tu velles decedere, per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae navibus accessissem. Dixi me esse facturum: itaque fecissem, nisi mihi L. Clodius noster Corcyrae dixisset minime id esse faciendum: te Laodiceae fore ad meum adventum. Erat id mihi multo brevius multoque commodius, cum praesertim te ita malle arbitrarer. 4. Tua ratio postea est commutata. Nunc quid fieri possit tu facillime statues: ego tibi meum consilium exponam. Pridie Kalendas Sextiles puto me Laodiceae fore: perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur, quae mihi ex publica permutatione debetur, commorabor. Deinde iter faciam ad exercitum, ut circiter Idus Sextiles putem me ad Iconium fore. Sed si quid nunc me fallit in scribendo—procul enim aberam ab re ipsa et a locis—, simul ac progredi coepero, quam celerrimis *nuntiis* potero et quam creberrimis litteris faciam, ut tibi nota sit omnis ratio dierum atque itinerum meorum. Oneris tibi

2. *neque . . . agetur*] 'for our drama will not be enacted with insignificant characters, nor with a trivial theme.' *Obscuris personis* is an ablative of attendant circumstances, 'when the characters are insignificant.' It is to be noted that the adjective is essential: cp. Juv. i. 13, '*assiduo ruptae lectore columnae*,' and Munro's note ap. Mayor; also Wilkins on *inaequali tonsore* in Hor. Epist. i. 1, 94.

sed haec . . . volo] 'but my wish is that these be shown in what I do rather than in what I say or write.'

3. *veni in eum sermonem ut dicerem*] 'in the course of our conversation I was led to say': the *ut* is explanatory of *eum*.

velles] subj. of reported reason, Roby, 1744: 'since as he said you wished.'

per . . . accomm.] a common *tmesis*.

si ad illam] The place he intended to land at was Sida, near Aspendus, in Pamphylia: Fam. iii. 6, 1, Ep. ccxiii. It would certainly be more natural if we could suppose, as has been done by some editors since Victorius, that Cicero wrote *si ad Sidam maritimam partem provinciae* (Qu. *maritima in parte provinciae*). *Illam* can only mean that part which was suggested to Cicero.

4. *ex publica permutatione*] 'on the Treasury Bill of Exchange.' Cicero would want to get the current coin of the province for the money given him for his domestic establishment (*vasarium*). This system of drawing Bills of Exchange is frequently mentioned in the Letters: Q. Fr. i. 3. 7, Ep. lxvi; Fam. ii. 17, 7, Ep. cclxxi. 'To draw a bill of exchange on Athens' is *permutare Athenas*, Att. xv. 15, 4: see Dict. Antiq. s. v. *Argentarii*.

ab re ipsa et a locis] 'from the action itself and the scene of the action.'

celerrimis nuntiis] Klotz added *nuntiis*, comparing Fam. iii. 11, 1, Ep. cclxv.;

imponere nec audeo quidquam nec debeo. Sed, quod commodo tuo fieri possit, utriusque nostrum magni interest *ut te videam ante*, quam decedas. Quam facultatem si quis casus eripuerit, mea tamen in te omnia officia constabunt non secus ac si te vidissem. Tibi de nostris rebus nihil sum ante mandaturus per litteras, quam desperaro coram me tecum agere posse. 5. Quod te a Scaevola petisse dicis, ut, dum tu abesses, ante adventum meum provinciae praeesset, eum ego Ephesi vidi fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum, nec ex eo quidquam audivi, quod sibi a te mandatum diceret. Ac sane vellem potuisset obsequi voluntati tuae: non enim arbitror noluisse.

CCVI. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 4).

KAL. SEXT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Scribit M. Caelius de damnatione Messallae et Servaei tr. pl. designati: de C. Marcello cos. des., de P. Dolabella quindecimviro creato, de Lentulo repulso, de Curione, de comitiis, de actis in senatu, de Caesaris animo erga Pompeium, de suis rebus. Scripta epistola est Romae a. u. c. 703, et respondet his litteris M. Cicero, lib. ii., ep. 10.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Invideo tibi: tam multa cotidie quae mirere istoc perferuntur: primum illud, absolutum Messallam: deinde eumdem condemnatum: C. Marcellum consulem factum: M. Calidium ab

vi. 8, 2, xiii. 57, 1, Ep. ccliv. &c., for the collocation of *nuntii* and *litterae*.

utriusque nostrum . . . decedas] Nearly all MSS omit from *-rest* (in *interest*) down to *videam ante*. In some few MSS, among them Harl. 2591, *interest* is written in full, and *ut te videam ante* appended in the margin.

mea tamen in te . . . constabunt] 'you may still count on all the services in my power.'

5 *diceret*] See note to Att. i. 1. 3, Ep. x., and Roby, § 1746. Scaevola was possibly the legatus or quaestor of Appius.

Ac sane] So Orelli for *An sane* of the MSS.

1. *condemnatum*] by the Lex Iunia de Sodaliciis: see Fam. viii. 2, 1, Ep. cci., and Addenda.

a repulsa] 'after his rejection' (for consulship): *ab* has often this sense of 'after,' with the additional idea of 'in consequence of,' *e. g.* Sall. Jug., 63, 5; Liv. ii. 14, 3, and often. See on Ep. lxx. 2.

repulsa postulatum a Galliis duobus: P. Dolabellam quindecimvirum factum. Hoc tibi non invideo, caruisse te pulcherrimo spectaculo, et Lentuli Cruris repulsi vultum non vidisse. At qua spe, quam certa opinione descenderat! quam ipso diffidente Dolabella! Et, hercules, nisi nostri equites acutius vidissent, paene concedente adversario superasset. 2. Illud te non arbitror miratum, Servaeum, designatum tribunum plebi, condemnatum: in cuius locum C. Curio petit. Sane quam incutit multis, qui eum facilitatemque eius non norunt, magnum metum, sed, ut spero et volo et ut se fert ipse, bonos et senatum malet: totus, ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. Huius autem voluntatis initium et causa est, quod eum non mediocriter Caesar, qui solet infimorum hominum amicitiam sibi qualibet impensa adiungere, valde contempsit. Qua in re mihi videtur illud perquam venuste cecidisse, quod a reliquis

a Galliis duobus] The Gallii and Calidii were hereditary enemies. The father of Calidius had been accused by a Q. Gallius of *repetundae* in 678 (76); Calidius had in 688 (66) accused of *ambitus* Q. Gallius, who was defended by Cicero, and some of the fragments of this defence have been preserved (cf. Ascon., pp. 145, 88; Cic. Brut. 278; Val. Max. viii. 10, 3). Now in 703 (51), the Gallii tried to have their revenge by accusing Calidius of *ambitus*. But he was acquitted, for he remained in the Senate (Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 2, 3): cp. Zumpt, *Criminalprocess*, pp. 485, 529, 534.

P. Dolabellam] subsequently husband of Tullia. The *Quindecemviri sacris faciundis* were a most important religious College, which had charge of the Sibylline books, and the religious worships introduced by them: cp. Marquardt, iii. 336–380.

Cruris] It is not known whence this Lentulus derived the name of Crus or Cruscellus. Some scholars (*e. g.* Victorius) have supposed that it was from a play on the common cognomen Sura in the family. His defeat was in the contest for the quindecemvirate.

2. *Servaeum*] Of this man nothing certain is known: he was condemned for *ambitus* (Zumpt 534). The penalty under the Calpurnian Law passed in 687 (67) against *ambitus* was a money fine, and perpetual inability to hold office or be a senator (Schol. Bob. p. 361 Or.): cp. Dio Cass. xxxvi. 38 (21), who says that if any more stringent law had been passed condemnations could not have been brought about under it.

facilitatem] 'how easily he can be swayed.'

totus ut nunc est hoc scaturit] 'in his present state he is entirely bubbling over with this,' *i. e.* his intention of supporting the senatorial side. Lambinus conjectures *senaturit*; but this would mean 'desires to be the senate' (cp. *sullaturit*), not 'desires to help the senate.' For the accus. cp. Plaut. Pers. ii. 1, 9 (178), *amas pol misera: id tuus scatet animus.*

initium et causa est] For the singular *est*, cp. Fam. viii. 14, 4, Ep. cclxxx., *ferrum et vis diiudicabit.*

Qua in re mihi videtur illud] 'in the whole matter this (viz. Cæsar's slight to Curio's overtures) seems to me a delightful incident: and this view has struck the rest, as well as me, so strongly, that they give Curio, who does nothing advisedly, credit for having used policy and artifice in recoiling from the advice of those among the nobles who strenuously urged him not to stand for the tribunate—the Laelii Antonii and powerful nobles of that kind.' These were afraid of Curio's instability, and urged him not to stand for the tribunate; for they feared that if he held such an important office he might be drawn over, or go over, to Cæsar's side, and prove troublesome. Curio, however, has rejected their advice, and now that his intriguing with Cæsar has come to light, we all say that Curio

quoque usque eo est animadversum, ut Curio, qui nihil consilio facit, ratione et insidiis usus videretur in evitandis consiliis, qui se intenderant adversarios in eius tribunatum: Laelios et Antonios et id genus valentes dico. 3. Has ego tibi litteras eo maiore misi intervallo, quod comitiorum dilationes occupatiorem me habebant et exspectare in dies exitum cogebant, ut confectis omnibus te facerem certiorem. Ad Kalendas Sextiles usque exspectavi. Praetoriis morae quaedam inciderunt. Mea porro comitia quem eventum sint habitura nescio: opinionem quidem, quod ad Hirrum attinet, incredibilem aedilium pl. comitiis nacta sunt. Nam M. Caelium Vinicianum mentio illa fatua, quam deriseramus olim, et promulgatio de dictatore subito deiecit et deiectum magno clamore insecuta est. Inde Hirrum cuncti iam non faciendum flagitare.

knew very well what he was about, for Cæsar is an uncommonly profitable ally to join, and we think it is delightful that Cæsar has thus snubbed him, for he deserved it, and it will cure him effectually of intriguing with our adversaries.

There is, however, another way in which we may take *in evitandis consiliis*—for, not knowing what these *consilia* were, we are necessarily reduced to conjecture. In the manner in which Curio has avoided the machinations directed against his candidature by the Laelii and that set, he has got the credit of being, not the hair-brained free-lance we thought him to be, but astute and wide awake; for in the way in which he has met the attack of the extreme section of the nobility he has been able to pose as their opponent, and accordingly a person for Cæsar to get on his side—for a consideration: but Cæsar has treated him with contempt, and that is delightful, &c. After Curio did join Cæsar, this was his policy: he kept persistently proposing absurd laws directed against the nobles, which they could not possibly help persistently rejecting, and so Curio got the reputation of being a persecuted man, and made it seem as if there was no justice for the democracy (Dio Cass. xl. 61). If we transposed *insidiis* and *consiliis* (as has been suggested) this view would especially commend itself. For *usque eo . . . ut* (a favourite collocation of Caelius) Becher (p. 3) compares Fam. viii. 3, 1, Ep. cxcvii.; 8, 1, Ep. ccxxiii.; 10, 2, Ep. ccxxvi. Most MSS read *iis* after *evitandis*, but not so H. The sense is made perfect by omitting that word, and understanding *eorum* with Becher (p. 2), who compares Corn. Nepos, Dion. 9, 5, *quam invisa sit singularis potentia, et miseranda vita, qui se metui quam amari malunt*; also Liv. xli. 2, 2; Verg. Aen. xi. 81. There is no need then to read *consiliariis* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.*, p. 19). *Id genus*, descriptive accusative: cp. Att. xiii. 12, 3, *scis me antea orationes aut aliquid id genus solitum scribere*; also *quod genus* frequently in Lucretius: cp. *virile secus*, Roby, § 1104.

3. *Praetoriis*] sc. *comitiis*: cp. *novis magistratibus*, Ep. ccxxvi. 3, which is most probably the abl. of time, but might perhaps be the dat. incommod.

opinionem] 'an indication of feeling.' For the subject to *nacta sunt* we must continue *mea comitia*; but the expression is very strange: 'my election got an indication of feeling.'

pl.] plebeian, opp. to curule.

M. Caelium Vinicianum] For his subsequent career see Hirt. *Bell. Alex.* 77. His tombstone has been found at Tusculum (Henzen, 5358).

promulgatio de dictatore] sc. that Pompeius should be appointed dictator. Hirrus had a few years before made a similar motion (Q. Fr. iii. 8, 4, 6, Ep. clix.; iii. 9, 3, Ep. clx.; Plut. Pomp. 54). There was always a great horror of the title dictator as associated with the proscriptions (Dio. Cass. xl. 45).

et deiectum . . . insecuta est] Even for Caelius this is an extraordinary prosopopoea. The proposition might be said to bring him to the ground, but it is decidedly wonderful to say that it assailed him with

Spero te celeriter et de nobis quod sperasti et de illo quod vix sperare ausus es auditurum. 4. De re publica iam novi quidquam exspectare desieramus, sed cum senatus habitus esset ad Apollinis a. d. XI. Kalend. Sext. et referretur de stipendio Cn. Pompeii, mentio facta est de legione ea, quam expensam tulit C. Caesari Pompeius, quo numero esset, quo appeteretur. †Cum Pompeius 'esse in Gallia', coactus est dicere Pompeius 'se legionem abducturum,' sed non statim sub mentionem et convicium obtrectatorum: inde interrogatus de successione C. Caesaris, de qua, hoc est, de provinciis, placitum est ut quam primum ad urbem reverteretur Cn. Pompeius, ut coram eo de successione provinciarum ageretur. Nam Ariminum ad exercitum Pompeius erat iturus, et statim iit. Puto Idib. Sextil. de ea re actum iri. Profecto aut transigetur aliquid aut turpiter intercedetur. Nam in disputando coniecit illam vocem Cn. Pompeius, 'omnes oportere senatui dicto audi-

shouts. Boot (*Obs. Crit.*, p. 16) thinks we should read *magni clamores insecuti sunt*. Perhaps *magno clamore insectatio insecuta est*. *Insectatio* does not appear to be used by Cicero, but it is found in Dec. Brutus (Fam. xi. 1, 2).

4. *de stipendio Cn. Pompeii*] about the pay for Pompeius's forces. These he had partly in Spain, partly at Ariminum.

expensam tulit] 'lent': cp. Liv. vi. 20, 6, *homines produxisse dicitur quibus sine foenere expensas pecunias tulisset*.

quo numero esset, quo appeteretur] 'in whose contingent it was, and what it was being wanted for.' Cp. Hirt. B. G. viii. 54, 2, *Nam Cn. Pompeius legionem primam quam ad Caesarem miserat, confectam ex delectu provinciae Caesaris, eam tanquam ex suo numero dedit*. As to *quo appeteretur*, we have retained it, the MSS reading, as it seems to suit best with the answer of Pompeius. Ernesti thinks that *quoad peteretur* means 'for what purpose it had been asked for,' but this would require the pluperfect. Rather we should render, 'how long it was wanted for.' Boot (p. 17) approves of Lambinus's reading, *et quando repeteretur*.

† *Cum . . . obtrectatorum*] Leave out the second *Pompeius* and the sentence will have a certain shape. 'When Pompeius said that "it was in Gaul," he was compelled to say that he would take back the legion, but not till some time after the question had been mooted, and his opponents had taunted him.' Pompeius did not want to say anything definite: he said at first that the legion was in Gaul, which was an evasive answer to the question. Accordingly his opponents taunted him with his irresolution. Ultimately he did say that he would get back the legion, but not till he had been forced to do so by the outcry of his opponents. His opponents in this case were probably, as Manutius says, the extreme section of the senatorial party. The whole proceeding gave Caelius the impression of want of straightforwardness on Pompeius's part.

inde interrogatus] There is no need to add *est*: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 3, Ep. ccxxiii., and § 5 below. Becher (p. 19) adds Tac. Ann. i. 8; ii. 60; vi. 38.

hoc est de provinciis] Some edd., *e.g.* Ernesti and Baiter, bracket these words.

placitum est] 'the opinion arrived at was.' For *placitum est*, Becher compares D. Brutus, Fam. xi. 1, 2, 6. Pompeius in Att. viii. 12, A. 4, Cic. Rep. i. 18.

ad urbem] The temple of Apollo, where the senate was often held, as it was on this occasion, was in the Prata Flaminia outside the walls. The temple of Bellona was the other sanctuary outside the walls, in which sittings of the senate were held.

coram] strangely prep.; see on Ep. cxv.

aut turpiter intercedetur. Nam] 'or there will be a scandalous obstruction by veto: scandalous because,' &c.

entes esse.' Ego tamen sic nihil exspecto, quo modo Paullum, consulem designatum, primum sententiam dicentem. 5. Saepius te admoneo de syngrapha Sittiana: cupio enim te intellegere eam rem ad me valde pertinere, item de pantheris, ut Cibyratas arcessas curesque ut mihi vehantur; praeterea nuntiatum nobis et pro certo iam habetur, regem Alexandrinum mortuum: quid mihi suadeas, quo modo regnum illud se habeat, quis procuret, diligenter mihi perscribas. K. Sext.

CCVII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 15).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Laodiceam pervenisse, abstinenter vivere, iter suscepisse Laodicea in Lycaoniam, sed sibi negotium provinciae molestum esse, itaque instat amico ut operam det ne sibi provincia prorogetur, ab eoque petit ut sibi de rebus urbanis scribat. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Laodiceam veni pridie Kal. Sext. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Nihil exoptatius adventu meo, nihil carius. Sed est

senatui] The dat., because *dicto audiens esse* = *parere*: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 9, Ep. ccxxiii.; 2 Verr. i. 114.

sic nihil expecto quomodo] 'there is nothing to which I look so eagerly as.' The collocation *sic* . . . *quomodo* is unusual in this order. It is generally *quomodo* (with the verb) . . . *sic* (sometimes with, sometimes without, the verb), Tusc. v. 18, Off. i. 136.

5. *de syngrapha Sittiana*] cp. note to Fam. viii. 2, 2, Ep. cxcvi.

Cibyratas] Cibyra was one of the dioceses of Asia which were at this time under the government of the Proconsul of Cilicia.

vehantur] H reads *veantur*, whence Graevius conjectured *venentur;* but it is unnecessary.

regem Alexandrinum] Ptolemaeus, who had four years before been restored by Gabinius. He left a young son aged 13 years.

quid mihi suadeas] Ernesti thinks that Caelius was probably one of the creditors of Ptolemaeus—that he held, in fact, Egyptian bonds.

quis procuret] 'who is its manager.' This vice-regent was Pothinus, who afterwards had Pompeius put to death.

1. *ex hoc die*] 'count the beginning of my year from that date.' Cicero finds that he has arrived within the borders of his province one day earlier than he had expected; and he wishes this to be carefully recorded, lest his hated government should be prolonged even by twenty-four hours. We might render 'put a nick in the post' for the beginning of my year. *Commovere* is more usual in the sense of 'to take in hand,' 'put in motion'; but we have *movere* in the phrase *quieta non movere*, 'to leave well alone.' Laodicea was in Cicero's province, which included not only Cilicia, but Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, the island

incredibile quam me negotii taedeat. Non habeat satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi, et industriae meae praeclara opera cesset? Quippe. Ius Laodiceae me dicere, cum Romae A. Plotius dicat? et cum exercitum noster amicus habeat tantum, me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium? Denique haec non desidero: lucem, forum, urbem, domum, vos desidero. Sed feram, ut potero, sit modo annuum. Si prorogatur, actum est. Verum perfacile resisti potest, tu modo Romae sis. 2. Quaeris quid hic agam? Ita vivam ut maximos sumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc instituto. Admirabilis abstinentia ex praeceptis tuis, ut verear ne illud, quod tecum permutavi, versura mihi solvendum sit. Appii vulnera non refrico, sed apparent nec occuli possunt. 3. Iter Laodicea faciebam a. d. III. Non Sext., cum has litteras dabam, in castra in Lycaoniam: inde ad Taurum cogitabam, ut cum Moeragene signis collatis, si possem, de servo tuo decernerem.

Clitellae bovi impositae sunt, plane non est nostrum onus:

of Cyprus, and three διοικήσεις, Laodicea, Apamea, and Synnada, which usually belonged to Asia, and were only under the governor of Cilicia for a short time. See on Fam. iii. 8, 4, Ep. ccxxii.

habeat . . . cesset] 'you will ask, has that intellectual dash, which you know so well, no scope for its exercise, and has my mental energy ceased to be rich in produce? Just so! To think of *my* seat of justice being here, while Plotius has his in Rome!' Plotius was *praetor urbanus* this year. For this use of the subjunctive see on Ep. xxxvii. 1; Ep. lxvi. 1: cp. also Att. vi. 3, 2, Ep. cclxiv. Slightly different is *exercitum tu habeas*, Att. vii. 9, 4, Ep. ccc., where the subj. is merely exclamatory, like the accus. and infin. here, *ius L. me dicere!* For *quippe* cp. Att. xv. 21, 3, *nullas a te* xi. *Kal. Quippe* ('of course not'), *quid enim iam novi?* So Mil. 47, and Att. vi. 3, 1, Ep. cclxiv.

noster amicus] On the whole it seems most probable that he refers to Cæsar. Boot thinks he refers to C. Cassius, who had gone with Crassus to Syria, and after the defeat and death of Crassus had gained successes against the Parthians before the arrival of Bibulus. But there is no reason to suppose that Cassius was at all well provided with troops. On the contrary, Fam. xv. 1, 5, Ep. ccxxi., would rather seem to show that he was weak.

exilium] 'the nominal command of two skeleton legions.' *Exiles* is opposed to *plenae*, the word applied to a legion or troop which is up to its full strength, *tres cohortes . . . plenissimae*, Fam. iii. 6, 5, Ep. ccxiii.

denique] 'and, to crown all, it is not an army, or anything I have been complaining of, that I want. It is the world, the forum, the city, my home, all of you.' *Lucem* is 'public life,' 'the world,' 'a conspicuous position.' See on xxx. 9. See Sen. 12, and Reid's note there.

2. *ita vivam ut*] 'upon my life I am living very extravagantly': cp. Fam. vii. 23, 4, Ep. cxxvi., *ne vivam si tibi concedo*, 'upon my life I wont admit.'

permutavi] Att. had given him a draft on some bank in Asia, probably a draft on Laodicea or Ephesus. Cic. says he fears he will have to borrow money to pay it.

non refrico] 'I avoid opening the wounds which Appius has inflicted on the province, but then they are palpable, and they can't be concealed.'

3. *faciebam*] = *facturus sum*: cp. note on Att. v. 17, 1, Ep. ccix., *paucis diebus habebam* = *habiturus sum*; vii. 23, 2, *remittebam* = *remissurus sum*.

Moeragenes] a robber chief, with whom a runaway slave belonging to Att. had taken refuge. He says he is going to try conclusions with Moeragenes in a pitched battle for the *fugitivus*.

clitellae] 'panniers on an ox,' a proverb

sed feremus, modo, si me amas, sim annuus. Adsis tu ad tempus, ut senatum totum excites. Mirifice sollicitus sum, quod iam diu ignota sunt mihi ista omnia. Qua re, ut ad te ante scripsi, cum cetera tum res publica cura ut mihi nota sit. Epistolam sciebam tarde tibi redditum iri, sed dabam familiari homini ac domestico, C. Andronico Puteolano. Tu autem saepe dare tabellariis publicanorum poteris per magistros scripturae et portus nostrarum dioecesium.

CCVIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 16).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico ex ipso itinere Synnade ad castra scribit se in provinciam miseram ac plane perditam venisse, eo levari civitates, quod nullus sumptus neque in se neque in quemquam suorum fiat, Appium se Tarsum contulisse, de Partho silentium esse, Bibulum non cogitare accedere in provinciam suam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi in ipso itinere et via discedebant publicanorum tabellarii et eramus in cursu, tamen surripiendum aliquid putavi spatii,

quoted in the words, *non nostrum, inquit, onus; bos clitellas* by Quintil., v. 11, 21. Ammianus Marcellinus xvi. 5, 10, quotes the proverb as here, *vetus illud proverbium* clitellae . . . onus *Platonem crebro nominans exclamabat.* We have given the passage in the form in which it is cited by Ammianus. It forms a trochaic septenarius. It is usually printed as prose, the *sunt* being placed before *impositae*.

sim annuus] Cp. *ut simus annui*, Att. v. 13, 3, Ep. cciii.; *ut annui essemus*, 17, 5, Ep. ccix. *Annuus* in these passages means 'lasting only for a year,' and this seems to be the meaning of the word in Plaut. Asin. v. 2, 36 (877), *non edepol conduci possum vita uxoris annua*, 'by the death of my wife within the year.' So in Att. vi. 3, 2, Ep. cclxiv., *sumptus annuus* means 'supplies *only* for a year,' and in Att. vi. 2, 7, Ep. cclvi., *triduum quatriduumve* means 'for *only* three or four days.'

Adsis] This use of the subj. for imper. is common in the letters, *e.g.* Att. i. 17, 41, Ep. xxiii., *cures;* Fam. ix. 26, 1, *vivas;* xiv. 4, 3, *confirmes . . . adiuves.*

epistolam] We have accepted here the admirable emendation of Gronovius, *epistolam sciebam* for *plura scribebam*. He points out that the customary abbreviation for *epistolam* was *eplā*, which would easily be misunderstood and corrupted into *plura*. The fact that *redditum iri* is certainly the MS reading makes *sciebam* a necessary correction. The *sed* of the following clause is altogether in favour of the conjecture of Gron.: 'I know this letter will take a long time to reach you, *but* I know well the person to whom I am entrusting it, so you will ultimately receive it.' He adds, 'now *you* will have plenty of people to carry your letters to me. You can give your letters to the farmers of the pasture tax and port dues, who will give them to the publicans' letter carriers, who will deliver them to me.'

portus] is the gen. sing., *portus* being used for *portoria* here, and Att. xi. 10, 1, *operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit*, 'he was deputy collector of the pasture tax and port dues of Asia.'

1. *cursu*] 'on my journey.' This letter

ne me immemorem mandati tui putares. Itaque subsedi in ipsa via, dum haec, quae longiorem desiderant orationem, summatim tibi perscriberem. 2. Maxima exspectatione in perditam et plane eversam in perpetuum provinciam nos iam venisse scito pridie Kal. Sextiles, moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse: ὠνὰς omnium venditas: civitatum gemitus, ploratus: monstra quaedam non hominis, sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. Quid quaeris? taedet omnino eos vitae. 3. Levantur tamen miserae civitates, quod nullus fit sumptus in nos neque in legatos neque in quaestorem neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos foenum aut quod de lege Iulia dari solet non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem nec praeter quattuor lectos et tectum quemquam accipere quidquam, multis locis ne tectum quidem et in tabernaculo manere plerumque. Itaque incredibilem in modum concursus fiunt ex agris, ex vicis, ex domibus, ex omnibus. Mehercule etiam adventu nostro reviviscunt iustitia, abstinentia, clementia tui Ciceronis; ita opiniones omnium superavit. 4. Appius, ut audivit

was written probably in his travelling carriage, not from an inn or halting place; but as a man might be said to be *in cursu* even if he were staying in a hotel on a journey from one place to another, Cicero makes his meaning clearer by adding *in ipsa via*. The word *cursus* means 'an opportunity for sailing,' above, Att. v. 8, 1, Ep. cxciii.

mandati] 'your charge' that I should write whenever an opportunity offered itself.

2. *exspectatione*] passive: cp. *opinio, existimatio* = 'reputation,' and see Reid on Sull. 10.

ἐπικεφάλια] Appian Mithrid. 83, tells us that Lucullus τέλη ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριζε, and Cicero, Fam. iii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxii., writes of *acerbissimam exactionem capitum atque ostiorum*. Hofm. understands by the words of Appian a poll-tax levied on domestic servants, and a tax on houses. On ἐπικεφάλια see Addenda.

ὠνὰς] Explained usually to mean properties which had to be sold to enable the owners to pay their taxes, *die dafür zu verkaufenden Grundstücke und sonstigen Sachen*, Hofm. The word would literally mean 'purchases,' 'investments,' 'bargains'; hence, generally, 'every one is obliged to sell out his investments,' that is, every one is forced to realise his capital to meet the extortionate demands of the tax collectors. If ὠνὰς were interpreted 'contracts,' as in Andoc. De Myst. 73, 92, the meaning would be that contracts for certain taxes held by communities had to be turned into money.

monstra] 'direful conduct': cp. *mera monstra nuntiarat*, 'direful news,' Att. iv. 7, 1, Ep. cxi.; 2 Verr. iii. 171.

ita] 'so completely has he surpassed everyone's anticipations.' This use of *ita* is very characteristic of Cicero's letters: see Fam. vii. 16, 1, where Lehmann elegantly emends *ita te commovere non curas*, 'so indisposed are you to move': cp. also *ita non sunt dissimili argumento*, 'so similar are their plots,' Ter. Andr. prol. 11; and for the same use of *ita* cp. Att. ii. 24, 4, Ep. li.; iii. 2, Ep. lvii.; xv. 14, 4; Fam. ii. 5, 2, Ep. clxxvi.; iii. 1, 1, Ep. clxxxi.; ix. 17, 2.

3. *lege Iulia*] See Addenda.

agris] 'from the country, the hamlets, the houses, everywhere.'

etiam adventu] 'even by my arrival': cp. *etiam insipientem*, 'even a fool,' Acad. ii. 144.

nos venire, in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque: ibi forum agit. De Partho silentium est, sed tamen concisos equites nostros a barbaris nuntiabant ii, qui veniebant. Bibulus ne cogitabat quidem etiam nunc in provinciam suam accedere. Id autem facere ob eam causam dicebant, quod tardius vellet decedere. Nos in castra properabamus, quae aberant bidui.

CCIX. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 17).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

De litterarum commercio, de summa sua suorumque omnium in provincia abstinentia, de Ciceronibus pueris a Deiotaro filio in regnum ductis, de Sestii litteris, quibus acceptis Attico summam suam curam domesticam commendat et eum rogat propter sermones Hortensii ut operam det, ne plus quam annuus sit, de Appio etiam nunc in provincia sua Tarsi forum agente, de vulneribus provinciae gravissimis sine contumelia Appii a se sanandis et de Bruto quid Appius fecerit non celando. Scripta epistola est in itinere ad castra.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi Roma sine epistola tua fasciculum litterarum, in quo, si modo valuisti et Romae fuisti, Philotimi duco esse culpam, non tuam. Hanc epistolam dictavi sedens in raeda, cum in castra proficiscerer, a quibus aberam bidui. Paucis diebus habebam certos homines quibus darem litteras. Itaque eo me servavi. 2. Nos tamen etsi hoc te ex aliis audire malo, sic in provincia nos gerimus, quod ad abstinentiam attinet, ut nullus teruncius insumatur in quemquam. Id fit etiam et legatorum et tribunorum et praefectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξοῦσι gloriae

4. *forum agit*] = *conventum habet*, 'he is going circuit,' 'holding assize,' presiding over a court of justice in a town of the province.

cogitabat . . . nunc] For the juxtaposition of the epistolary imperfect with an adverb signifying present time, cp. *Brutus erat in Neside etiam nunc*, Att. xvi. 3, 6; *qui nunc Romae erat*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 4, Ep. cxlviii.

tardius] The year of office counted from the day on which the governor entered his province. *Bidui*: sc. *iter*.

1. *habebam*] = *habiturus sum*, because it takes the place of *habeo*; now the present can be used for the future when certainty is to be expressed: see on Att. v. 12, 2, Ep. cc. There is the same use of the epist. imperf. in Att. v. 7, Ep. cxc., *proficiscebar*; 20, 5, Ep. ccxxviii., *recipiebam*; and Att. vii. 23, 2, *remittebam* = *remissurus sum*.

certos homines] 'safe, trustworthy men': see on Fam. i. 7, 1, Ep. cxiv.

meae. Lepta noster mirificus est. Sed nunc propero. Perscribam ad te paucis diebus omnia. 3. Cicerones nostros Deiotarus filius, qui rex ab senatu appellatus est, secum in regnum. Dum in aestivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus. 4. Sestius ad me scripsit quae tecum esset de mea domestica et maxima cura locutus et quid tibi esset visum. Amabo te, incumbe in eam rem et ad me scribe quid et possit et tu censeas. 5. Idem scripsit Hortensium de proroganda nostra provincia dixisse nescio quid. Mihi in Cumano diligentissime se, ut annui essemus, defensurum receperat. Si quidquam me amas, hunc locum muni. Dici non potest quam invitus a vobis absim. Et simul hanc gloriam iustitiae et abstinentiae fore illustriorem spero, si cito decesserimus: id quod Scaevolae contigit, qui solos novem menses Asiae praefuit. 6. Appius noster, cum me adventare videret, profectus est Tarsum usque Laodicea. Ibi forum agit, cum ego sim in provincia; quam eius iniuriam non insector: satis enim habeo negotii in sanandis vulneribus, quae sunt imposita provinciae; quod do operam ut faciam quam minima cum illius contumelia: sed hoc Bruto nostro velim dicas, illum fecisse non belle, qui adventu meo quam longissime potuerit discesserit.

Lepta] *Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum*, Fam. iii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxliv.: see Addenda.

3. *Deiotarus*] 'the young Deiotarus, who had received from the senate the title of king, has taken your son and mine with him to his court.' On ellipse see I², p. 70. So violent an ellipse, however, is startling in a letter which elsewhere shows no ellipses, and is not written in his jerky, but his flowing and equable style. Perhaps we should insert *duxit*, which might have fallen out before *Dum*, and owing to the subsequent *duximus*.

4. *domestica et maxima*] Tullia's betrothal.

possit] sc. *fieri*: see on Att. iv. 10, 2, Ep. cxxi.

5. *receperat*] 'he had taken it on him (undertaken to bring it to pass) that my term of office should be only a year.'

si quidquam me amas] For this accus. see I², p. 62; but correct the statement made there and on p. 71, that in *gaudium gauderemus*, Fam. viii. 2, 1, *gaudium* is a cognate accusative. See note on Fam. viii. 2, 1, Ep. cxcvi.

hunc locum muni] 'entrench this position': cp. Att. v. 13, 3, Ep. cciii.

Scaevolae] now Pontifex Maximus; he was proconsul of Asia in 655 (99).

6. *Tarsum usque*] 'as far as Tarsus.' For the position of *usque*, cp. Ter. Ad. iv. 5, 21.

Bruto] 'I wish you would tell Brutus that Appius (his father-in-law) has not acted nicely in going away as far as ever he could on my arrival.'

CCX. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 5).

AUGUST, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius metuere se M. Ciceroni significat ex Parthici belli fama ob paucitatem copiarum eius. Addit de successione provinciarum eiusque tarditate. Scripta est epistola Romae a. u. c. 703 et huic quoque epistolae respondetur lib. ii. ep. 10.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Qua tu cura sis, quod ad pacem provinciae tuae finitimarumque regionum attinet, nescio: ego quidem vehementer animi pendeo. Nam si hoc more moderari possemus, ut pro viribus copiarum tuarum belli quoque exsisteret magnitudo, et, quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset, adsequeremur, periculosam et gravem illam dimicationem evitaremus, nihil tam esset optandum. Nunc si Parthus movet aliquid, scio non mediocrem fore contentionem. Tuus porro exercitus vix unum saltum tueri potest. Hanc autem nemo ducit rationem, sed omnia desiderantur ab eo—tamquam nihil denegatum sit ei, quo minus quam paratissimus esset—, qui publicio negotio praepositus est. 2. Accedit huc, quod successionem futuram propter Galliarum controversiam non video.

1. *animi*] locative case. It appears a usage mostly found in the comic drama and in epistolary style: see examples in Roby, § 1321. This usage of *pendere animi* occurs as late as Petron. 113; and Apuleius has *recreari animi* (Met. ii. 11), but he affects archaisms, especially those of the comic stage.

hoc more moderaris] It is best to adhere to the MSS with Lehmann. The custom alluded to is that of regarding the most trifling military successes as being sufficient to entitle commanders to obtain triumphs and *supplicationes*. Becher, (p. 19) reads *hoc more* REM *moderari possemus;* but there is no necessity to add *rem*: cp. Att. vi. 3, 9, Ep. cclxiv., *moderabor ita ne quid eum offendam*, 'I shall manage so that I do not offend him,' which shows that *moderari* can be used absolutely. Klotz and Baiter, after Bengel, read *hoc modo rem moderari*.

quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset] 'as much as is required for a success and for a triumph.' For this sense of *gloria*, used as we might speak of an artist having a success with his picture at an exhibition, cp. Juv. vii. 81, *tenuique Saleio Gloria quantalibet quid erit si gloria tantum?* It would be more usual to say *ad gloriam* after *opus esset*. Boot (p. 17) omits *que* after *triumpho*, transposing it to *periculosam*, and takes *gloriae* as a genitive. This certainly makes excellent sense.

illam] 'that dangerous and decisive engagement which you allude to,' or 'which we all fear'; some such reference must be understood: cp. note to De Petit. Cons., § 18, Ep. xii.

ducit rationem] 'takes into account this point.'

2. *non video*] Strictly the negative goes with *futuram*. The idiom is common to most languages: cp. οὐ φημί, *nego*. The meaning is, 'I don't imagine any succession will be made.'

Tametsi hac de re puto te constitutum quid facturus esses habere, tamen, quo maturius constitueres, cum hunc eventum providebam, visum est ut te facerem certiorem. Nosti enim haec tralaticia: de Galliis constituetur; erit qui intercedat; deinde alius exsistet qui, nisi libere liceat de omnibus provinciis decernere senatui, reliquas impediat. Sic multum ac diu ludetur atque ita diu, ut plus biennium in his tricis moretur. 3. Si quid novi de re publica quod tibi scriberem haberem, usus essem mea consuetudine, ut diligenter et quid actum esset et quid ex eo futurum sperarem perscriberem. Sane tamquam in quodam incili iam omnia adhaeserunt. Marcellus idem illud de provinciis urget, neque adhuc frequentem senatum efficere potuit. Hoc si praeterito anno Curio tribunus et eadem actio de provinciis introibit, quam facile tunc sit omnia impedire et quam hoc Caesar iique, qui *in* sua causa rem publicam non curent, sperent non te fallit.

moretur] Ernesti and most edd. alter to *moremur*. But there is no real objection to the passive use of a deponent, especially in a writer like Caelius, who affects archaisms (Becher, pp. 7, 16); and it is only by degrees that the passive meaning entirely disappears from deponent verbs. Thus we find in Dräger's list (§ 91, 8) *abuti* in Varro, *adipisci* in Plautus, *dilargiri* in Gracchus, &c., used passively. This passive use of deponents is often found in the Digest; but legal language is of an archaic nature. The active *morare* is found in Naevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius: cp. esp. note on *sortita*, Att. iv. 16, 3, Ep. cxlix.

3. *incili*] 'stuck in the ditch.' This is the brilliant emendation of Manutius for *incilicia* of the MSS. The word means a 'drain,' derived from *incidilis*, 'what is cut into.' We apply the term 'cutting' to rising ground cut through, not to level ground cut down into. According to Festus *incilia* are *fossae quae in viis fiunt ad deducendam aquam:* cp. Cato, R. R. 155, 1. *Incile est autem*, says Ulpian (Dig. xliii. 21, 1, 5), *locus depressus ad latus fluminis ex eo dictus quod incidatur: inciditur enim vel lapis vel terra unde primum aqua ex flumine agi possit.* Beside this emendation, which is accepted by all the editors, vanishes Turnebus's proposal, *cilicio*, which was used, he supposes by Caelius, because through such a cloth liquors were sometimes strained.

Hoc si praeterito anno] In a learned note Lehmann (pp. 38–39) defends this, the reading of the MSS. He shows that as violent *hyperbata* as that of *si* here may be found even in Cicero, *e.g.* Att. iv. 17, 4, Ep. cxlix., *quo ego haec die scripsi;* Att. i. 14, 1, Ep. xx., *ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim.* The present passage means 'when this year has passed, if Curio, as tribune, and the same old business about the provinces come on the stage, you cannot fail to see,' &c. This we take to be the metaphor rather than that of entering on a magistracy: cp. note to Att. i. 18, 2, Ep. xxiv., *introitus fuit in causam fabulae Clodianae.* Wesenberg reads *hoc* SIC *praeterito anno Curio tribunus* ERIT *et eadem actio de provinciis introibit: quam*, &c., on grounds which might perhaps be valid, if the letter had been written by Cicero. Note *praeterire* used passively. It almost always, when used in the passive, is applied to a candidate's defeat at elections.

in sua causa] We have added *in*, which might easily have fallen out after *qui*. The sense is, 'when their own interest is at stake they care no whit for the state.' Now *sua causa* can only mean 'for their sake,' a sense foreign to the passage. For this usage of *in*, cp. Att. v. 12, fin Ep. ccii., *quod in tua re faceres*,

hoc] the possibility of obstruction.

sperent] This emendation of Orelli's is adopted by most editors. The MSS *superet*

CCXI. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 9).

IV. NON. SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius gloriabundus M. Ciceroni scribit se aedilem esse factum, Hirrum repulsum, tum de provinciarum successione, de pantheris mittendis: M. Feridium commendat: de Favonio, qui praeturam petierat, repulso: de Pompeii et Scipionis in Caesarem animo: de Calidii orationibus.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Sic tu, inquis, Hirrum tractasti? Immo, si scias quam facile, quam ne contentionis quidem minimae fuerit, pudeat te ausum illum umquam esse incedere tamquam tuum competitorem. Post repulsam vero risus facit, civem bonum ludit, et contra Caesarem sententias dicit: exspectationem corripit: †Curionem prorsus curionem non mediocriter obiurgat: hac repulsa se mutavit. Praeterea qui numquam in foro apparuerit, non multum in iudiciis versatus sit, agit causas liberales, sed raro post meridiem. 2. De provinciis

is explained by Ernesti as an artificial expression for 'is easy for.' He reads *Caesari, qui . . . curet.* Kahnt's certain conjecture, *Caesar iique qui,* has been adopted in the text.

1. *civem bonum ludit*] Though *ludere* is often used with the acc. of the game played (see Palmer on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 126), it is rare to find it with a person as object: yet cp. the archaic Apuleius, Met. xi. 8, *qui magistratum fascibus purpuraque luderet.*

exspectationem corripit] 'he blames all delay.' Boot (p. 18), comparing Ov. Met. ix. 282, *corripiantque moras,* and Verg. Aen. v. 316, *corripiunt spatia,* explains this passage 'diminuit exspectationem de provinciis Cæsaris,' *i. e.*, weakens expectation of the provinces being given to Cæsar.

Curionem prorsus non mediocriter obiurgat] 'Curio he censures in quite unmeasured language.' It is best to read *obiurgat* with H, and leave out the second *curionem* of the MSS, which arose from repetition of an adjoining word (cp. Fam. viii. 4, 4, ccvi.). Wesenberg however (*Em. Alt.* 21) thinks that it may have the Plautine sense (Aul. iii. 6, 27) of 'care-fraught,' 'sorry,' *i.e.* that Curio was wavering and trimming at this time, and seemed full of anxiety with regard to the great power of Cæsar, and that for this he is assailed by Hirrus; yet Wesenberg acknowledges that Caelius would probably have used a plainer expression. In the sequel Wesenberg wishes to read *obiurgat: ita* (= adeo) *notatus hac repulsa, se mutavit,* quoting for *notatus hac repulsa* Val. Max. vii. 5, 1. If anyone thinks this second *curionem* should not be ejected, it would be better to punctuate *exspectationem corripit, corripit Curionem. Prorsus Curionem non mediocriter obiurgat: hac,* &c.

agit causas liberales]. He was the *adsertor* who maintained the freedom of the slaves, and urged their cases. To do so was an act of apparent disinterestedness, as no great return could be expected from those who had been slaves. But Caelius wishes to hint that it was a piece of ostentatious philanthropy. Even law gave certain privileges to the *adsertor* (Gaius, iv. 14); and it is human nature to praise those who maintain, or seem to maintain, the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

sed raro post meridiem] Cases were often resumed after mid-day: Q. Fr. ii. 15 (16), 3, Ep. cxlvii. Manutius thinks the clause means that he had not much to do: Ernesti and Schutz that the implication is

quod tibi scripseram Idibus Sextil. actum iri, interpellarat iudicium Marcelli consulis designati. In Kal. res reiecta est; ne frequentiam quidem efficere potuerunt. Has litteras a. d. IV. Non. Septembr. dedi, cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quidquam erat. Ut video, causa haec integra in proximum annum transferetur et, quantum divino, relinquendus tibi erit qui provinciam obtineat. Nam non expeditur successio, quoniam Galliae, quae habent intercessorem, in eamdem condicionem quam ceterae provinciae vocantur. Hoc mihi non est dubium: quo tibi magis scripsi, ut ad hunc eventum te parares. 3. Fere litteris omnibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit Patiscum Curioni decem pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures: quas ipsas Curio mihi et alias Africanas decem donavit, ne putes illum tantum

that he began to feast *de die*—a comment very characteristic of the old school of editors. Perhaps it is simply that he cannot be said to overwork himself in his philanthropic efforts.

2. *iudicium Marcelli*] accused by Calidius of *ambitus*, § 5.

In Kal. res reiecta est: ne] So we read with Orelli: see critical note. We cannot argue (cp. Wesenberg *Em.* 109) that Caelius must have written *reiecta res est* because that would have been the Ciceronian order (see Madvig, on Fin. v. 86). We must read *potuerunt* with Victorius for *potuerant* of the MSS. The pluperfect would refer to something done *on* or *before* the Ides of Sextilis, when Caelius last wrote; whereas, evidently, what he is alluding to here is something done on the Kalends, and the Kalends referred to must be the Kalends of September. For *frequentiam*, used for a sufficient house, see Addenda, on the Lex Pupia.

IV. *Non. Sept.*] This letter cannot have reached Cicero by v. Kal. Dec. (Fam. ii. 10, 1, Ep. ccxxv.); whereas a letter could reach Cilicia in 47 days (Att. v. 19, 1, Ep. ccxx.).

profligatum] a word which signifies that the main portion of any work (especially a war) has been got through, but that absolute completion has not been reached: 'up to this day no important progress has been made.' It ought not to be translated, as it sometimes is, by such a colloquial expression as 'we have not broken the back of the business.'

quoniam Galliae] 'now that the Gauls re brought under the same category as the rest of the provinces.' A better statement for the purposes of the argument would be, 'now that the rest of the provinces are in the same condition as the Gauls.' There would be a dead-lock unless the Senate were allowed to fix successors for all the provinces, as was said in the preceding letter; and the tribunes in Cæsar's interest most infallibly would not allow any successor to be appointed for the Gauls. There is no need to add *in* before *quam* with Bentivolius: see Mayor on Phil. ii. 26, 'When the same proposition governs the antecedent and the relative, the preposition is often omitted before the latter if the verb in both clauses is the same.' Mr. Mayor quotes, amid a great number of references, Att. iii. 19, 2 Ep. lxxvii.; viii. 11, D. 2.

parares] It is better to read this (*pararis*, M) rather than *praepares* of H, as *scripsi* is probably not used in the epistolary sense of 'I am writing,' but 'I have written.'

3. *Patiscum*] a Roman knight who transacted business as a *negotiator* in Cilicia. He did his best to get panthers for Caelius (Fam. ii. 11, 2, Ep. cclv.). After Cæsar's murder he joined the Liberators (App. Bell. Civ. ii. 119), and appears as proquaestor and commander of the fleet with Cassius, Fam. xii. 13, 4; 15, 2, Ep. ccxix.

multis part.] ablations mensurae: see Ep. xx. 3.

ne putes . . . scire] Curio can give a small present as well as a large one. This probably refers to some gift of a country place by the extravagant Curio, which attracted public notice at the time in Rome, but of which we have no further record.

praedia rustica dare scire. Tu, si modo memoria tenueris, et Cibyratas arcessieris itemque in Pamphyliam litteras miseris—nam ibi plures capi aiunt—, quod voles efficies. Hoc vehementius laboro nunc, quod seorsus a collega puto mihi omnia paranda. Amabo te, impera tibi hoc. Curare soles libenter, ut ego maiorem partem nihil curare. In hoc negotio nulla tua nisi loquendi cura est, hoc est, imperandi et mandandi. Nam simul atque erunt captae, qui alant eas et deportent habes eos, quos ad Sittianam syngrapham misi. Puto etiam, si ullam spem mihi litteris ostenderis, me isto missurum alios. 4. M. Feridium, equitem Romanum, amici mei filium, bonum et strenuum adolescentem, qui ad suum negotium istoc venit, tibi commendo, et te rogo, ut eum in tuorum numero habeas. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile et honestum factu est, immunes esse: gratos et bonos viros tibi obligaris. 5. Nolo te putare Favonium a columnariis praeteritum: optimus quisque eum non fecit. Pompeius tuus aperte Caesarem et provinciam tenere cum exercitu et consulem . . . . Ipse tamen hanc sententiam dixit, nullum hoc tempore senatus consultum faciendum: Scipio hanc, ut Kalend. Martiis de provinciis Galliis neu quid coniunctim

Curare soles] 'you always like to be at some business, as I in a still greater degree like to be at none.' It is strange to find *curare* used thus absolutely: perhaps we should supply *res* after it. For *maiorem partem* cp. Lucr. vi. 1249, *Inde bonam partem in lectum maerore dabantur;* Caes. B. G., iv. 1, 8; and Roby, §1102.

spem] At this word the Harleian MS 2773 breaks off.

4. *Agros quos fructuarios*] This obscure passage refers to some lands owned by Feridius, of which certain towns in Cilicia got a part of the rent. Manutius confesses he cannot see how the proposal is honourable. 'Recte,' says Schütz, 'sed multis tamen nobilibus illa aetate honesta videbantur quae essent sibi suisque utilia.'

obligaris] 'you will find you have gained to your interest.'

5. *Favonium*] 'Ille Catonis aemulus,' says Suetonius (Aug. 13); Κάτωνος ζηλωτής (Plut. Caes. 21); 'Cato's Sancho' (Mommsen R. H. iv. 315). He stood for the praetorship this year, but was defeated; he was designated next year, and held the office in 705 (49).

columnarii] a word which only occurs here. It is usually explained as criminals of the lowest classes, those who had been convicted at the Columna Maenia at the south entrance to the Forum, where the Tresviri Capitales administered justice. It would then be analogous to our 'jail-bird.' But it is better to take it with Ern., as one of the words denoting idlers such as *subbasilicani*, *subrostrani*, i.e. loafers round the Columna Maenia and other pillars in the Forum.

eum non fecit] 'threw him out.'

consulem] We have left the lacuna, with Klotz. The sense requires some such word as *timet*, or *invidet*, or *non vult*. Whichever of these we adopt, it would seem probable that *esse* should be the last word of the clause to account for the corruption in the MSS.

Kal. Mart.] cp. Prov. Cons. 37, *Kalendis ei denique Martiis nascetur repente provincia.* 'Perhaps,' says Merivale (ii. 98) 'this was a provision of the Sempronian Law for the assignment of the consular provinces before the election of the consuls.'

coniunctim] 'that no matter be brought forward in combination with it': cp. the Senatus consultum in Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii.

referretur. Contristavit haec sententia Balbum Cornelium, et scio eum questum esse cum Scipione. Calidius in defensione sua fuit disertissimus, in accusatione satis frigidus.

CCXII. CICERO TO CATO (Fam. xv. 3).

III. KAL. SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero scribit de belli Parthici rumore et quam ob rem publice non scripserit rationem reddit.

M. CICERO S. D. M. CATONI.

1. Cum ad me legati missi ab Antiocho Commageno venissent in castra ad Iconium a. d. III. Kal. Septembres iique mihi nuntiassent regis Parthorum filium, quocum esset nupta regis Armeniorum soror, ad Euphratem cum maximis Parthorum copiis multarumque praeterea gentium magna manu venisse Euphratemque iam transire coepisse dicique Armenium regem in Cappadociam impetum esse facturum, putavi pro nostra necessitudine me hoc ad te scribere oportere. 2. Publice propter duas causas nihil scripsi, quod et ipsum Commagenum legati dicebant ad senatum statim nuntios litterasque misisse et existimabam M.

Balbum Cornelium] Cæsar's great friend, a native of Gades. For the order of the names, see Fam. ii. 8, 3, Ep. cxcix.

defensione] When accused by the two Gallii: Fam. viii 4, 1, Ep. ccvi.

accusatione] Calidius accused Claudius Marcellus, the consul elect, of *ambitus*, § 2. Zumpt, p. 534.

1. *Commageno*] Commagene was a district lying along the right bank of the Euphrates, bounded on the north by Cappadocia, on the west by Cilicia, and on the south by Syria. Its capital was Samosata, the birthplace of Lucian. Antiochus, the king of the district, remained always friendly to the Romans. He concluded a treaty with Lucullus (Dio Cass. xxxvi. 4), and remained in undisturbed possession of his kingdom—facts which show that Appian's (Mithr. 106) statement that he waged war with Pompeius probably is a fabrication, arising from the fact that the King of Commagene figured among those conquered by Pompeius (Mommsen, R. H. iv. 329.)

Kal.] The MSS read *Non.*: but Cicero came to the camp at Iconium vii. Kal. Sept. (Att. v. 20, 2, Ep. ccxxviii.), and left it prid. Kal. Sept. (Fam. iii. 6, 6, Ep. ccxiii.)

filium] Pacorus.

regis Armeniorum] sc. Artavasdes, who had succeeded Tigranes about 698 (56).

gentium] Arabians, Fam. xv. 4, 7, Ep. ccxxxviii. *Armenius*, adjective, Att. ii. 7, 2, Ep. xxxiv.

ad te] because Cato was patron of Cappadocia as well as Cyprus, Fam. xv. 4, 15, Ep. ccxxxviii.

2. *Publice*] 'officially.'

Bibulum procos., qui circiter Idus Sextiles ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, quod secundos ventos habuisset, iam in provinciam suam pervenisse, cuius litteris omnia certiora perlatum iri ad senatum putabam. Mihi, ut in eius modi re tantoque bello, maximae curae est ut, quae copiis et opibus tenere vix possumus, ea mansuetudine et continentia nostra, sociorum fidelitate teneamus. Tu velim, ut consuesti, nos absentes diligas et defendas.

CCXIII. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, AT TARSUS (FAM. III. 6).

PRID. KAL. SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Aegre se tulisse scribit M. Cicero, quod App. Pulcher sibi conveniendi sui otestatem nondum fecisset, ac petit ut locum constituat quo convenire possint.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. Cum meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector quam tuo. Ego enim Brundisii quaesivi ex Phania (cuius mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse et nosse locum, quem apud te is teneret), quam in partem provinciae maxime putaret te velle ut in succedendo primum venirem. Cum ille mihi respondisset nihil me tibi gratius facere posse quam si ad Sidam navigassem, etsi minus dignitatis habebat ille adventus et ad multas res mihi minus erat aptus, tamen ita me dixi esse facturum. 2. Idem ego cum L. Clodium Corcyrae convenissem, hominem ita tibi coniunctum, ut mihi, cum illo cum loquerer, tecum loqui viderer, dixi ei me ita facturum esse, ut in eam partem, quam Phania rogasset, primum venirem. Tunc ille, mihi cum

tenere . . . teneamus] see crit. note.

nos . . . defendas] 'continue your regard and assistance to me in my absence,' the usual refrain of Cicero's letters about this time, *e.g.* Fam. xv. 7, 8, Epp. ccxiv., ccxv. He was in constant dread lest the disputes about appointing successors to the Gallic provinces held by Caesar should prevent the appointment of a successor to his own province. This did actually happen: but Cicero, as allowed by law, appointed his quaestor, Caelius Caldus, as his *locum tenens*.

1. *delector*] 'satisfied.'

Sidam] In Pamphylia: see on Fam. iii. 5, 3, Ep. ccv.

ille adventus] 'arrival at that place'

gratias egisset, magno opere a me petivit, ut Laodiceam protinus irem: te in prima provincia velle esse, ut quam primum decederes: quin, nisi ego successor essem, quem tu cuperes videre, te antea, quam tibi successum esset, decessurum fuisse: quod quidem erat consentaneum cum iis litteris, quas ego Romae acceperam, ex quibus perspexisse mihi videbar quam festinares decedere. Respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum ac multo quidem libentius quam si illud esset faciendum, quod promiseram Phaniae. Itaque et consilium mutavi et ad te statim mea manu scriptas litteras misi: quas quidem ex tuis litteris intellexi satis mature ad te esse perlatas. 3. Hoc ego meo facto valde delector: nihil enim potuit fieri amantius. Considera nunc vicissim tuum. Non modo ibi non fuisti, ubi me quam primum videre posses, sed eo discessisti, quo ego te ne persequi quidem possem triginta diebus, qui tibi ad decedendum lege, ut opinor, Cornelia constituti essent: ut tuum factum iis, qui quo animo inter nos simus ignorent, alieni hominis, ut lenissime dicam, et fugientis congressum, meum vero coniunctissimi et amicissimi esse videatur. 4. Ac mihi tamen ante, quam in provinciam veni, redditae sunt a te litterae: quibus etsi te Tarsum proficisci demonstrabas, tamen mihi non dubiam spem mei conveniendi adferebas, cum interea, credo equidem, malevoli homines —late enim patet hoc vitium et est in multis—, sed tamen probabilem materiem nacti sermonis, ignari meae constantiae, conabantur alienare a te voluntatem meam: qui te forum Tarsi agere,

2. *in prima prov.*] 'on the very edge of the province.' What Cicero means is that he had heard that Appius desired to be at the very extreme westerly part of his province when he met Cicero, in order that his return to Rome might be accomplished with the utmost despatch. To express this, Cicero has used a kind of play on words which seems to defy translation. *Ut quam primum decederes* is a natural phrase, and has introduced the somewhat unnatural expression *in prima provincia*, 'on the *tip* or *selvage* of the province' (meaning 'on the extreme westerly border of the province'). Cp. *primum digitum*, 'the *tip* of the finger,' Catull. 2, 3; *prima lingua*, 'the tip of the tongue,' Plin. H. N. xi. 172. 'That you wished to be on the utmost verge of the province, so that you might reach the utmost verge of despatch in the leaving of it,' is an attempt to reproduce the character of the expression, but is hardly adequate. Cp. for the converse *in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque*, Att. v. 16, 4, Ep. ccviii.

satis mature] 'quite in time.'

3. *amantius*] 'with kindlier feelings.'

lege, ut opinor, Cornelia] This was Sulla's *Lex Cornelia de ordinandis provinciis* 673 (71): see Addenda. On *ut opinor* cp. Att. i. 19, 10 (xxv.) Of course Cicero knew that it was the Lex Cornelia which contained the clause. But all through this letter he for the most part avoids saying anything decided, and aims at softening everything down somewhat: hence the great number of parentheses.

alieni] 'stranger.'

coniunctissimi et amicissimi] 'of one who was your close, intimate, and best friend.'

4. *cum interea . . . putarent*] 'meanwhile, however, men (I am ready to believe)

statuere multa, decernere, iudicare dicerent, cum posses iam suspicari tibi esse successum: quae ne ab iis quidem fieri solerent, qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent. 5. Horum ego sermone non movebar: quin etiam—credas mihi velim—, si quid tu ageres, levari me putabam molestia, et ex annua provincia, quae mihi longa videretur, prope iam undecim mensium provinciam factam esse gaudebam, si absenti mihi unius mensis labor detractus esset. Illud—vere dicam—me movet, in tanta militum paucitate abesse tres cohortes, quae sint plenissimae, nec me scire ubi sint. Molestissime autem fero, quod te ubi visurus sim nescio, eoque ad te tardius scripsi, quod cotidie te ipsum exspectabam: cum interea ne litteras quidem ullas accepi, quae me docerent quid ageres aut ubi te visurus essem. Itaque virum fortem mihique in primis probatum, D. Antonium, praefectum evocatorum, misi ad te, cui, si tibi videretur, cohortes traderes, ut, dum tempus anni esset idoneum, aliquid negotii gerere possem. In quo tuo consilio ut me sperarem esse usurum et amicitia nostra et litterae tuae fecerant: quod ne nunc quidem despero. Sed plane quando aut ubi te visurus sim, nisi ad me scripseris, ne suspicari quidem possum. 6. Ego ut me tibi amicissimum esse et aequi et iniqui intellegant curabo: de tuo in me animo iniquis secus existimandi videris non nihil loci dedisse: id si correxeris, mihi valde gratum erit. Et ut habere rationem possis quo loco me salva lege Cornelia

of malicious disposition (a wide-spread taint this and attaching to many)—yet with some plausible grounds for their talk—ignorant of my loyalty in friendship, tried to estrange my good feelings from you by saying that you were holding an assize at Tarsus, and in many points were administering, deciding, judging, though you had already reason to imagine that your successor had arrived—functions which they said were not usually exercised even by those who thought that their successor would *shortly* arrive.' *Malevoli* implies falsity in their grounds of judgment, and this forms an antithesis to *sed tamen probabilem*. Schütz, after Graevius and Manutius, ejects *et est in multis*, but it is in M and H. If a distinction is to be drawn between *statuere*, *decernere*, and *iudicare*, *statuere* means making enactments, *decernere* deciding between two litigants, and *iudicare* delivering judgments and expounding the law. But Cicero only put together the general words which express the functions of a judge without wishing to signify definitely those different functions. Note *solerent* in the subjunctive, because it carries on the statement of the mischief-makers.

5. *videretur*] so H; *videtur* M. But as it expresses partly the reason why Cicero felt pleased, we must read the subjunctive. Wesenberg and Baiter, after Cratander, also adopt it.

prope iam] 'hardly more than.'

evocatorum] From the time of Siccius Dentatus we have record of soldiers who had served their time being 'called out' again for service (hence called *evocati*, ἀνάκλητοι). They got more pay than the ordinary soldiers, and probably had to serve only in battle, being free from ordinary camp duties. See Addenda.

plane] 'the fact is.'

convenias, ego in provinciam veni pridie Kalendas Sextiles: iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam: castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kalendas Septembres. Nunc tu et ex diebus et ex ratione itineris si putabis me esse conveniendum, constitues quo loco id commodissime fieri possit et quo die.

CCXIV. CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL ELECT (FAM. XV. 7).

SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero C. Marcello patrueli, quod consul designatus erat, gratulatur eique suam dignitatem commendat.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. C. MARCELLO COS. DESIG.

Maxima sum laetitia adfectus, cum audivi consulem te factum esse, eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo atque a te pro tua parentisque tui dignitate administrari. Nam cum te semper amavi dilexique tum mei amantissimum cognovi in omni varietate rerum mearum, tum patris tui pluribus beneficiis vel defensus tristibus

6. *in provinciam*] sc. to Laodicea, Att. v. 15, 1, Ep. ccvii., the frontier town in the diocese of Apamea, which had been added to the governorship of Cilicia. For his reasons for not marching straight into Cilicia see Fam. xv. 4, 4, Ep. ccxxxviii. He pitched his camp, he says, at Cybistra, in Cappadocia, that he might watch the neighbouring princes who were wavering in their allegiance, keep down revolts and brigandage in Cilicia, and prevent an attack of the Parthians on this latter province. Mount Amanus blocked any attack on Cilicia on the East, and an inroad by way of Cappadocia was alone to be feared: cp. D'Hughes, *Una province romaine sous la République*, pp. 254 ff. Still Cybistra was very much in the S.W. of Cappadocia, and surely there were passes in Mount Taurus between Antiochia and Cybistra.

movi] 'I am moving.'

C. MARCELLO] All the MSS read *M. Marcello*. But, as Manutius has shown, three Marcelli were successively consuls in the three years 703 (51) to 705 (49). The consuls of 703 (51) were Marcus Marcellus, M. F. (Dio Cass. xl. 58), and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. Those of 704 (50) Gaius Marcellus, C. F., and Lucius Paullus. This latter is the Marcellus whom Cicero is now addressing. He was the son of C. Marcellus, who was Cicero's colleague in the augurate (De Div. ii. 75), and to whom the next letter is addressed. He was cousin of the consul of 703 (51) (cp. Suet. Jul. 29), and not brother — for if he were brother their father's praenomen would have been the same; but one is Marcus and the other Gaius. In 705 (49) another Gaius Marcellus, M. F., own brother of the consul of 703 (51), was consul with L. Lentulus: cp. Mommsen, R. H., iv. 358.

1. *amavi dilexique*] 'loved and regarded.' The latter is the weaker word: cp. Nonius, 421, 'Inter *amare* et *diligere* hoc interest quod *amare* vim habet maiorem, *diligere* autem est levius amare': cp. Cic. Fam. ix. 14, 5.

vel defensus] 'whether defence in my times of gloom or praise in those of prosperity.'

temporibus vel ornatus secundis et sum totus vester et esse debeo, cum praesertim matris tuae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, maiora erga salutem dignitatemque meam studia, quam erant a muliere postulanda, perspexerim. Quapropter a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me absentem diligas atque defendas.

CCXV. CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, his Brother Augur (Fam. xv. 8).

SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero C. Marcello auguri de M. filii consulatu gratulatur, ab eoque petit ut se absentem defendat.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. C. MARCELLO COLLEGAE.

Marcellum tuum consulem factum teque ea laetitia adfectum esse, quam maxime optasti, mirandum in modum gaudeo, idque cum ipsius causa tum quod te omnibus secundissimis rebus dignissimum iudico, cuius erga me singularem benevolentiam vel in labore meo vel in honore perspexi, totam denique domum vestram vel salutis vel dignitatis meae studiosissimam cupidissimamque cognovi. Qua re gratum mihi feceris, si uxori tuae Iuniae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, meis verbis eris gratulatus. A te id, quod consuesti, peto, me absentem diligas atque defendas.

matris . . . feminae] 'that noble and excellent lady, your mother': *sc.* Junia. The epithet *gravissimus* implies that union of high principle and calm dignity which the Romans most valued; and is the word which perhaps least inadequately sums up their character in their better days.

COLLEGAE] cp. initial note to preceding letter.

totam cognovi] 'and whether my civil existence or advancement was at stake, I have always experienced your whole family most zealous and eager for my interests.'

Iuniae] see preceding letter.

meis verbis] 'from me': see on Att. v. 11, 2, Ep. cc.; also Plaut. Mil. iii. 3, 38 (913); Bacch. iv. 4, 79 (727).

consuesti] So Cratander had corrected *suesti* of M and most other MSS: *consuesti* is in H. Cicero never uses *suesco* except in his translation of Aratus (N. D. ii. 111).

CCXVI. CICERO TO MARCUS MARCELLUS (Fam. xv. 9).

SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero M. Marcello gratulatur de fratris patruelis consulatu ac petit ab eo, ne provincia sibi prorogetur.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. M. MARCELLO COS.

1. Te et pietatis in tuos et animi in rem publicam et clarissimi atque optimi consulatus C. Marcello consule facto fructum cepisse vehementer gaudeo. Non dubito quid praesentes sentiant: nos quidem longinqui et a te ipso missi in ultimas gentes ad caelum mehercule *te* tollimus verissimis ac iustissimis laudibus. Nam cum te a pueritia tua unice dilexerim tuque me in omni genere semper amplissimum esse et volueris et iudicaris, tum hoc vel tuo facto vel populi Romani de te iudicio multo acrius vehementiusque diligo, maximaque laetitia adficior, cum ab hominibus prudentissimis virisque optimis, omnibus dictis factis studiis institutis vel me tui similem esse audio vel te mei. 2. Unum vero si addis ad praeclarissimas res consulatus tui, ut aut mihi succedat quam primum aliquis aut

The MSS put this letter before xv. 7 and 8, Epp. ccxiv., ccxv. Doubtless all three were written on the same day at a sitting. There is no practical reason then for altering the order established by previous editors.

1. *pietatis . . . rempublicam*] 'family affection and patriotic spirit.'

te] inserted by Kayser.

verissimis ac iustissimis] 'most sincere and well-deserved.'

amplissimum] 'of the widest influence.'

tum hoc vel tuo facto] 'now by reason of this achievement of yours—am I to call it—or favourable opinion entertained of you by the Roman people, I feel my affection for you heightened and increased, and am overjoyed,' &c. *Tuo facto*, your success in getting your cousin elected consul by your exertions. For *cum*, expressing a general statement, followed by *tum*, expressing a particular case, the subjunctive being used in the *cum* clause, when the time of the two actions is different, see Dräger, ii. § 499, 2 (where there are numerous examples); Roby, § 1734, and Reid ap. Mayor on N. D. i. 1.

hominibus . . . optimis 'from most sensible men and excellent judges.' There seems to be no distinction here between *homo* and *vir*.

studiis institutis] 'likings and pursuits.'

vel me tui similem esse audio vel te mei] cp. Brut. 249, *Quid de illo* (*Marcellus*) *iudicas quem saepe audisti? Quid censes inquit* (Brutus) *nisi id, quod habiturus es similem tui?* also 250, *Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim, tum vero nunc a doctissimo viro Cratippo instructum omni copia multo videbam similiorem.*

2. *addis*] We are not to change to *addideris* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 54). It is a kind of epistolary present. 'If you are adding this one thing (and I learn it afterwards) I shall consider,' &c: cp. Fam. x. 11, 2, quoted by Lehmann, p. 89.

ne quid accedat temporis ad id, quod tu mihi et senatus consulto et lege finisti, omnia me per te consecutum putabo. Cura ut valeas et me absentem diligas atque defendas. 3. Quae mihi de Parthis nuntiata sunt, quia non putabam a me etiam nunc scribenda esse publice, propterea ne pro familiaritate quidem nostra volui ad te scribere, ne, cum ad consulem scripsissem, publice viderer scripsisse.

CCXVII. CICERO TO LUCIUS PAULLUS, CONSUL ELECT (FAM. XV. 7).

SEPT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero gratulatur L. Paullo de consulatu et ne sibi provincia prorogetur rogat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. PAULLO COS. DESIG.

1. Etsi mihi nunquam fuit dubium quin te populus Romanus pro tuis summis in rem publicam meritis et pro amplissima familiae dignitate, summo studio, cunctis suffragiis consulem facturus esset, tamen incredibili laetitia sum adfectus, cum id mihi nuntiatum est, eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo a teque ex tua maiorumque tuorum dignitate administrari. 2. Atque utinam praesens illum diem mihi optatissimum videre potuissem proque tuis amplissimis erga me studiis atque beneficiis tibi operam meam studiumque navare! Quam mihi facultatem quoniam hic nec opinatus et improvisus provinciae casus eripuit, tamen, ut te consulem rem publicam pro tua dignitate gerentem videre possim, magno opere a te peto ut operam des, efficias ne quid mihi fiat iniuriae neve quid temporis ad meum annuum munus accedat. Quod si feceris, magnus ad tua pristina erga me studia cumulus accedet.

lege] see Addenda.

3. *nunc*] as the news was not even yet sufficiently certain. Subsequently, when confirmed by the letters of Tarcondimŏtus, the King of Commagene, and Iamblichus, Cicero wrote the official letter, Fam. xv. 1, 2, Ep. ccxxi.

The MSS erroneously have CICERO IMP. But this letter was obviously written at the same sitting as the three preceding, and Cicero was not saluted as Imperator till iii. Id. Oct. See note to Fam. xv. 3, init., Ep. ccxii.

2. *Operam . . . navare*] 'lend you my aid and encouragement.'

magnus . . . accedet] 'this will completely crown all your previous kindnesses on my behalf.'

CCXVIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 18).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero propter motus, quos Parthi duce Pacoro fecerant, litteras de statu provinciae ad senatum miserat et rogat Atticum ut, si Romae sit, ipse quoque de his rebus videat, ne sibi provincia prorogetur. Dein de copiis atque adiumentis suis exponit et rursus instat, ut Atticus mense Ianuario Romae sit. Litteras Attici exspectat et Bruti pupilli rem se diligenter agere adfirmat. Scripta epistola est in castris ad Cybistra.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quam vellem Romae esses, si forte non es! Nihil enim certi habebamus nisi accepisse nos tuas litteras a. d. XIIII. Kal. Sext. datas, in quibus scriptum esset te in Epirum iturum circiter Kal. Sextiles. Sed, sive Romae es sive in Epiro, Parthi Euphraten transiverunt duce Pacoro, Orodis regis Parthorum filio, *cum* cunctis fere copiis. Bibulus nondum audiebatur esse in Syria. Cassius in oppido Antiochia *est* cum omni exercitu: nos in Cappadocia ad Taurum cum exercitu ad Cybistra: hostis in Cyrrhestica, quae Syriae pars proxima est provinciae meae. His de rebus scripsi ad senatum: quas litteras, si Romae es, videbis, putesne reddendas, et multo, immo omnia, quorum κεφάλαιον, ne quid inter caesa et porrecta, ut aiunt, oneris mihi addatur aut temporis. Nobis enim hac infirmitate exercitus, inopia sociorum, praesertim fidelium,

1. *Cassius*] This is the celebrated Cassius who afterwards took part in the murder of Cæsar. Cicero underrates his exploits in Syria, here and in other letters, but highly extols them in Phil. xi. 35; Fam. xii. 1–10; xv. 14–18, are addressed to him, and we have some letters from him, Fam. xii. 11, 12; xv. 19.

scripsi ad sen.] This is Fam. xv. 1, Ep. ccxxi.

videbis putes] 'You will consider whether you judge that they ought to be delivered.' Cic. strangely sends an official letter open to Atticus.

inter caesa et porrecta] 'between the slaying and the offering (*porricio*) of the victim.' Sometimes the interval was considerable. In the Roman calendar EN was affixed to certain days: these letters signified *endotercisus* (= *intercisus*), *i. e.* that the day was cut in two, the victim being slain in the morning, but not offered till the evening. Both these periods were sacred, but secular business could be transacted in the interval. An untoward event occurring in this interval might prevent the consummation of the sacrifice. Hence the proverb indicates not so much an *unexpected* as an *untoward* circumstance. What Cicero means is that he hopes some *untoward* incident may not arise to defer his return from his province.

hac infirmitate] For ablatives of this kind see on Fam. v. 8, 4, Ep. cxxxi.

certissimum subsidium est hiems. Ea si venerit nec illi ante in meam provinciam transierint, unum vereor, ne senatus propter urbanarum rerum metum Pompeium nolit dimittere. Quod si alium ad ver mittit, non laboro, nobis modo temporis ne quid prorogetur. 2. Haec igitur, si Romae es: sin abes aut etiam si ades, haec negotia sic se habent: stamus animis et, quia consiliis, ut videmur, bonis utimur, speramus etiam manu: tuto consedimus, copioso a frumento, Ciliciam prope conspiciente, expedito ad mutandum loco, parvo exercitu, sed, ut spero, ad benevolentiam erga nos consentiente: quem nos Deiotari adventu cum suis omnibus copiis duplicaturi eramus. Sociis multo fidelioribus utimur, quam quisquam usus est: quibus incredibilis videtur et nostra mansuetudo et abstinentia. Dilectus habetur civium Romanorum: frumentum ex agris in loca tuta comportatur. Si fuerit occasio, manu, si minus, locis nos defendemus. 3. Qua re bono animo es. Video enim te et, quasi coram adsis, ita cerno συμπάθειαν amoris tui. Sed te rogo, si ullo pacto fieri poterit, si integra in senatu nostra causa ad Kal. Ian. manserit, ut Romae sis mense Ianuario. Profecto nihil accipiam iniuriae, si tu aderis. Amicos consules habemus, nostrum tribunum pl. Furnium. Verum tua est opus adsiduitate, prudentia, gratia. Tempus est necessarium. Sed turpe est me pluribus verbis agere tecum. 4. Cicerones nostri sunt apud Deiotarum, sed, si opus erit, deducentur Rhodum. Tu, si es

dimittere] 'to let P. leave Rome.'

2. *stamus animis*] cp. *stas animo* Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 213. The meaning is: 'We are in excellent spirits for the impending campaign, and we hope, as our plans are well laid, that our spirits are no higher than our state of preparation.' After *manu* we must supply *stare nos*: cp. *Spero . . . te iam valere*, Att. vi. 9, 1, Ep. clxxxii.; *ut spero* ('I am sure') *te mihi ignoscere si*, Fam. i. 6, 2, Ep. civ. For *manu* in the sense of *physical force* as correlative to mental or spiritual confidence, cp. *manu fortissimus*, Liv. xxxix. 40, where, however, the correlative term, though implied, is not expressed. It is to be observed that at the end of this section *manu*, 'by force of arms,' is correlative to *locis*, 'by the strength of our position.'

a] 'on the score of': cp. Att. i. 1, 2, Ep. x.; iii. 17, 1, Ep. lxxv; vii. 15, 3; viii. 14, 1; also cp. *ab ingenio senet*, Plaut. Mil. iii. 1, 36 (631); *a pecunia*, Aul. 2, 2, 9 (179).

expedito ad mutandum] 'convenient for (readily admitting of) change of our ground.' For the gerund with participle, cp. *apertius ad intelligendum*, De. Or. ii. 328. The same construction with adjectives, e.g. *facilis, difficilis*, is common in Cicero. For the gerund with *ad* depending on a substantive, cp. *locus ad tergiversandum*, Att. vii. 1, 4, Ep. cclxxxiv.; *spes ad resistendum*, ibid. 3, 4, Ep. ccxciv; *argumentum ad scribendum*, ix. 7, 7. See Draeg. Hist. Syn. § 601.

exercitu] Abl. of attendant circumstances like *infirmitate* above (§ 1).

3. *consules*] The present consuls elect L. Aemilius Paullus and C. Claudius Marcellus.

nostrum] 'devoted to me': cp. *sum totus vester*, Fam. xv. 7, Ep. ccxiv.

tempus necessarium] 'a critical time.'

Romae, ut soles, diligentissime, si in Epiro, mitte tamen ad nos de tuis aliquem tabellarium, ut et *tu* quid nos agamus et nos quid tu agas quidque acturus sis scire possimus. Ego tui Bruti rem sic ago, ut suam ipse non ageret. Sed iam exhibeo pupillum neque defendo. Sunt enim negotia et lenta et inania. Faciam tamen satis, tibi quidem, cui difficilius est quam ipsi. Sed certe satis faciam utrique.

CCXIX. CICERO TO THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE (Fam. xv. 2).

VI. KAL. OCT.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero exponit audito Parthorum adventu quid egerit, ut provinciam tueretur et socios in fide contineret: adiungit de rege Ariobarzane ab insidiis liberato. Scriptae litterae sunt in itinere ex castris ad Cybistra.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. COS. PR. TR. PL. SENATUI.

1. S. V. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Cum pridie Kalend. Sext. in provinciam venissem neque maturius propter itinerum et navigationum difficultatem venire potuissem, maxime convenire officio meo reique publicae conducere putavi parare ea, quae ad exercitum quaeque ad rem militarem pertinerent. Quae cum essent a me

4. *exhibeo*] 'I hand my ward over to his creditors, and refuse to set up any plea for him.' *Exhibere* is 'to produce in court' opp. to *dolo malo retinere*, 'to fraudulently conceal.' Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, had been put under the *tutela* of Cicero by the Senate (Fam. xv. 2, 4, Ep. ccxix.). The affairs of Ariobarzanes were in great disorder. Cicero says of him elsewhere *faenus et impendium recusat*, Att. vi. 1, 4, Ep. cclii. He owed money to Brutus, which the latter hoped Cicero would force Ariobarzanes to pay. Cicero seems now to despair of accomplishing this task, but he finally succeeded in bringing about the payment of a large portion of the debt to Brutus.

negotia lenta et inania] 'an impracticable and impecunious lot': cp. Att. i. 12, 1, Ep. xvii. *Lenta* is 'hard to deal with,' 'tough'; *inania* means that they have no money.

ipsi] sc. *Bruto*.

COS. PR. TR. PL.] *consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis*.

1. S.V.V.B.E.E.Q.V.] = *Si valetis bene est ego quoque valeo*. Similar formal modes of address are found used towards strangers and women as well as towards people in high position: cp. Ep. xiii.

provinciam] sc. to Laodicea, the first town in his province, Att. v. 15, 1, Ep. ccvii.

Quae cum] 'and after an arrangement of these, which exhibited rather careful attention on my part, than abundant supply of force'—a covert rebuke to the authorities for giving him such a small number of soldiers. 'Cæsar and Pompeius were already draining the ordinary resources of the state, and diverting the flower of the Roman youth into their own camps,' Merivale, ii. 92.

cura magis et diligentia quam facultate et copia constituta nuntiique et litterae de bello a Parthis in provinciam Syriam illato cotidie fere adferrentur, iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam et per Isauros et per Cappadociam arbitratus sum. Erat enim magna suspicio Parthos, si ex Syria egredi atque irrumpere in meam provinciam conarentur, iter eos per Cappadociam, quod ea maxime pateret, esse facturos. 2. Itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam, quae cum Cilicia continens est, iter feci castraque ad Cybistra, quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum, locavi, ut Artavasdes, rex Armenius, quocumque animo esset, sciret non procul a suis finibus exercitum populi Romani esse et Deiotarum, fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum rei publicae nostrae, maxime coniunctum haberem, cuius et consilio et opibus adiuvari posset res publica. 3. Quo cum in loco castra haberem equitatumque in Ciliciam misissem, ut et meus adventus iis civitatibus, quae in ea parte essent, nuntiatus firmiores animos omnium faceret et ego mature quid ageretur in Syria scire possem, tempus eius tridui, quod in iis castris morabar, in magno officio et necessario mihi ponendum putavi. 4. Cum enim vestra auctoritas intercessisset, ut ego regem Ariobarzanem Eusebem et Philorhomaeum tuerer eiusque regis salutem, incolumitatemque regni defenderem, regi regnoque praesidio essem, adiunxissetisque salutem eius regis

eos] Ern. objects to the pronoun after such a short parenthesis. As it is in all the MSS it is best to retain it, though we might possibly read *eo*, 'thither.'

2. *continens*] 'adjoining.' Nonius, 274, 3, quotes the present passage for this meaning.

Artavasdes] So Wesenberg wishes to read, comparing *Artaxerxes*, *Artapatas*, *Artabanes*, &c. To judge from the marriage connexions of his family it would be hard to say which side he was likely to join himself to. His sister was wife to Orodes, the Parthian king, Fam. xv. 3, 1 Ep. ccxii. His daughter was betrothed to a son of Deiotarus, a firm friend of the Romans, Att. v. 21, 2, Ep. ccl.

3. *tempus eius tridui*] 'that space of three days'—the indefinite genitive of kind or contents, 'which corresponds to an adjective or prepositional phrase or part of a compound,' Roby § 1305; 'a three-day space': cp. *erat spatium dierum fere triginta ante Kal. Dec.*, Cic. Verr. ii. 96, quoted by Roby. Elsewhere Cicero says the space was five days, Att. v. 20, 2, Ep. ccxxviii.; Fam. xv. 4, 6, Ep. ccxxxviii.

4. *cum enim vestra . . . adiunxissetis*] 'for owing to the intervention of your formal resolution that . . . and your adding,' &c.

Eusebem et Philorhomaeum] This was Ariobarzanes III. (702–712 = 52–42 B.C.). He owed Pompeius and Brutus large sums of money, Att. vi. 1, 3, Ep. cclii.; 2, 7, Ep. cclvi.; 3, 5, Ep. cclxiv. He sided with Pompeius against Cæsar, but so far from being deprived of his kingdom by the latter, he got Lesser Armenia added to it (Dio. Cass. xlii. 48): cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv. 433. He opposed the Liberators, but was seized and put to death by Cassius (Dio. Cass. xlvii. 33): cp. also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* iii., App. chap. ix.

eiusque regis salutem incolumitatemque regni] This is Wesenberg's (*Em. Alt.* 50) reading for *incolumitatem regnumque* of

populo senatuique magnae curae esse, quod nullo umquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine, existimavi me iudicium vestrum ad regem deferre debere eique praesidium meum et fidem et diligentiam polliceri, ut, quoniam salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commendata esset a vobis, diceret si quid vellet. 5. Quae cum essem in consilio meo cum rege locutus, initio ille orationis suae vobis maximas, ut debuit, deinde etiam mihi gratias egit, quod ei permagnum et perhonorificum videbatur, S. P. Q. R. tantae curae esse salutem suam, meque tantam diligentiam adhibere, ut et mea fides et commendationis vestrae auctoritas perspici posset. Atque ille primo, quod mihi maximae laetitiae fuit, ita mecum locutus est, ut nullas insidias neque vitae suae neque regno diceret se aut intellegere fieri aut etiam suspicari. Cum ego ei gratulatus essem idque me gaudere dixissem, *et tamen adolescentem essem* cohortatus, ut recordaretur casum illum interitus paterni et vigilanter se tueretur atque admonitu senatus consuleret saluti suae, tum a me discessit in oppidum Cybistra. 6. Postero autem die cum Aria-

the MSS. He argues that the succeeding *regi regnoque* correspond with *salus ipsius incolumitasque regni*.

populo senatuique] This is one of the few cases in which we find the order *populus senatusque;* compare the decree of Aemilius Paullus in C. I. L. ii. 5041; Mon. Ancyr. 3, 3 (Greek), and Mommsen, *Res gestae d. Aug.* p. 24; also Mommsen, in *Hermes* iii. 262. He compares Sall. Jug. 41, 2.

esset] There is no reason to alter *esset* to *est* with Baiter. The unprecedented nature of the decree was one of the important motives in Cicero's mind for paying especial attention to this trust which had been laid on him; 'and whereas a decree of this nature had never,' &c.

fidem] The main idea is that of a pledge which it would be disgraceful not to fulfil. So we may translate here and in § 8 'trusty aid,' and in § 5 'pledged word.'

incolumitas] 'complete security,' a stronger word than *salus*. *Incolumitas est salutis tuta atque integra conservatio*, Cic. Inv. ii. 169.

5. *consilio*] The provincial governor always had a council to consult with in important matters, just as the Governor-General of India has his Council (cp. Att. ii. 16, 4 Ep. xliii. de portorio circumvectionis [Quintus] ait se *de consilii sententia* rem ad senatum reiecisse): cp. Mommsen, StR. i², 297. We find a proconsul's *consilium* in 68 A.D., consisting of a legatus, quaestor, and six people unnamed, described as *assessores* (C. I. L. x. 7852, also Mommsen in *Hermes*, ii. 102 ff.). These latter were probably some of the *comites* (C. I. L. ii. 2129).

Cum ego ei] The addition, given in italics, from the family of MSS to which H and the Erfurdt MS belong (cp. vol. ii., p. lxxxix.) has the approval of Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 51). There is no need whatever to discard it; indeed the burden of proof rests on those who leave it out, for the omission might easily have been made *ex homoeoteleuto*, and if the words are not inserted the participle *cohortatus* is strangely used for an action subsequent to that of the main verb *dixissem*, though of course such usage is capable of defence: cp. Livy, xlv. 22, 7 (quoted by Wes.): *Antiochus ipse ultro ab Aetolis hostibus vestris arcessitus, ex Asia classe in Graeciam traiecit: Demetriade et Chalcide et saltu Thermopylarum occupato de possessione imperii vos deicere conatus*, where Madvig does, but Weissenborn does not, add *est*.

casum illum] After being restored to his kingdom by Pompeius during the Mithridatic war, he had been murdered by conspirators against his throne.

rathe, fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis maioribus natu ad me in castra venit, perturbatusque et flens, cum idem et frater faceret et amici, meam fidem, vestram commendationem implorare coepit. Cum admirarer quid accidisset novi, dixit ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, quae essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod ii, qui ei patefacere possent, propter metum reticuissent, eo autem tempore spe mei praesidii complures ea, quae scirent, audacter ad se detulisse: in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate praeditum fratrem dicere (ea quae me is quoque audiente dicebat), se sollicitatum esse, ut regnare vellet: id vivo fratre suo accipere non potuisse: se tamen ante illud tempus eam rem numquam in medium propter periculi metum protulisse. Quae cum esset locutus, monui regem, ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet, amicosque iam patris eius avique iudicio probatos hortatus sum, regis sui vitam docti casu acerbissimo patris eius omni cura custodiaque defenderent. 7. Cum rex a me equitatum cohortesque de exercitu meo postularet, etsi intellegebam vestro senatus consulto non modo posse me id facere, sed etiam debere, tamen, cum res publica postularet propter cotidianos ex Syria nuntios, ut quam primum exercitum ad Ciliciae fines adducerem, cumque mihi rex patefactis iam insidiis non egere exercitu populi Romani, sed posse suis opibus defendere videretur, illum cohortatus sum, ut in sua vita conservanda primum regnare dis-

6. *perturbatusque et flens*] 'agitated, and with tears in his eyes.'

meam fidem vestram commendationem] 'the pledged word I had given, and the trust you had imposed.'

idem . . . faceret] sc. *fleret*.

dicere (ea . . . dicebat)] As Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.*, p. 51) shows, we must put a parenthesis from *ea* to *dicebat*; otherwise the relative clause will be part of the speech of the Cappadocian, and then we should have to read *dicturus esset*. Wesenberg also wishes to read *me quoque is audiente*, asserting that *me* is the emphatic word, and defending the order by *eoque vos studiosius, ea mihi signa* in § 8. But the reading of H, as in the text, is preferable, 'and his brother too confirmed all this in my hearing.'

se sollicitatum esse] 'that he had been worked upon to consent to take the crown.'

amicosque . . . hortatus sum] Nearly all mss read *in* before *iudicio*; but *probari in*, like *spectari in*, 1 Verr. § 29, means to be proved by doing something. Most mss too, including the first hand of M, omit *avi* after *atque*; but not so H, and its relative Palatinus Sextus, which read as in the text. A correction in M gives *in patris eius fide atque iudicio*. Graevius needlessly gives to *amici* the technical sense of a special class of courtiers, like the *amici Augusti*; and also to *iudicio* the sense of the king's judgment as expressed in his will, comparing Cic. Pro Domo sua, 49 *cum esset . . . testamento te iudicio improbatus*: Plin. Ep. vii. 31, 5.

7. *posse suis opibus*] Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 51) adds *se* after *posse*. Nothing could be easier than that it should fall out after *posse* and before *suis*. Lehmann, however, defends the omission by *nonne defendis? nonne resistis?* Fam. vii. 32, 1, Ep. ccxxix. The verb *defendere* often has the meaning of 'make a defence,' Rosc. Am. 64; Caes. B. G. ii. 33, 6.

ceret: a quibus perspexisset sibi insidias paratas, in eos uteretur iure regio: poena adficeret eos, quos necesse esset, reliquos metu liberaret: praesidio exercitus mei ad eorum, qui in culpa essent, timorem potius quam ad contentionem uteretur: fore autem ut omnes, quoniam senatus consultum nossent, intellegerent me regi, si opus esset, ex auctoritate vestra praesidio futurum. 8. Ita confirmato illo ex eo loco castra movi, iter in Ciliciam facere institui: cum hac opinione e Cappadocia discederem, ut consilio vestro, casu incredibili ac paene divino regem, quem vos honorificentissime appellassetis nullo postulante quemque meae fidei commendassetis et cuius salutem magnae vobis curae esse decressetis, meus adventus praesentibus insidiis liberasset. Quod ad vos a me scribi non alienum putavi, *ut* intellegeretis ex iis, quae paene acciderunt, vos multo ante, ne ea acciderent, providisse, eoque vos studiosius feci certiores, quod in rege Ariobarzane ea mihi signa videor virtutis, ingenii, fidei benevolentiaeque erga vos perspexisse, ut non sine causa tantam curam in eius vos salutem diligentiamque videamini contulisse.

CCXX. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 19).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero acceptis ab Attico litteris iam non dubitat quin ille in Epirum profectus sit, addit de Attiliano nomine, de fama itinerum suorum, de filiola Attico nata, de Patrone et Attici condiscipulis, de repulsa eius, qui cum patruo filii sororis Attici certarat. Scripta epistola est in Cilicia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Obsignaram iam epistolam eam, quam puto te modo perlegisse, scriptam mea manu, in qua omnia continentur, cum subito Appii

timorem . . . contentionem] 'to overawe rather than to actively coerce.'

8. *cum . . . discederem*] 'leaving': cp. § 6, *cum idem et frater faceret*, 'his brother doing the same.'

divino] 'providential.'

liberasset] Most editors read *liberarit;* Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 51) alters to *liberasset* (*liberaret* MSS), pointing out that the perf. subjunctive is not allowable after a historical tense like *discederem*.

ut] This word, omitted in all MSS after *putavi*, has been added by all editors.

curam . . . diligentiamque] 'concern for his safety and attention to it.' For the hyperbaton, cp. vol. ii. p. xxii.

1 *epistolam . . . continentur*] his letter to the Senate from Cybistra.

tabellarius a. d. xi. Kal. Octobr. septimo quadragesimo die Roma celeriter—hui tam longe!—mihi tuas litteras reddidit. Ex quibus non dubito quin tu Pompeium exspectaris, dum Arimino rediret, et iam in Epirum profectus sis, magisque vereor, ut scribis, ne in Epiro sollicitus sis non minus quam nos hic sumus. De Atiliano nomine scripsi ad Philotimum, ne appellaret Messallam. 2. Itineris nostri famam ad te pervenisse laetor magisque laetabor, si reliqua cognoris. Filiolam tuam tibi †iam Romae† iucundam esse gaudeo, eamque, quam numquam vidi, tamen et amo et amabilem esse certo scio. Etiam atque etiam vale. 3. De Patrone et tuis condiscipulis, quae de parietinis in Melita laboravi, ea tibi grata

hui tam longe] 'ah, to think how far away I am.' *Longe*, according to the common doctrine, never refers to time, though *longius* and *longissime* do. This seems hardly possible; if *longius* refers to time (and it certainly does), it seems impossible that *longe* should be incapable of this meaning, though no example of it occurs. There is no certain example of *longissime* in reference to time. The apparently strongest case of this usage is not a case in point. If the reading in Plautus, Stich. iv. 1, 24 (531), is not altogether corrupt, *longissume* should be taken with the subsequent words, *huc longissume postilla* (sc. *venio*), that is, *non longius quam huc* (sc. *a portu venio*), 'I have only had time to come here' (from the harbour). See Ussing *ad loc.* In the passage before us Cicero is led to reflect how far away he must be when it requires 47 days for a letter, though conveyed with unusual despatch, to reach him from Rome: cp. note on Fam. viii. 9, 2, Ep. ccxi., for an instance of exceptionally slow transmission, this being a case of exceptionally quick conveyance of a letter.

ut] 'even though you waited for the return of Pompeius from Ariminum.' This is the *concessive* use of *ut* (see L. G.); exact parallels are, *quam ut* ('even granting') *maxime inveneris*, Acad. ii. 81; *ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres*, Liv. xxi. 47, 5.

Messallam] Cicero says he wrote to Terentia's steward, Philotimus, telling him not to apply to Messalla for the money due from Atilius, for whom, no doubt, Messalla had become security. Cicero did not wish to trouble Messalla, distressed as he was by the recent verdict against him, for which see on Att v. 12, 2, Ep. ccii.

2 *†iam Romae†*] The obelised words must be corrupt, for why should Cicero say, 'I am glad that your daughter gives you pleasure *by this time at Rome*'; why *iam?* and why *Romae?* It is quite unscientific to read *tantopere*, and *natam Romae* is as weak as the obelised words. Perhaps Cicero wrote *quadrimam*. The child cannot have been yet five years old. We read in a letter to Quintus, Q. Fr. ii. 3, 7, Ep. cii., that Cicero dined with Att. on the day of his wedding, February 12th, 698 (56). Or possibly Cicero wrote *tanta ῥώμῃ*, a word which late Greek writers apply to 'vehemence' of feeling. Possibly, too, what Cicero here used was the word *moratam*, 'I am glad you find your daughter has such nice manners' (reading *iucunde*). For transposition of letters, cp. *modesticis* for *domesticis*, Fam. ii. 16, 4; *negere* for *genere*, Fam. ii. 1, 1, Ep. clxxi.; *bonis* for *nobis*, Fam. iv. 12, 1. In a passage so hopeless as this one may be allowed to go somewhat far afield for a possible solution. Anything is better than to cut the knot with a word like *tantopere*.

3. Obviously a postscript: cp. Att. iii. 22, 4, Ep. lxxxi.; v. 20, 10, Ep. ccxxviii.

parietinis] the ruins of the house of Epicurus, of which we have read above, Att. v. 11, 6, Ep. cc.; Fam. xiii. 1, Ep. cxcix.

in Melita] This is the conspicuously brilliant emendation of Gassendi for *in militia*, which cannot be defended. It is true that Cicero writes *in hac peregrinatione militiave nostra* (Att. vi. 2, 2, Ep. clii.) but when he used those words he had actually embarked on his campaign. When he had tried to make influence with Memmius to secure the remains of Epicurus' house for his disciples, he was not in any sense of

esse gaudeo. Quod scribis libente te repulsam tulisse eum, qui cum sororis tuae filii patruo certarat, magni amoris signum. Itaque me etiam admonuisti ut gauderem. Nam mihi in mentem non venerat. Non credo, inquis. Ut libet, sed plane gaudeo, quoniam τὸ νεμεσᾶν interest τοῦ φθονεῖν.

CCXXI. CICERO TO THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE (Fam. xv. 1).

IX. KAL. OCT.; A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Tullius Cicero procos. de bello Parthico ad senatum quae ad se delata sint perscribit. Scriptae litterae sunt in Cilicia.

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. COS. PR. TR. PL. SENATUI.

1. S. V. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Etsi non dubie mihi nuntiabatur Parthos transisse Euphratem cum omnibus fere suis copiis, tamen

the word *in militia*. Now Melita was a deme of the Cecropid tribe. Epicurus in his will left this house, τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ, to his friends. The emendation occurred independently to Boot. *De Tarentinis in militia* is the reading of M. Some high authorities still adhere to the reading of M in this passage, understanding the *Tarentini* to be a troop of light cavalry organised by Cicero against an apprehended incursion from Parthia.

libente te] cp. *tam libenti senatu*, Att. i. 14, 3, Ep. xx. But it is not improbable that Cicero wrote *libenter te repulsum tulisse eum*, 'that you were glad of his defeat.'

qui . . . certarat] The person referred to is generally supposed to be C. Hirrus, who was an unsuccessful competitor against Caelius for the curule aedileship, as he had formerly been against Cicero for the augurate. There is a similar form of an expression in Att. vi. 8, 3, Ep. cclxxxi., where the allusion is supposed to be to Cato. But L. Moll in a tract (quoted by Boot) on the dates of some of the letters of Cicero (Berlin, 1883), shows that the allusion is in both cases to M. Calidius, an orator who failed in his candidature for the consulship both this year and the following, and who had expressed an unfavourable opinion about Cicero's forensic style. He prosecuted Q. Gallius, when Cicero undertook the defence in 690 (64). In the same vein Cicero, writing to Atticus (xvi. 14, 4), describes the son of Quintus (who was the husband of Atticus's sister) as *avi tui pronepos*, and his own son as *patris mei nepotem*.

τὸ νεμεσᾶν] is Butler's 'indignation against successful vice', and Aristotle's νέμεσις (cp. Nic. Eth. ii. 7, 15), which is the virtue standing as a mean between the ὑπερβολή of φθόνος and the ἔλλειψις of ἐπιχαιρεκακία; νέμεσις is distress at undeserved prosperity; φθόνος is distress at all prosperity; the ἐπιχαιρέκακος is not only not distressed at undeserved prosperity, but he likes to see the good suffering and the wicked flourishing like a green bay tree; he has a *malicious pleasure* in the dislocation of the moral government of the world.

interest] here takes the genitive, because it stands for the Greek διαφέρει, which governs the genitive. Boot suggests that the word may be a gloss on διαφέρει, which has usurped the place of the Greek word in the text—a not infrequent phenomenon in the letters. Cicero says he is glad, not because he feels spite against Calidius, but because it would be a shame that the consulate should be obtained by one so unworthy.

quod arbitrabar a M. Bibulo proconsule certiora de his rebus ad vos scribi posse, statuebam mihi non necesse esse publice scribere ea, quae de alterius provincia nuntiarentur. Postea vero quam certissimis auctoribus legatis nuntiis litteris sum certior factus, vel quod tanta res erat vel quod nondum audieramus Bibulum in Syriam venisse vel quia administratio huius belli mihi cum Bibulo paene est communis, quae ad me delata essent, scribenda ad vos putavi. 2. Regis Antiochi Commageni legati primi mihi nuntiarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transire coepisse. Quo nuntio adlato cum essent non nulli qui ei regi minorem fidem habendam putarent, statui exspectandum esse, si quid certius adferretur. A. d. XIII. Kalendas Octobr. cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniae et Cappadociae mihi litterae redditae sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populi Romani existimatur, Pacorum Orodi regis Parthorum filium cum permagno equitatu Parthico transisse Euphratem et castra posuisse Tybae magnumque tumultum esse in provincia Syria excitatum. Eodem die ab Iamblicho phylarcho Arabum, quem homines opinantur bene sentire amicumque esse rei publicae nostrae, litterae de iisdem rebus mihi redditae sunt. 3. His rebus adlatis etsi intellegebam socios infirme animatos

1. *nuntiabatur*] For this impersonal use cp. Mil. 48; Verr. v. 87.

quia] For this variety of expression after *quod* Hoffmann compares Rosc. Am. 1: *Ita fit ut adsint propterea quod officium sequuntur; taceant autem idcirco quia periculum metuunt.*

2. *Tarcondimŏto*] cp. Lucan, ix. 219: *Cum Tarcondimotus linquendi signa Catonis Sustulit.* This king, who reigned in Mount Amanus, was established by Pompeius in 690 (64): cp. Strabo, xiv. 676. He was always a supporter of what he believed to be Rome, but was always wrong. Thus he fought on the side of Pompeius at Pharsalia, and though pardoned by Caesar in 712 (42), fought for Cassius, and finally died at Actium, on the side of Antonius. The kingdom remained in the family till after Augustus's time, it being thought advisable that such imperfectly civilized mountainous districts should be governed by their own princelings, rather than be placed under the immediate supervision of the *legatus*: see Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 385–6.

Orodi] genit. from *Orodes*: cp. Roby, § 484.

Tybae] half-way between Palmyra and Thapsacus.

Iamblicho] Iamblichus was son of Sampsiceramus, and shared with him the dynasty of Emesa and Arethusa: cp. Strabo, xvi. 753: *καὶ Ἀρέθουσα ἡ Σαμψικεράμου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς φυλάρχων τοῦ Ἐμεσηνῶν ἔθνους.* They helped Q. Caecilius Bassus in his insurrection in 700 (44). Iamblichus was executed by Antonius just before the battle of Actium, Dio Cass. 1, 13: *ὑπετόπει τε πάντας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Αραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα βασανίσας.* The title *phylarchus* is accordingly much the same as *king*: cp. Suidas (s. v.): *ξυμβάλλει τῷ Τραϊάνῳ ὁ Ἀκβάρος ὃς ἦν Ὀσροηνῆς χώρας δυνάστης οὕσπερ φυλάρχας ὀνομάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν φυλαὶ ὀνομάζονται*; also Amm. Marc. xxiv. 2, 4: *phylarchus Saracenorum* and Valesius *ad loc.*

esse et novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos, sperabam tamen eos, ad quos iam accesseram quique nostram mansuetudinem integritatemque perspexerant, amiciores populo Romano esse factos, Ciliciam autem firmiorem fore, si aequitatis nostrae particeps facta esset. Et ob eam causam et ut opprimerentur ii, qui ex Cilicum gente in armis essent, et ut hostis is, qui esset in Syria, sciret exercitum populi Romani non modo non cedere iis nuntiis adlatis, sed etiam propius accedere, exercitum ad Taurum institui ducere. 4. Sed, si quid apud vos auctoritas mea ponderis habet, in iis praesertim rebus, quas vos audistis, ego paene cerno, magno opere vos et hortor et moneo, ut his provinciis serius vos quidem quam decuit, sed aliquando tamen consulatis. Nos quem ad modum instructos et quibus praesidiis munitos ad tanti belli opinionem miseritis non estis ignari. Quod ego negotium non stultitia obcaecatus, sed verecundia deterritus non recusavi. Neque enim umquam ullum periculum tantum putavi, quod subterfugere mallem quam vestrae auctoritati obtemperare. 5. Hoc autem tempore res sese sic habet, ut, nisi exercitum tantum, quantum ad maximum bellum mittere soletis, mature in has provincias miseritis, summum periculum sit ne amittendae sint omnes eae provinciae, quibus vectigalia populi Romani continentur. Quam ob rem autem in hoc provinciali dilectu spem habeatis aliquam causa nulla est: neque multi sunt et diffugiunt qui sunt metu oblato. Et, quod genus hoc militum sit iudicavit vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia, qui, cum vos ei permisissetis, dilectum habere noluerit. Nam

3. *novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos*] 'wavering in expectation of a revolution', μετεώρους.

mansuetudinem] So Manutius, comparing Fam. xv. 3, 2, Ep. ccxii.; 5, 2, Ep. cclxvi.; Att. v. 18, 2, Ep. ccxviii. The MSS give *consuetudinem*.

sperabam . . . esse factos] 'I trust we shall find that they have become.' For the perf. inf. after *sperare*, pointing to the future knowledge of a past fact, cp. Fam. vii. 32, 1, Ep. ccxxix.; Att. ii. 21, 2, Ep. xlviii.; Q. Fr. ii. 4, 2, Ep. cv.; Att. viii. 3, 7; x. 7, 3.

4. *ad tanti belli opinionem*] 'to what is expected to be so great a war.' *Opinio* is the word used in the Vulgate for 'rumours of wars' (Matth. xxiv. 6).

5. *amittendae*] 'given up.'

eae provinciae] 'these provinces, on the maintenance of which depend the taxes of the Roman people.' Cicero appeals not to the dignity but to the cupidity of the Senate. *aliquid continetur aliqua re* is a common Ciceronian expression (Reid on Sull. 63). The word *continentur*, perhaps, hints a metaphor, like συνέχειν. An English orator would have said: 'the provinces which are the key-stone of Rome's financial stability.' The province especially alluded to is Asia: cp. Manil. 16.

noluerit] perf. subj. 'M. Bibulus showed his opinion of these soldiers by refusing when you allowed him to hold the levy.'

Nam sociorum] This sentence expresses a truth; and, no doubt, Cicero did feel

sociorum auxilia propter acerbitatem atque iniurias imperii nostri aut ita imbecilla sunt, ut non multum nos iuvare possint, aut ita alienata a nobis, ut neque exspectandum ab iis neque committendum iis quidquam esse videatur. 6. Regis Deiotari et voluntatem et copias, quantaecumque sunt, nostras esse duco. Cappadocia est inanis. Reliqui reges tyrannique neque opibus satis firmi nec voluntate sunt. Mihi in hac paucitate militum animus certe non deerit, spero ne consilium quidem. Quid casurum sit incertum est. Utinam saluti nostrae consulere possimus! dignitati certe consulemus.

CCXXII. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, AT ROME (FAM. III. 8).

A. D. VIII. ID. OCT., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Appium M. Cicero dicit non debere malevolis aliorum sermonibus fidem habere, nec temere suis indulgere suspicionibus. Eius de urbanis rebus litteras sibi gratas fuisse et promissas de suis acceptas fore significat. Rogat, ne provinciam sibi prorogari patiatur. De rebus Parthicis scribit et crebras poscit litteras.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. Etsi, quantum ex tuis litteris intellegere potui, videbam te hanc epistolam, cum ad urbem esses, esse lecturum, refrigerato iam levissimo sermone hominum provincialium, tamen, cum tu tam multis verbis ad me de improborum oratione scripsisses,

strongly 'the harshness and wrongs of Roman rule,' generally. But it is probable that here he wished by this oblique allusion to reflect specially on the conduct of his predecessors, and, above all, of Appius.

6. *Reliqui reges tyrannique*] *e. g.* Bogodiatarus of Galatia; Attalus of Paphlagonia; Aristarchus of Colchis; Ptolemaeus of Libanus; Aretas of Damascus; Abgarus of Osroene, cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv. 143. Translate 'they afford no great strength either in resources or loyalty.'

in hac paucitate] Cicero had only two skeleton legions, Att. v. 15, 1, Ep. ccvii.

1. *ad urbem esse*] a technical expression for generals who, after being invested with the imperium, waited outside the city; either prior to departure, in order to make all necessary preparations, or, on their return, if endeavouring to obtain a triumph (Ascon. on 1 Verr. 45). No magistrate could enter the city without losing the imperium, unless by a special decree (originally of the people, later practically of the Senate) he was allowed to retain it till the end of the day of entry.

refrigerato] metaphors taken from *heat* and *cold* are among the commonest in Latin. See Näglesbach, p. 457. We should say 'have grown faint,' 'have died away.'

oratione] 'the way unprincipled men

faciendum mihi putavi ut tuis litteris brevi responderem. 2. Sed prima duo capita epistolae tuae tacita mihi quodam modo relinquenda sunt: nihil enim habent quod definitum sit aut certum, nisi me vultu et taciturnitate significasse tibi non esse amicum, idque pro tribunali, cum aliquid ageretur, et non nullis in conviviis intellegi potuisse. Hoc totum nihil esse possum intellegere: sed cum sit nihil, ne quid dicatur quidem intellego. Illud quidem scio, meos multos et illustres et ex superiore et ex aequo loco sermones habitos cum tua summa laude et cum magna sollicitudine et significatione nostrae familiaritatis ad te vere potuisse deferri. Nam quod ad legatos attinet, quid a me fieri potuit aut elegantius aut iustius quam ut sumptus egentissimarum civitatum minuerem sine ulla imminutione dignitatis tuae, praesertim ipsis civitatibus postulantibus? Nam mihi totum genus legationum tuo nomine proficiscentium notum non erat. Apameae cum essem, multarum

are talking.' The *m* of *improborum* became attached to the next word, thence producing *moratione*. H has *hortacione*, which might stand, 'what unprincipled men urge you to do'. Streicher (p. 147) reads *obtrectatione*, quoting Fam. i. 7, 7, Ep. cxiv.; x. 8, 7. But though the word is suitable enough, implying that it was the *improbi*, and not Cicero, who abused Appius, still it is too unlike the word of the MSS.

faciendum . . . responderem] 'I thought I was bound to make a brief reply to your letters.' For such pleonasms see Nägelsbach, p. 601.

2. *capita*] 'paragraphs.'

vultu et taciturnitate] the reading of H and its family. M omits *et*. Translate: 'by my looks and by what I left unsaid' (or, perhaps, 'severe silence').

Hoc . . . deferri] 'I can quite understand [as you say] that all this is mere nothing: but though it is nothing, I cannot understand what the statement made to you can be. This much I *do* know, that you might have had true reports of many well-known speeches delivered by me, both on and off the bench, referring to you in terms of the highest praise, and with marked concern for, and indication of, the friendship which subsists between us.' If the translation given above is adopted, there is no necessity to read *qui* for *quid* with Orelli and Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 6), 'how it came to pass that it was said.' *Dico* often signifies 'to mean,' though mostly in present indicative. For *ex superiore*, and *ex aequo loco*, compare the more strictly legal expressions *pro tribunali* and *de plano* of the Digest, xxxvii. 1, 3, 8. The reading *sollicitudine et significatione*, found in Harl. 2591, makes excellent sense; H has *sollicitudine significacione*, and the *et* could easily have dropped out after a word ending in *e*. The genit. after *sollicitudine* is objective: cp. *sollicitudine provinciae*, Att. vi. 5, 3, Ep. cclxix. Most editors (Graevius, Baiter, Klotz, Wesenberg) after Cratander, wish to leave out *sollicitudine*. In Palatinus Tertius, *sollicitudine significacionis* is read, 'concern to indicate our friendship,' and adopted by Schütz and Orelli.

elegantius] 'in better taste.' This word is often used for a refined life: cp. Sull. 79, Planc. 31, and Holden *ad loc.*, who quotes Halm: "Quid sit elegantia vitae optime opinor intellegas si reputaveris quae elegantia sermonis dicatur. Ut enim haec in pura et incorrupta consuetudine cernitur (Brut. 261), sic elegantia ad vitam translata de ea vita dicitur quae omne quod in moribus vitiosum et corruptum videri possit oderit et diligenter caveat ne unquam ab honesto et decoro descivisse videatur"—though here, perhaps, a little too much stress is laid on strictly *moral* qualities.

Nam mihi . . . notum non erat] 'I had no idea of the large scale on which embassies were being despatched in your inte-

civitatum principes ad me detulerunt sumptus decerni legatis nimis magnos, cum solvendo civitates non essent. 3. Hic ego multa simul cogitavi. Primum te, hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam, ut nunc loquimur, urbanum, non arbitrabar genere isto legationum delectari: idque me arbitror Synnadis pro tribunali multis verbis disputavisse: primum, Appium Claudium senatui populoque Romano, non Midaeensium testimonio—in ea enim civitate mentio facta est—sed sua sponte esse laudatum: deinde me ita vidisse accidere multis, ut eorum causa legationes Romam venirent, sed his legationibus non meminisse ullum tempus laudandi aut locum dari: studia mihi eorum placere, quod in te bene merito grati essent: consilium totum videri minime necessarium. Si autem vellent declarare in eo officium suum, laudaturum me, si qui suo sumptu functus esset officio: concessurum, si legitimo: non permissurum, si infinito. Quid enim reprehendi potest? nisi quod addis visum esse quibusdam edictum meum quasi consulto ad istas legationes impediendas esse accommodatum. Iam non tantum mihi videntur iniuriam facere ii, qui haec disputant, quam si cuius aures ad hanc disputationem patent. 4. Romae composui edictum: nihil addidi nisi quod publicani me rogarunt, cum Samum ad me venissent, ut de tuo edicto totidem verbis trans-

rests.' The word *genus* is often difficult to translate: cp. note to Fam. v. 12, 1, Ep. cix.; xiii. 6*a*, 3, Ep. cxv.; vii. 23, 2, Ep. cxxvi. For *eo nomine*, see Fam. xiv. 3, 4, Ep. lxxxiv., *eo nomine . . . ut audiam*, 'on this account in order to hear,' and Page on Hor. Carm. iii. 21, 5.

3. *sapientem*] 'a sensible man': cp. *desipiens*, § 4, and Fin. i. 42, *sapientia quae ars vivendi putanda est.*

urbanum] 'a man of culture': cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv. 566. "The circumstance that the term *urbanitas*, and the idea of a polished national culture which it expressed, arose during this period, proves not that it was in the ascendant but that it was on the wane, and that people were keenly alive to the absence of this *urbanitas* in the language and habits of the Latinised barbarians or the barbarised Latins."

arbitror] This is mere politeness; 'I fancy I dwelt on this point at length from the bench at Synnada.'

Appium . . . laudatum] 'that an Appius Claudius wins honour with the senate and Roman people, not from witness borne by the inhabitants of Midea (for the matter was mooted in that state), but of the senate's own motion.' Midea is in Lycia. *Sua sponte* can be used for whatever is done without extraneous assistance, Plaut. Truc. ii. 6, 46 (522), *neque enim queo pedibus mea sponte ambulare*, and Fam. vii. 2, 3, Ep. clxxxii.

in te] abl. 'in your case.'

declarare in eo officium] 'to show their obligation in that act.'

legitimo] 'if it (viz. the expense) was within the legal limits', fixed by the Cornelian law.

infinito] 'extravagant.'

accommodatum] 'framed.'

disputant] 'argue.' *disputationem*, 'argument.'

4. *cum . . . venissent*] 'after coming to me to Samos.' The subjunctive expresses the reason, 'since they made such a point of it that they came even to Samos.'

totidem verbis] 'word for word.' Reid on Acad. ii. 17 quotes a number of Latin ex-

ferrem in meum. Diligentissime scriptum caput est, quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum: quo in capite sunt quaedam nova salutaria civitatibus, quibus ego magno opere delector: hoc vero, ex quo suspicio nata est me exquisisse aliquid in quo te offenderem, tralaticium est. Neque enim eram tam desipiens, ut privatae rei causa legari putarem, qui et tibi non privato et pro re non privata sua, sed publica, non in privato, sed in publico orbis terrae consilio, id est, in senatu, ut gratias agerent, mittebantur. Neque cum edixi, ne quis iniussu meo proficisceretur, exclusi eos, qui me in castra et qui trans Taurum persequi non possent. Nam id est maxime in tuis litteris irridendum: quid enim erat quod me persequerentur in castra Taurumve transirent, cum ego Laodicea usque ad Iconium iter ita fecerim, ut me omnium illarum dioecesium, quae cis Taurum sunt, omniumque earum civitatum magistratus legationesque convenirent? 5. Nisi forte postea coeperunt legare quam ego Taurum transgressus sum: quod certe non ita est. Cum enim Laodiceae, cum Apameae, cum Synnadis, cum Philomelii, cum Iconii essem, quibus in oppidis omnibus commoratus sum, omnes iam istius generis legationes erant constitutae. Atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent, ne in venditionem tributorum et illam

pressions for this idea: *verbum e verbo exprimere*, Fin. iii. 15; *ad verbum exprimere*, Fin. i. 4; *verbum pro verbo reddere*, Opt. Gen. Or. 14; *eisdem verbis reddere*, Brut. 301; *totidem verbis interpretari*, Fin. ii. 100.

diligentissime scriptum] 'carefully worded.'

desipiens] cp. note on § 3.

orbis terrae consilio] 'parliament of the world': cp. Phil. iv. 14, *senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium delere gestit*; vii. 19.

qui . . . non possent] 'who could not as they said,' virtual oblique.

dioecesium] a general word for any administrative district. Translate, 'assize district.' Three such assize-districts, properly belonging to the province of Asia, were added to Cilicia, viz.: Cibyra, Apamea, and Synnada: cp. Fam. xiii. 67; also Strabo, xiii. 628, 629: *τὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια μέρη τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἐμπλοκὰς ἔχει μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ Φρύγια καὶ τὰ Λύδια καὶ τὰ Καρικὰ καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα· εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας.* It was only between 698 (56) and 704 (50) that these three Asiatic *διοικήσεις* were added to Cilicia, and it is not known for what reason. After 705 (49) they were again under the government of the Proconsul of Asia, Fam. xiii. 67.

5. *ne in venditionem tributorum*] The taxpayers had not been able to pay up at the proper time, and their assessment had been sold to a contractor (cp. Mommsen, R. H. iii. 396, note). This was a very harsh proceeding, like an eviction, and especially so when it was done wholesale, and accompanied with the greatest loss to the tax-payer. Besides, unusual extortionate taxes were superadded, of course on the plea of state necessity. The magistrates

acerbissimam exactionem, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minime necessarii. Ego autem cum hoc suscepissem, non solum iustitia, sed etiam misericordia adductus, ut levarem miseriis perditas civitates et perditas maxime per magistratus suos, non potui in illo sumptu non necessario neglegens esse. Tu, si istius modi sermones ad te delati de me sunt, non debuisti credere : si autem hoc genere delectaris, ut quae tibi in mentem veniant aliis attribuas, genus sermonis inducis in amicitiam minime liberale. Ego si in provincia de tua fama detrahere umquam cogitassem, † non generum tuum libertum Brundisii neque ad praefectum fabrum Corcyrae, quem in locum me venire velles, rettulissem. Qua re potes doctissimis hominibus auctoribus, quorum sunt de amicitia gerenda praeclarissime scripti libri, genus hoc totum orationis tollere : 'disputabant : ego contra disserebam : dicebant: ego negabam.' 6. An mihi de te nihil esse dictum umquam putas? ne hoc quidem, quod, cum me iam Laodiceam venire voluisses, Taurum ipse transisti? quod iisdem

then pray that they be not asked to incur expense, which on no ground at all could be said to be necessary. In Att. v. 16, 2, Ep. ccviii., *audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse: ὠνὰς omnium venditas: civitatum gemitus ploratus.* The *tributum* is the fixed sum of money required to be paid annually to the state by a certain number of the provinces (Mommsen, *loc. cit.*). The poll-tax, which is called *acerbissima*, was one per cent. on each man's property in Hadrian's time (App. *Syr.* 50), so it appears to have been continued. It was the tax which was designed to fall on artisans (*ἐπικεφάλιόν τε καὶ χειρωνάξιον προσαγορευομένη*), Aristot. *Oec.* ii. 1, 3 (= 1305). The tax on doors was not a poll-tax, but a family-tax: each family who lived in a house having a separate entrance (Huschke, *Census und Steuerverfassung*, Note 224) : *inducerentur*, 'should be brought on the top of' (or 'into the middle of'), pressing slightly the active sense of *venditionem* and *exactionem*, 'the selling of,' and 'the levying from.'

per magistratus suos] This is added to give the appearance of a desire to take the blame off Appius' shoulders.

neglegens] 'indifferent,' 'pass the matter over,' opp. to *diligens*.

hoc genere] 'this kind of thing.'

genus sermonis . . . liberale] 'you introduce a kind of conversation between friends which is by no means generous.'

†*non generum tuum*] There is no mention of Cicero's having conversed with either of Appius' sons-in-law : cp. Fam. iii. 5, 3, Ep. ccv.; 6, 1, Ep. ccxiii. Hence, most editors think the words should be left out, though it is hard to suggest how they found their way into all the MSS. Wesenberg (*Em.* p. 114, note) says : "Ex Victorii coniectura scribo *non ad generum tuum** [si *generum* est *Brutum*, ut mihi quoque videtur excidit *Romae:* si *Pompeium F.* sine dubio *Tarenti:* cp. Att. v. 5 and 6, Ep. clxxxviii., clxxxix.] *neque ad libertum*," &c. The word *Lentulum* is found in some MSS after *tuum;* it was an usual mistake of copyists to thus interpret *L*, which, perhaps, was in the archetype, as the ordinary abbreviation for *libertus*.

libertum] Phania : cp. Fam. iii. 5, 3, Ep. ccv.

praefectum fabrum] His name was L. Clodius : cp. Fam. iii. 6, 2, Ep. ccxiii. The *praef. fabrum* was a special officer of the imperator or proconsul : see Addenda.

6. *me iam Laodiceam*] This, the certain emendation of Klotz for *meam Laodiceam* of M, is confirmed by H.

diebus meus conventus erat Apameae, Synnade, Philomelii, tuus Tarsi? Non dicam plura, ne, in quo te obiurgem, id ipsum videar imitari. Illud dicam, ut sentio: si ista, quae alios loqui dicis, ipse sentis, tua summa culpa est: sin autem alii tecum haec loquuntur, tua tamen, quod audis, culpa non nulla est. Mea ratio in tota amicitia nostra constans et gravis reperietur. Quod si qui me astutiorem fingit, quid potest esse callidius quam, cum te absentem semper defenderim, cum praesertim mihi usu venturum non arbitrarer, ut ego quoque a te absens defendendus essem, nunc committere, ut tu iure optimo me absentem deserere possis? 7. Unum genus excipio sermonis, in quo persaepe aliquid dicitur, quod te putem nolle dici, si aut legatorum tuorum cuipiam aut praefectorum aut tribunorum militum male dicitur: quod tamen ipsum non mehercule adhuc accidit me audiente, ut aut gravius diceretur aut †in plures†, quam mecum Corcyrae Clodius est locutus, cum in eo genere maxime quereretur te aliorum improbitate minus felicem fuisse. Hos ego sermones, quod et multi sunt et tuam existimationem, ut ego sentio, non offendunt, lacessivi numquam, sed non valde repressi. Si quis est qui neminem bona fide in gratiam putet redire posse, non nostram is perfidiam coarguit, sed indicat suam, simulque non de me is peius quam de te existimat. Sin autem quem mea instituta in provincia non delectant et quadam dissimilitudine institutorum meorum ac tuorum laedi se putat, cum

Tarsi] cp. Att. v. 17, 6, Ep. ccix.
ratio] 'conduct,' 'attitude.'
callidius] ironical. Some editors have suggested *calidius*, 'hot-headed,' opposed to *astutiorem*, 'cool and calculating'; but the use of *calidus* in that sense is mostly connected with *consilium*. There is little or no difference of meaning between *callidus* and *astutus*.
cum praesertim] 'and that though'; cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 60; viii. 5: occasionally with the relative instead of *cum*, Fam. vi. 2, 3; Sull. 6, and Reid *ad loc.*
usu venturum] 'would come to pass,' opp. in sense to *committere*, 'to bring it to pass.' Reid, on Sen. 7, remarks: "*usu* is commonly explained as an ablative ('in practice,' 'in experience'), but it is quite as likely to be a dative of the sort called predicative ('to come as a matter of experience'): cp. *venire exscidio* (Verg. Aen. i. 22); *odio* (Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 106); *subsidio* (Caes. B. G. v. 27, 5)"; but if so, why not *usui*, as in the common phrase *usui esse*, Balb. 24? cp. Roby, ii. p. lv., *non arbitrarer*, concessive subjunctive, Roby, § 1730.
7. *in plures*] 'nor directed against more than those whom Clodius referred to on one occasion.' But the sentence is really not Latin. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 6), thinks we should read *liberius* for *in plures*, supposing the letters were somehow transposed, as often happens: cp. note on Att. v. 19, 2, Ep. ccxx. Others have suggested *impurius*, which may be right: Appius may have used a strong word.
in eo genere] 'on that head.'
si quis est] 'if there is anyone who thinks that no one can sincerely return into friendly relations with another, he does not convict me of falseness of character, but betrays his own.'
instituta] 'policy.'

uterque nostrum recte fecerit, sed non idem uterque secutus sit, hunc ego amicum habere non curo. 8. Liberalitas tua, ut hominis nobilissimi, latius in provincia patuit: nostra si angustior *est*—etsi de tua prolixa beneficaque natura limavit aliquid posterior annus propter quamdam tristitiam temporum—non debent mirari homines, cum et natura semper ad largiendum ex alieno fuerim restrictior et temporibus, quibus alii moventur, iisdem ego movear,

med esse acerbum sibi, uti sim dulcis mihi.

9. De rebus urbanis quod me certiorem fecisti, cum per se mihi gratum fuit, tum quod significasti tibi omnia mea mandata curae fore. In quibus unum illud te praecipue rogo, ut cures ne quid mihi ad hoc negotii aut oneris accedat aut temporis, Hortensiumque, nostrum collegam et familiarem, roges, ut, si umquam mea causa quidquam aut sensit aut fecit, de hac quoque sententia bima decedat, qua mihi nihil potest esse inimicius. 10. De nostris rebus quod scire vis, Tarso Nonis Octobribus *ad* Amanum versus profecti sumus. Haec scripsi postridie eius diei, cum castra haberem in agro Mopsuhestiae. Si quid egero, scribam ad te,

recte] 'conscientiously,' 'according to our sense of duty, though both of us did not follow the same line.'

8. *angustior est*] 'is more restricted,' 'circumscribed': *est* is added by Wesenberg (*Em.* 17).

prolixa] 'large-hearted,' 'expansive': cp. Att. vi. 3, 5, Ep. cclxiv.

limavit] lit. 'has filed away,' opp. to *affingere*, De Orat. iii. 36.

med esse acerbum] This has been retained as an Iambic trimeter, which Martyni-Laguna saw it to be. The expression *ut sim dulcis mihi* seems to stamp it as poetry. The sense is: Men ought not to wonder that I am regardless of them in gratifying myself (*i. e.* by doing my duty). Cicero implies that these men ought not to wonder that he, too, was selfish: they and everyone else are selfish; but Cicero's selfishness lay in the self-gratification of doing his duty. The whole passage may be thus rendered: 'Your generosity, as befitted a nobleman of the highest rank, found a larger field in the province than mine can: if mine is more circumscribed (though it is true the last year, owing to the badness of the times, curtailed a little your expansive and open-handed disposition), men ought not to wonder, seeing that I am naturally always rather averse to lavishness at other people's expense, and I too feel the influence of the times, which others feel (men ought not to wonder, I say),

"That I am sour to them to keep my conscience sweet.'"

9. *nostrum collegam*] in the augurate, Brut. 1; Phil. ii. 4; Fam. iii. 2, 1, Ep. clxxxiii.

sententia bima] 'two-year motion,' *i. e.* that the provincial governors should hold their posts for two consecutive years. The actual opinion, urged by Hortensius, was probably told to Cicero in Appius' letter. Cicero knew of it vaguely before, Att. v. 17, 5, Ep. ccix.

10. *ad Amanum versus*] So Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 6) conjectures. *Versus* is not a preposition, but an adverb, and only used without a preceding preposition before the names of towns, as is pointed out by Madvig (*Em. Liv.* p. 161; *Lat. Gram.* 172, note 4): cp. Fam. iv. 12, 1, *in Italiam versus*.

profecti sumus] 'we set out' (aor.), *scripsi*, 'am writing,' (epistolary perf.).

Mopsuhestiae] Μόψου ἑστία, *vatis illius*

neque domum umquam ad me litteras mittam quin adiungam eas, quas tibi reddi velim. De Parthis quod quaeris, fuisse nullos puto. Arabes qui fuerunt admixto Parthico ornatu, dicuntur omnes revertisse. Hostem esse in Syria negant ullum. Tu velim ad me quam saepissime et de tuis rebus scribas et de meis et de omni rei publicae statu: de quo sum sollicitus eo magis, quod ex tuis litteris cognovi Pompeium nostrum in Hispaniam iturum.

CCXXIII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 8).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Caelius M. Ciceroni de iudiciis, de senatus consulto, de suis rebus scribit.

M. CAELIUS M. CICERONI S.

1. Etsi de re publica quae tibi scribam habeo, tamen nihil quod magis gavisurum te putem habeo quam hoc. Scito C. Sempronium Rufum [Rufum], mel ac delicias tuas, calumniam maximo plausu tulisse. Quaeris qua in causa? M. Tuccium, accusatorem suum, post ludos Romanos reum lege Plotia de vi fecit, hoc consilio, quod

domicilium Mopsi, Amm. Marc. xiv. 8, 3, a town between Tarsus and Issus, on the road to Samosata and the Euphrates, founded by Mopsus, an Argive priest and king, Cic. De Div. i. 88: now Messis.

ad me] 'to my people': cp. Att. iv. 14, 1, Ep. cxxxviii., *Velim domum ad te scribas ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus ac si ipse adesses.*

Arabes] For Bedouins in the Parthian army, cp. Fam. xv. 4, 7, Ep. ccxxiii.

admixto Parthico ornatu] 'partially equipped as Parthians.'

hostem esse in Syria negant ullum] 'As to the enemy's presence in Syria, they say that there is not a sign of them.' The position of *ullum* makes it emphatic.

Pompeium . . . iturum] Cicero always disapproved of the departure of Pompeius from Rome, Att. v. 11, 3, Ep. cc.

1. *quod*] The cognate acc. after *gaudeo* is often found, especially in the comic writers, *e. g.* Ter. Eun. v. 8, 11; Phorm. v. 9, 63: cp. Introd. to vol. I², p. 62.

[*Rufum*]] This is not found in H, though it is in M. Wesenberg (*Em.* 103) objects to it on the ground that if Caelius wanted to repeat emphatically the name, he would have said, *istum Rufum*: cp. Catull. 58, *Caeli Lesbia nostra Lesbia illa Illa Lesbia quam Catullus unam Plus quam se atque suos amavit omnes*; Att. ii. 24, 2, Ep. li., *Vettius ille, ille noster index.*

calumniam . . . tulisse] 'has carried off amidst great applause—a conviction for false accusation.' This is παρὰ προσδοκίαν, an adaptation of such a phrase as *ferre palmam*. Becher (p. 34) says it = *poenam calumniae tulisse*, comparing De Domo, 134, *poenamque hanc maternae temeritatis tulit.*

post ludos Romanos] These lasted from the 4th to 19th Sept. It is generally supposed that the courts necessarily did not sit during the games; but this is a mistake. There was a practical difficulty in getting the parties and the president and jury together, so that for the most part, as a matter of fact, the courts did not sit. But if all parties concerned agreed, proceedings might go on. Cases *de vi* could not be adjourned during the games, Cael. 1: cp. Zumpt, *Criminalprocess*, pp. 118, ff.

lege Plotia] passed in 676 (78) by an

videbat, si extraordinarius reus nemo accessisset, sibi hoc anno causam esse dicendam. Dubium porro illi non erat quid futurum esset. Nemini hoc deferre munusculum maluit quam suo accusatori. Itaque sine ullo subscriptore descendit et Tuccium reum fecit. At ego simul atque audivi, invocatus ad subsellia rei occurro: surgo, neque verbum de re facio: totum Sempronium usque eo perago, ut Vestorium quoque interponam et illam fabulam narrem, quem ad modum tibi pro beneficio dederit, † si quod iniuriis suis esset ut Vestorius teneret. 2. Haec quoque magna nunc contentio forum tenet. M. Servilius, postquam, ut coeperat, omnibus

otherwise unknown tribune, at the instance of Q. Lutatius Catulus; hence, sometimes called Lex Lutatia (Cael 70, compared with Sall. Cat. 31, 4). See Lange, iii. 175. Rein, however (*Criminalrecht*, p. 738, note), thinks the Lex Plotia, which he supposes to have been passed in 665 (89), was the basis of procedure *de vi*, and that the Lex Lutatia, passed in 676 (78) added certain facilities for hastening the trial and for preventing adjournment.

extraordinarius reus] 'a defendant whose case could claim precedence.' Such, we must infer from this passage, were defendants accused *de vi*. Caelius himself had five years before, when he had accused L. Sempronius Atratinus of *ambitus*, and was subsequently accused himself *de vi*, to defend himself on this charge first. This we may perhaps derive from the present tense in Cael. 78, *non potest qui ambitu ne absolutum quidem patitur esse absolutum, ipse impune unquam esse largitor*.

hoc anno] Sempronius, doubtless, would have wished that the trial should have been put off till next year, when he would have had a favourable praetor, and the jury might be packed. The same was the desire of Verres (2 Verr. i. 30).

quid futurum esset] Sempronius had no doubt whatsoever that in case he himself were tried he would be convicted, and this little 'compliment' of a conviction of himself he thought he would bestow most suitably on his accuser. The whole sentence is satirical.

sine ullo subscriptore] A *subscriptor* is one who assists the principal accuser, and writes his name at the end of the charge under that of the principal accuser. We may compare the subordinate names appended to a bill brought before Parliament. Cicero takes credit to himself that in the case of Cluentius *totam hanc causam vetere instituto solus peroravi*. It might, however, be a sign that the case was so bad that no one would lend aid in it.

invocatus] 'though uninvited': cp. Plaut. Capt. i. 1, 2 (70), where there is a pun on the word.

subsellia rei] There were special places in court both for accusers (Rosc. Am. 17) and accused.

perago] *Agere reum* is simply 'to prosecute'; *peragere reum*, 'to prosecute successfully', 'to get a conviction': see Owens on Ov. Trist. i. 1, 24; Mayor on Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 24. Caelius says: 'I rise, and don't say a word about Tuccius' case. My speech is a complete arraignment of Sempronius, even unto the bringing up of Vestorius.'

† *si quod iniuriis suis esset*] This makes no sense as it stands. Wesenberg (*Em.* 103, 104; *Em. Alt.* 20) reads, *si quid iniuria ipsius esset*, 'whatever he (Rufus) possessed wrongfully,' *ipsius* for *suum ipsius*, cp. Madv. Fin. iii. 40. Hoffmann reads *suum* for *suis* with the same sense. Lambinus, *si quid iuris sui esset*. As we do not profess to be certain what the passage means, we have retained the MSS reading. That Rufus made some slip of the tongue seems probable. He said, perhaps, that if he owned wrongfully any of Vestorius' property, Vestorius should have it; and the idea of a thing being *owned* wrongfully (*sui iuris iniuria*, or something of the kind) struck the legal Romans as being a good joke, as well as his being graciously pleased to let Vestorius take possession of Vestorius' property. There is another allusion to this matter in Att. v. 2, 2, Ep. clxxxv. Cicero calls him *Rufio Vestorianus* in Att. xiv. 14, 2.

2. *Haec quoque magna nunc contentio*] The exceedingly perplexed incidents related in this section appear to be as follows:—Gaius Claudius Pulcher, who was

in rebus turbarat neque quod non venderet quoiquam reliquerat maximaeque nobis traditus erat invidiae neque Laterensis praetor

brother of P. Clodius, and proconsul in Asia from 698 (56) to 701 (53), on his return to Rome was accused of extortion (*repetundae*). The trial did not come on till 703 (51), owing to the exceptional jurisdiction of 702 (52), and the confusion in the state during that period. He was condemned, and the subsequent proceedings, the estimating of the damages (*vites aestimare*) carried through; but before execution could be effected, Claudius had either quitted Rome, or possibly died by his own hand (Zumpt, p. 545, note 5), and sufficient assets were not forthcoming to meet the damages assessed A large sum of Claudius' money had made its way into the hands of Servilius, who had undertaken to see that the case was mismanaged (*praevaricari*), but most likely did not fulfil his undertaking. Pausanias, who was interested in the matter, and who was, perhaps, agent for the Asiatic provincials, had a moral certainty that Servilius was bribed by Claudius; for Servilius had been lately living in the greatest extravagance, had run through all his means, and that, too, in such a way as to incur the greatest unpopularity. But Pausanias had no sufficient legal evidence on the point, and when they wanted to prosecute Servilius, according to the Julian Law, on the ground of receiving money with intent to defraud (*quo ea pecunia pervenisset*, as was the strict phrase), M. Laterensis, the praetor, did not consider there was a prima facie case, and would not entertain it. Thereupon Q. Pilius accused Servilius directly of *repetundae*. The offence of Servilius came quite fairly under this head (*ob accusandum vel non accusandum*, Dig. xlviii. 11, 6, 2); further, it was a wide charge, and there was much greater chance of Servilius' condemnation under it than under a subordinate charge of another charge, both of which depended on a narrow and connected set of circumstances. Popular opinion manifested itself in a burst of vigorous delight at the chance of the condemnation of Servilius. Carried away by the storm of feeling which had thus displayed itself, young Appius, son of C. Claudius, who was incensed at Servilius for having taken a large bribe and not having fulfilled his part of the bargain, lays detailed information of the bribe's having been given, and does not seem to care, or even to see, how much, in his passion against Servilius, he is disgracing his own father. Appius, apparently, wanted first to accuse Servilius of extortion; the punishment would have been severer than on conviction for receiving money with intent to defraud. There was some sort of talk about a trial, whether Appius or Pilius was the fitter person to conduct the case (*divinatio*); but Appius resigned prosecution on that head to Pilius, and contented himself with a prosecution on the lesser charge, *quo ea pecunia* (some 81,000 sesterces) *pervenisset*. Some commentators, and among them Rein (*Criminalr.*, p. 803), suppose Appius' charge was for *praevaricatio*; but the final judgment of the praetor, *non redigam* ('I will not call it in': sc. the money), shows that the charge must be of illegal possession. This case, as connected with the main case, came on for trial before the independent case of Pilius (cp. Clu. 56.) Specific evidence was now forthcoming. Laterensis entertained the case, and, according to custom (Rabir. Post. 36: cp. Clu. 116), the same judges sat in the subordinate action as in the principal one. Their votes were exactly equal, and so, without more ado, Laterensis should have pronounced Servilius not guilty: equality of votes necessitated acquittal (cp. Clu. 74, *In consilium erant ituri iudices xxxii.: sententiis xvi. absolutio confici poterat*). Instead, Laterensis first entered the votes of the different orders of judges and thereafter pronounced acquittal (*non redigam*—no doubt the usual phrase). On leaving the court, however, Laterensis, finding that the law seemed explicitly to require a majority, entered on the records the judgments of the different orders, but did not enter Servilius as acquitted. On an appeal from Appius for sentence against Servilius, Laterensis says he has had a discussion with a friend, Lollius, and that he will return the facts of the case. So Servilius is neither condemned nor acquitted, and while in this state is going to be prosecuted by Pilius. In revenge, the Servilii accuse Appius of *repetundae*, and get a creature of theirs, Tettius, to accuse him of *vis*, a charge which, as we have seen, would claim precedence (§1). "A nicely matched pair," Servilius and Appius.

turbarat] 'had run a-muck.' *Contur-*

postulante Pausania, nobis patronis, QUO EA PECUNIA PERVENISSET, recipere voluit, Q. Pilius, necessarius Attici nostri, de repetundis eum postulavit: magna ilico fama surrexit et de damnatione ferventer loqui est coeptum. Quo vento proiicitur Appius minor, ut indicaret pecuniam ex bonis patris pervenisse ad Servilium praevaricationisque causa diceret depositum HS LXXXI. Admiraris amentiam: immo si actionem stultissimasque de se, nefarias de patre confessiones audisses! 3. Mittit in consilium eosdem illos, qui lites aestimarant, iudices. Cum aequo numero sententiae fuissent, Laterensis leges ignorans pronuntiavit quid singuli ordines iudicassent et ad extremum, ut solent, NON REDIGAM. Post-

bare (*rationes*) is an ordinary expression for becoming bankrupt.

quoiquam] So M; *quo inquam*, H; *quoquam*, P (For the form compare Fam. viii. 1, 1, Ep. cxcii., *quoius otii*), 'and had not anything left that he would not sell to anyone who would buy.'

maximaeque . . . invidiae] Retaining this, the MSS reading, we may translate, 'and he had unfortunately (*nobis* ethical dative) incurred the most violent unpopularity.' Becher (p. 40), following Orelli and Dräger (i. 438), explains, 'is handed over to an odium which bore very heavily on us.' Most editors, after Manutius, alter to *maxima . . . invidia*, 'is handed over to me as a client with the greatest odium attaching to him.'

postulante] The *postulatio*, strictly, was the first step of all in a trial—a demand made on the praetor by the accuser to allow him to prosecute a definite individual on a definite charge (cp. Lig. 19, *ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis haec, ut opinor, fuit 'velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere'*"). It was distinct from the formal *nominis delatio*: *delationem nominis postularet*, Div. in Caec. 64: cp. Fam. viii. 6, 2, Ep. ccxlii. But *postulare* is often used in a loose sense for 'prosecuting,' no further steps being mentioned, Q. Fr. iii. 2, 3, Ep. cl.; Tac. Ann. i. 74; iii. 38: cp. Zumpt, p. 133.

nobis patronis] 'while I defended him.'

quo ea pecunia pervenisset] the regular expression for a common kind of action subsidiary to the one *de repetundis* and the succeeding *litis aestimatio*, instituted in case the convicted man was suspected of having made away with his money. In this subordinate action very often exactly the same evidence was adduced as in the principal case, the witnesses not being produced but their evidence read (Rabir. Post. 32: cp. 9). The same judges too, as being familiar with the facts of the case, usually decided the case (*ib.* § 36: cp. Clu. 116), so there is no necessity to suppose, as Billerbeck does, that it was a mark of stupidity on the part of Appius that he entrusted the matter to the same jurymen as had assessed the damages on his father.

Q. Pilius] This is the correction universally adopted since Wesenberg (*Em.* 38) for *quod* (MSS *que* or *quae*).

pecuniam] The MSS read *depecuniam*. Mendelssohn (p. 66) reads *DC*[*pecuniam*], supposing *pecuniam* a gloss. He reads a little further down LXXXN, supposing that N stands for *nummum*.

depositum] This word shows that Servilius was not the *accuser*.

3. *Mittit in consilium*] the technical expression for the contending counsel closing their proceedings and sending the jury to consider their verdict. There was no summing up by the president, as with us. *Consurgere, ire in consilium* is said of the jury: cp. 2 Verr. i. 26; Clu. 55, 75.

lites aestimantur] In impeachments for *repetundae, peculatus*, and indeed all civil cases where the penalty was damages, there had to be an assessment of these damages. For full details of the assessment see Rein, *Criminalrecht*, 400 ff. Cicero (Clu. 115) emphasises its difference from the regular trial, and shows how lenient the judges often were in the *aestimatio*.

singuli ordines] The Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Aerarii.

solent] sc. *praetores facere.*

non redigam] This seems to have been the usual formula, 'I will not call in the

quam discessit et pro absoluto Servilius haberi coeptus legisque unum et centesimum caput legit, in quo ita erat: QUOD EORUM IUDICUM MAIOR PARS IUDICARIT, ID IUS RATUMQUE ESTO, in tabulas absolutum non rettulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit: postulante rusus Appio cum L. Lollio transegisse et rem relaturum dixit. Sic nunc neque absolutus neque damnatus Servilius de repetundis saucius Pilio tradetur. Nam de divinatione Appius, cum calumniam iurasset, contendere ausus non est Pilioque cessit, et ipse de pecuniis repetundis a Serviliis est postulatus et praeterea de vi reus a quodam suo emissario, Sex. Tettio, factus. Recte hoc par habet. 4. Quod ad rem publicam pertinet, omnino multis diebus exspectatione Galliarum actum nihil est. Aliquando tamen saepe re dilata et graviter acta et plane perspecta Cn. Pompeii voluntate in eam partem, ut eum decedere post Kalendas Martias placeret, senatus consultum, quod tibi misi, factum est auctoritatesque perscriptae.

5. *Senatus auctoritates. Pridie Kal. Octobr. in aede Apollinis scrib.*

money': cp. Rabir. Post. 37—the full phrase being, perhaps, *in aerarium* (or *publicum*) *pecuniam redigam*.

rusus] archaic for *rursus*.

transegisse et rem relaturum] 'said that he had arranged the matter with Lollius, and would return the facts of the case,' (*rem relaturum*). This is the reading the MSS *transegisset relaturum* points to: before *relaturum* it would not be hard for *rē* to fall out. If this emendation does not commend itself to our readers, they must supply *reum damnatum* or something of the kind with *relaturum*, i. e. that he would return him as guilty. But whatever was the *final* decision of the praetor, such must have been the condition of the accused. Laterensis must have returned him finally as neither guilty nor not guilty, and this he would have done by returning the simple facts of the case without any judgment of his own.

saucius] This is a confirmation of the correction of † *atius* in Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2, Ep. cl. to *saucius*. For *undique saucius* there, cp. *undique exclusus*, Clu. 175.

nam] assigns a reason why he is being prosecuted for *repetundae* now by Pilius. Appius' prosecution was on the charge *quo ea pecunia pervenisset*.

calumniam iurasset] 'took the oath that he was not bringing a false charge': cp. *nec satis habere bello vicisse Hannibalem nisi velut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent*, Liv. xxxiii. 47, 5. This shows that there is no necessity to read *eiurarent* with Kayser: also that this oath was prior to the *nominis delatio*.

emissario] 'by a creature of theirs set on him': see on Fam. vii. 2, 3, Ep. clxxxii.

hoc par] of a pair of gladiators, Opt. Gen. Or. 17; Hor. Sat. i. 7, 19: cp. *par nobile fratrum*, ib. ii. 3, 244.

4. *exspectatione Galliarum*] 'from expectation of what will be done about the two Gauls.' For a stranger construction with *exspectatione* compare Att. viii. 5, 2, *pendeo animi exspectatione Corfiniensi* ('waiting for news from Corfinium').

in eam partem ut] Mr. Watson compares Att. xvi. 1, 6, Ep. cclxxxv., *in eam partem ne me motum putares*.

placeret] 'that the senate should pass a decree.'

auctoritates] A *senatus auctoritas* was a resolution which had passed the senate, but had been vetoed by a tribune.

5. *Senatus auctoritates.*] For this reading see Adn. Crit. For other examples of decrees of the Senate see C. I. L. i. 196 (De Bacchanalibus); 201 (Epistola ad Tiburtes); 111 (De Asclepiade, also found in Greek, *ib.* 112): besides several found in Latin texts, *e. g.* Suet. *de Rhet.* 1; Gell.

adfuerunt L. Domitius Cn. F. Fab. Ahenobarbus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Fab. Metellus Pius Scipio, L. Villius L. F. Pom. Annalis, C. Septimius T. F. Quirina, C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus, C. Scribonius C. F. Pop. Curio, L. Atteius L. F. An. Capito, M. Eppius M. F. Ter. Quod M. Marcellus consul v. f. de provinciis consularibus, d. e. r. i. c., uti L. Paullus C. Marcellus coss., cum magistratum inissent, ex Kal. Mart., quae in suo magistratu futurae essent, de consularibus provinciis ad senatum referrent, neve quid prius ex Kal. Mart. ad senatum referrent, neve quid coniunctim de ea re referretur a consulibus, utique eius rei causa per dies comitiales senatum haberent, senatusque cons. facerent, et, cum de ea re ad senatum referretur a consulibus, qui eorum CCCLX. iudicibus essent, s. f. s. adducere

iv. 6, 2. There are plenty in Greek: cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. 207.

in aede Apollinis] in the Prata Flaminia outside the walls, Liv. iii. 63, 7.

scrib. adfuerunt] = *scribendo adfuerunt* (γραφομένῳ παρῆσαν). Sometimes the expression is *esse ad scribendum*, Att. i. 19, 9, Ep. xxv. The committee for drafting a decree, which sometimes consisted of only three (see SC de Judaeis of 615 (139) in Joseph. Ant. xiv. 8, 5: SC de Bacchan.), in later times seems to have increased to seven or eight (as here), and even to twelve (SC de Judaeis of 710 (44) in Joseph. Ant. xiv. 10, 10). It was appointed by the presiding magistrate. They drew up the bill either from memory (Cic. Cat. iii. 13) or from notes. Often the proposer had the bill drafted (cp. Cic. Fam. x. 13, 1), as in some of the Philippics, *e. g.* ix. and x. *ad fin.* See Willems, ii. p. 209.

Cn. F.] = *Gnaei filius.*

Fab.] = *Fabia* (*tribu*) 'of the Fabian tribe,' abl. of origin. The other tribes mentioned here are the Pomtinia, Quirina, Pupia, Popilia, Aniensis, Teretina.

C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus] For Hirrus, see Addenda.

L. Ateius] He and Eppius served under Pompeius, but were afterwards pardoned by Caesar (Bell. Alex. 89).

v. f.] = *verba fecit.*

de provinciis consularibus] 'the provinces to be assigned to consulars,' opp. to *provinciae praetoriae*, Phil. i. 19. The usual practice under the Republic was to entrust a province which required an army to a proconsul, and a peaceful province to a propraetor: cp. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 521.

d. e. r. i. c.] = *de ea re ita censuerunt.*

quid prius ex Kal. Mart.] The MSS have *ad ex x Kal Mart.* Hoffmann proposes to read *o. d.* (= *omnibus diebus*), but there is no authority for that abbreviation. Most editors omit *ad* now, and also *x*, the latter having arisen by dittography. For *ex* 'after,' which is very common with dates, cp. Att. v. 21, 9, Ep. ccl.; Fam. xvi. 9, Ep. ccxcii.

coniunctim] opp. to *separatim*, Phil. x. 24.

per dies comitiales] On certain *dies comitiales* of March it appears that the senate could not be held according to the Pupian law: see Addenda.

CCCLX] We have added LX after Manutius and Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 20) on account of the following passages:— Att. viii. 16, 2, *Iudices CCCLX qui praecipue Gnaeo nostro delectabantur* (though indeed the reading here is not very certain: cp. Wes. *Em.* 35 note); Vell. ii. 76, *honoratissimo inter illos trecentos et sexaginta iudices loco a Cn. Pompeio lectus*; Plut. Pomp. 55. This was probably the exact number of the senators on the *Album Iudicum*, the number of such being between 350 and 400 (see Holden on Planc. xxxix). The object of the decree was to enable summonses to issue to senators that they should come to the senate from the jury-courts in which they might happen to be engaged.

s. f. s] = *sine fraude sua*. This is the brilliant emendation of O. Hirschfield (*Hermes*, v. 297) for the corrupt *ses* of the MSS (cp. C. I. L. i. 202; 205, ii. l. 19). The usual reading is *eos*. C. F. Hermann ingeniously proposed *ut*; that is VT, which became VI, then *sex*, then *ses*.

liceret. Si quid de ea re ad populum plebemve lato opus esset, uti Ser. Sulpicius M. Marcellus coss., praetores tribunique pl., quibus eorum videretur, ad populum plebemve ferrent: quod si ii non tulissent, uti, quicumque deinceps essent, ad populum plebemve ferrent. † *I. N.*

6. *Prid. Kal. Octob. in aede Apollinis scrib. adfuerunt L. Domitius Cn. F. Fab. Ahenobarbus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Fab. Metellus Pius Scipio, L. Villius L. F. Pom. Annalis, C. Septimius T. F. Quirina, C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus, C. Scribonius C. F. Pop. Curio, L. Atteius L. F. An. Capito, M. Eppius M. F. Ter. Quod M. Marcellus cos., v. f. de provinciis, d. e. r. i. c., senatum existimare neminem eorum, qui potestatem habent intercedendi impediendi, moram adferre oportere, quo minus de r. p. p. r. q. ad senatum referri senatique consultum fieri possit: qui impedierit prohibuerit, eum senatum existimare contra rem publicam fecisse. Si quis huic s. c. intercesserit, senatui placere auctoritatem perscribi et de ea re ad senatum [populumque] referri. Huic s. c. intercessit C. Caelius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, C. Vibius Pansa [tribuni pl.].*

7. *Item senatui placere de militibus, qui in exercitu C. Caesaris sunt: qui eorum stipendia emerita aut causas, quibus de causis missi fieri debeant, habeant, ad hunc ordinem referri, ut eorum ratio habeatur causaeque cognoscantur. Si quis huic s. c. intercessisset, senatui placere auctoritatem perscribi et de ea re ad hunc ordinem referri. Huic s. c. intercessit C. Caelius, C. Pansa tribuni pl.*

ad populum plebemve] 'before the comitia centuriata or tributa.' This is the meaning of the phrase; but it dates from a time when the *populus* was the comitia centuriata, and the *plebs* could only hold *concilia*.

† *I. N.*] The MSS read this or something like it, which is usually taken to mean *intercessit nemo*. Hirschfeld (*Hermes*, v. 298) thinks it is the beginning of the phrase *ita uti e republica*, but this would have no place here, and, besides, could not be represented by only two initial letters. Rather as in the S. C. de Asclepiade it stands for *C*[*e*]*n*[*suere*]: cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 1009, note 8; Willems, ii. 213, note 2.

6. *r. p. p. r. q.*] = *republica populi Romani Quiritium*.

senati] This genitive of the fourth declension is mostly found in words in which a *t* precedes the *i*, possibly, as Roby conjectures, from some confusion with the past participle. This very genitive *senati* was very common in the seventh century of the city, Roby, § 399.

ad senatum] cp. Sest. 129: Red. in Sen. 27. *populumque* is an interpolation: see § 7, and cp. Mommsen St. R. 1069, note 1; 1258, note 3.

7. *stipendia emerita*] During the legal ages of service, viz. from 17th to 46th years, the legionary seems to have been bound to serve sixteen or perhaps twenty years, the cavalry soldier ten. The object of the decree was to try and draw away Caesar's soldiers from him.

causas] 'pleas on which they ought to be dismissed.' The expression *missio causaria* has a special meaning, viz. *quae propter valetudinem laboribus militiae solvit* (Dig. iii. 2, 2, 2). Pleonasms, such as *causas quibus de causis*, and *qui eorum* are much found in the language of laws.

ut . . . cognoscantur] 'that their claims

8. *Itemque senatui placere in Ciliciam provinciam, in octo reliquas provincias, quas praetorii pro praetore obtinerent, eos, qui praetores fuerunt neque in provinciam cum imperio fuerunt, quos eorum ex s. c. cum imperio in provincias pro praetore mitti oporteret, eos sortito in provincias mitti [placere]: si ex eo numero, quos ex s. c. in provincias ire oporteret, ad numerum non essent, qui in eas provincias proficiscerentur, tum uti quodque collegium primum praetorum fuisset neque in provincias profecti essent, ita sorte in provinciam proficiscerentur: si ii ad numerum non essent, tunc deinceps proximi cuiusque collegii, qui praetores fuissent neque in provincias profecti essent, in sortem coicerentur, quoad is numerus effectus esset, quem ad numerum in provincias mitti oporteret. Si quis huic s. c. intercessisset, auctoritas perscriberetur. Huic s. c. intercessit C. Caelius, C. Pansa tribuni pl.*

9. Illa praeterea Cn. Pompeii sunt animadversa, quae maxime confidentiam attulerunt hominibus, ut diceret se ante Kalend. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere, post Kal. Mart. se non dubitaturum. Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent, dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Caesar senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset an pararet qui senatum decernere non pateretur. 'Quid, si,' inquit alius, 'et consul esse et exercitum habere volet?' At ille quam clementer: 'Quid si filius meus

be entertained and their cases looked into.'

8. *Ciliciam*] which was to be a praetorian province when Cicero's term of office had expired.

octo reliquas provincias] These were Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Macedonia and Achaea, Asia, Africa, Crete, Cyrene, Bithynia.

in provinciam fuerunt.] It is best to retain this reading, strange though it seems, as some defence of it can be obtained from Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 25 (177); Cas. ii. 3, 28 (224); Div. in Caecil. 66; 2 Verr. ii. 67; Leg. Manil. 33; Att. xv. 4, 2, and many other passages: cp. Gell. i. 7, 17. Madvig (*Em. Liv.* p. 9) boldly (cp. xxiii. 3, 2) declares this to be a solecism, and 'in quotidiano Romanorum sermone aliquo tempore in una alterave locutione ex pronuntiandi negligentia etiam scribendi interdum licentiam fuisse.' Wesenberg (*Em. Att.* p. 20) follows him, and wishes to read IVERVNT for FVERVNT, also reading *provincias* (for *provinciam*), owing to the plural occurring elsewhere in this decree.

ex eo numero quos] The plural relative is used because *numero* is a noun of multitude: cp. *unus ex eo numero qui ad caedem parati sunt*: Sall. Jug. 35, 6.

ad numerum qui proficiscerentur] 'enough (up to the proper number) to go.'

tum . . . proficiscerentur] This is the apodosis; 'then, according as (*uti*) each college of praetors had been prior in election — and (its members) had not already gone to provinces—on that principle (*ita*) they should go, each to a province settled by lot.'

in sortem coicerentur] The more usual expression would be *in sitellam*, or *in hydriam sortes coicerentur*: Plaut. Cas. ii. 5, 34 (321); 2 Verr. ii. 127. Still we find *in sortem coici*, in Liv. xxx. 1, 8, referred to by Watson.

9. *confidentiam*] 'reassurance': the *ut* clause is explanatory of and in apposition to the pronoun *illa*: Kennedy, § 195; cp. Holden on Planc. 50.

senatui dicto audiens] *dicto audiens* = *parens*: hence the dat.: cp. 2 Verr. i. 114; Liv. v. 3, 8.

quam clementer] Ironical.

fustem mihi impingere volet?' His vocibus, ut existimarent homines Pompeio cum Caesare esse negotium, effecit. Itaque iam, ut video, alteram utram ad condicionem descendere vult Caesar, ut aut maneat neque hoc anno sua ratio habeatur aut, si designari poterit, decedat. 10. Curio se contra eum totum parat: quid adsequi possit nescio. Illud video, bene sentientem, etsi nihil effecerit, cadere non posse. Me tractat liberaliter Curio et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit. Nam si mihi non dedisset eas, quae ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanae, potuit supersederi. Nunc, quoniam dare necesse est, velim tibi curae sit, quod a te semper petii, ut aliquid istinc bestiarum habeamus, Sittianamque syngrapham tibi commendo. Libertum Philonem istoc misi et Diogenem Graecum, quibus mandata et litteras ad te dedi. Eos tibi et rem, de qua misi, velim curae habeas. Nam quam vehementer ad me pertineat, in iis, quas tibi illi reddent, litteris perscripsi.

fustem mihi impingere] 'raise his stick to me': cp. Plaut. Bacch. iv. 7, 2, *impinge pugnum si muttiverit:* cp. Att. vi. 1, 6, Ep. cclii., *impingit mihi epistolam.*

negotium] 'that there is something between,' a euphemism for 'there is a quarrel.'

descendere] 'acquiesce in,' 'avail oneself of,' with a subordinate notion of reluctance: cp. 2 Verr. i. 97; Hor. Epist. i. 9, 11: *frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia*, and Wilkins *ad loc.*

hoc anno] Hoffmann and Watson take it to be 704 (50), comparing Fam. viii. 11. 3, Ep. cclxvii. (written in June of that year), *incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur ut Caesar Id. Novembr. decedat:* cp. Watson's Appendix, vi. pp. 287-8. *Hoc anno* would then mean this present election year (July to July), this letter being written in October, 703 (51). Mommsen, however (*Rechtsfrage*, p. 53), takes it to mean the year in question, viz. 705 (49).

sua ratio haberetur] = *sui ratio:* cp. § 7, *eorum ratio*, 'account of his candidature be entertained.'

10. *sentientem*] sc. *Curionem.*

negotium] 'put me under an obligation,' 'lay a burden on me.'

ludos] Probably, as Watson suggests, games celebrated by Curio in honour of his deceased father: Fam. ii. 2, 2; 3, 1, Epp. clxviii., clxix.

Africanae] sc. *ferae*, that is, 'panthers.'

potuit supersederi] The indicative of the modal verb in the apodosis, 'it (viz. the show, taken out of *ludos*) might have been dispensed with.' Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 20) thinks we should read *dari* in the next sentence, Baiter *dare me*, Pluygers *potui supersedere*, which is possible, but unnecessary. (*Supersedere* is the reading of M and H, but in §§ 6, 7, M and H have *referre* for *referri*, Fam. viii. 15, 1, *circumsedere* for *circumsederi*, and conversely in § 6 of this letter, *existimari* for *existimare.*)

dare] sc. *ludos.*

Sittianamque syngrapham] cp. Fam. viii. 2, 2, Ep. ccii.

Philonem] cp. Fam. ii. 12, 2, Ep. cclxiii., *Diogenes tuus homo modestus a me cum Philone Pessinuntem discessit.*

misi] 'I am sending': epistolary tense.

tibi . . . curae habeas] cp. Nep. Att. 20, 4: *curae sibi haberet certiorem facere Atticum:* see Becher, p. 29. 'Pray look after them and the matter about which I wrote to you.'

perscripsi] So Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 21): for *descripsi* cp. Fam. viii. 1, 1, Ep. cxcii., for the latter would mean 'copied.'

CCXXIV. CICERO TO CAELIUS (Fam. ii. 9).

OCTOBER, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Gratulatur aedilitatem, Hirro competitore deiecto, quem veteris poëtae verbis eludit. Conf. lib. viii. ep. 9.

M. CICERO PROCOS. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR. DES.

1. Primum tibi, ut debeo, gratulor laetorque cum praesenti tum etiam sperata tua dignitate, serius, non negligentia mea, sed ignoratione rerum omnium: in iis enim sum locis, quo et propter longinquitatem et propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur. Et cum gratulor tum vero quibus verbis tibi gratias agam non reperio, quod ita factus sis, ut dederis nobis, quem ad modum scripseras ad me, quod semper ridere possemus. Itaque cum primum audivi, ego ille ipse factus sum—scis quem dicam—egique omnes illos adolescentes, quos ille iactitat. 2.

Difficile est loqui.

Te autem contemplans absentem et quasi tecum coram loquerer,

Non edepol quantam rem egeris neque quantum facinus feceris.

1. *sperata*] 'for the dignity which you have acquired, and that on which you have set your hopes.' Caelius was on a fair way to realize his hope of attaining the highest magistracies.

ignoratione] This seems the true reading, not *ignorantia*. Cicero avoids the latter, though it is used by Sallust and Caesar. He also uses *iactatio*, not *iactantia*: see Reid on Acad. i. 42.

quo] relative adverb after a plural noun: cp. Cato, R. R. x. 2, *dolia quo vinaceos condas*.

quod semper] *quod* is read by M and H, where the letter occurs in Book viii. That version is the more accurate of the two: see Adn. Crit. For the allusion cp. Fam. viii. 3, 1, Ep. cxcvii.: *sed hoc usque eo suave est, ut, si acciderit, tota vita risus nobis deesse non possit*.

Itaque cum . . . iactitat] 'accordingly, when I first heard the news I became the excellent man himself (you know whom I mean), and assumed the *rôle* of all those excellent youths whom the excellent man swaggers about.' With an apology for the *insulsitas* necessary in attempting to explain a joke, and one which Cicero himself found hard to express, we hesitatingly offer this as an explanation. Hirrus, who had a lisp (Fam. ii. 10, 1, Ep. ccxxv.), was nicknamed Hillus. The vocative *Hille* in a city where there was a certain amount of cockneydom (cp. Catull. 84) became *ille*. This appears to have stuck as a nick-name to Hirrus, at least among his enemies: cp. Fam. viii. 4, 3, Ep. ccvi. In his canvass he probably had a number of cultivated young men supporting him: cp. De Petit. Cons. 50, Ep. xii. If we could further suppose that Hirrus was fond of inserting tags of poetry into his speeches and conversation, we should be able to account for the rest of this section. For more about Hirrus *see* Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii.

egi] cp. Rosc. Com. 20: *Nam Ballionem illum . . . . cum agit, agit Chaeream.*

iactitat] We should say something like 'is everlastingly thrusting down our throats.'

2. *Difficile est loqui*] the end of an iambic line (see Ribbeck, p. 103).

Non edepol . . . feceris] an iambic tetrameter from an unknown author (Rib-

Quod quia praeter opinionem mihi acciderat, referebam me ad illud:

Incredibile hoc factu obicitur. . . .

Repente vero incessi

Omnibus laetitiis laetus.

In quo cum obiurgarer, quod nimio gaudio paene desiperem, ita me defendebam:

Ego voluptatem animi nimiam. . . .

Quid quaeris? dum illum rideo, paene sum factus ille. 3. Sed haec pluribus multaque alia et de te et ad te, cum primum ero aliquid nactus otii. Te vero, mi Rufe, diligo, quem mihi fortuna dedit amplificatorem dignitatis meae, ultorem non modo inimicorum, sed etiam invidorum meorum, ut eos partim scelerum suorum, partim etiam ineptiarum paeniteret.

CCXXV. CICERO TO CAELIUS (Fam. ii. 10).

V. KAL. DEC., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Querendo de tabellariis occulte M. Caelium negligentiae litterarum accusat: res suas in Amano gestas narrat et, ne provincia prorogetur ut operam det, rogat: de re publ. cupit certior fieri. Conf. lib. viii. ep. 4 et 5.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR. DES.

1. Tu vide quam ad me litterae non perferantur. Non enim possum adduci ut abs te, postea quam aedilis es factus, nullas

beck, p. 103). We must understand after *feceris* some such words as *possum loqui*.

incredibile . . . obicitur] Probably the commencement of a trochaic septenarius from Caecilius Statius. The MSS give *facto*. That might be the proper reading, 'something incredible is presented in this event' (abl. abs.). Editors generally alter to *factu*: cp. *incredibile memoratu*, Sall. Cat. 6, 2. Ribbeck (p. 65) alters to *factum*.

omnibus laetitiis laetus] In the MSS where this letter occurs in Book viii. we have *laetus*; where it occurs in Book ii. *laetitiis*. A combination of the two, as suggested by Martyni-Laguna, gives us the true reading of Caecilius, as it appears in Fin. ii. 13. Ribbeck (p. 65) accents it as the beginning of a trochaic septenarius, *ómnibus laetítiis laetus íncedo*.

ego voluptatem animi nimiam] *summum esse errorem arbitror*—a trochaic septenarius of the comic poet Trabea: cp. Tusc. iv. 35. The MSS read *homini*, but cp. Ribbeck, p. 26.

3. *inimicorum*] the Clodians: cp. Brut. 273; Mil. 92; Ascon. in Milon. p. 37, Or., *M. Caelius tr. pl. studiosissimus Milonis*.

invidorum] Hirrus.

There must have been great delay in the conveyance to Cicero of Caelius' letter of iv. Non. Sept. Two months would be a liberal allowance: cp. Att. v. 19, Ep. ccxx.

IMP.] Though not in the MSS, this is added by all editors: cp. § 3.

1. *Tu vide quam*] 'just observe how letters fail to reach me.' There is no

putem datas, praesertim cum esset tanta res tantae gratulationis: de te, quia quod sperabam: de Hillo—balbus enim sum—, *quia* quod non putaram. Atqui sic habeto, nullam me epistolam accepisse tuam post comitia ista praeclara, quae me laetitia extulerunt: ex quo vereor ne idem eveniat in meas litteras. Equidem numquam domum misi unam epistolam quin esset ad te altera, nec mihi est te iucundius quidquam nec carius. Sed (balbi non sumus) ad rem redeamus. 2. Ut optasti, ita est. Velles enim, ais, tantum modo ut haberem negotii quod esset ad loreolam satis: Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ergo ita accidit. Nam Parthico bello nuntiato locorum quibusdam angustiis et natura montium fretus ad Amanum exercitum adduxi satis probe ornatum auxiliis et quadam auctoritate apud eos, qui me non norant, nominis nostri. Multum est enim in his locis: '*Hicine est ille, qui urbem — ? quem senatus—?*' nosti cetera. Cum venissem ad Amanum, qui mons mihi cum Bibulo communis est, divisus aquarum divortiis, Cassius noster, quod mihi magnae voluptati fuit, feliciter ab Antiochea hostem reiecerat: Bibulus provinciam acceperat. 3. Interea cum meis copiis omnibus vexavi Amanienses, hostes sempiternos. Multi occisi, capti; reliqui dissipati: castella munita improviso adventu capta et incensa. Ita victoria iusta imperator appellatus apud

necessity to alter to *quam ob rem* with Martyni-Laguna, or *qua re* with Schütz and Streicher; cp. Sull. 33: *Itaque attende quam ego defugiam auctoritatem consulatus mei*; De Orat. ii. 180.

Hillo] The brilliant emendation of Manutius for *nihilo*: cp. note to Fam. ii. 9. 1, Ep. ccxxiv.

balbus] 'have a lisp.' Cicero (De Orat. i. 260) tells that *Demosthenes . . . ita balbus esset ut eius ipsius artis cui studeret* (sc. *rhetoricae*) *primam litteram non posset dicere*. We have seen on Fam. viii. 8. 5, Ep. ccxxiii., that Hirrus belonged to the Lucilia gens, in which the cognomen Balbus was very common; and possibly there may be here some allusion thereto: cp. Cluent. 72.

quia quod non putaram] sc. *accidit*. We have inserted *quia* with Wes. This is preferable to the insertion of *audivi* after *putaram*, with Streicher (p. 197), who refers to Fam. viii. 4. 3, Ep. ccvi.; for *quia* was likely to have fallen out before *quod*.

eveniat in meas litteras] We cannot find another example of this construction; the dat. would be the usual case to expect.

balbi non sumus] He is now able to pronounce *r* in *ad rem redeamus*.

2. *loreolam*] i.e. a triumph: see Fam. viii. 5, 1, Ep. ccx.: cp. Att. v. 20, 4, Ep. ccxxviii.

Hicine est] We prefer to print these words with dashes after *urbem*, *senatus*. Lucian Müller (*N. Jahrbücher für Phil. und Päd.* xciii. 399) supposes this the beginning of a trochaic septenarius in a poem written in praise of Cicero. But surely that is most unlikely. It is merely the talk of the public on Cicero's arrival in this place; something like 'Is this the man by whom the city (was saved), whom the senate (called father of his country).'

ab Antiochea] cp. Dio Cass. xl. 30.

3. *victoria iusta*] Diod. (ii. p. 538, Wesseling) says that 6000 of the enemy at least must have fallen for the general to be styled *imperator*. Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 44) says the number required in his time (140 A.D.) was 10,000. During the later republic the title was voted by the acclamation of the

Issum—quo in loco, saepe ut ex te audivi, Clitarchus tibi narravit Dareum ab Alexandro esse superatum—abduxi exercitum ad infestissimam Ciliciae partem. Ibi quintum et vicensimum iam diem aggeribus, vineis, turribus oppugnabam oppidum munitissimum, Pindenissum, tantis opibus tantoque negotio, ut mihi ad summam gloriam nihil desit nisi nomen oppidi: quod si, ut spero, cepero, tum vero litteras publice mittam. 4. Haec ad te in praesentia scripsi, ut sperares te adsequi id, quod optasses. Sed ut redeam ad Parthos, haec aestas habuit hunc exitum satis felicem: ea, quae sequitur, magno est in timore. Qua re, mi Rufe, vigila: primum ut mihi succedatur: sin id erit, ut scribis et ut ego arbitror, spissius, illud, quod facile est, ne quid mihi temporis prorogetur. De re publica ex tuis litteris, ut antea tibi scripsi, cum praesentia tum etiam futura magis exspecto. Qua re ut ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas, te vehementer rogo.

soldiers for the most trifling successes (Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 40; Cic. Phil. xiv. 11, 12). Under the Empire we hear of this honour being occasionally bestowed and allowed by the Emperor (Tac. Ann. iii. 74). See Mommsen, St. R. i. 121–123.

Clitarchus] an historian of Alexander who accompanied him on his expeditions.

Dareum] This is the best attested spelling in Cicero and Curtius. See Madv. on Fin. v. 92.

quintum et vigesimum diem] The siege began Oct. 21, and the twenty-fifth day was Nov. 14, for the fifty-seventh day was Dec. 17 (Att. v. 20, 1, Ep. ccxxviii.).

opibus] So H and Harl. 2591. The second hand of M reads *operibus*, 'with such resources and such great exertions.' In either case the word is to be taken with *oppugnabam*.

4. *in praesentia*] This is the more usual form (Fin. v. 21, Fam. iv. 5, 1), and is read by Wesenberg, instead of *in praesenti*, the reading of the MSS: cp. also Madv. on Liv. xxxiii. 30, 8, and Weissenborn on Liv. xxxiv. 35, 10.

sperares] the correction of Orelli confirmed by H and T (*speras* or *speres* M), 'I am writing these few lines to you at present to let you have some hope that you are in process of obtaining what you so earnestly desired.'

magno est in timore] 'is very alarming': for the objective use of *timor*, cp. *in spe esse* (Liv. xxv. 7, 10).

spissius] 'too heavy work.' The idea in *spissus* is of something that is thick, and that you have to plough your way through: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 1, Ep. cxxxix., *spissum sane opus et operosum*; Att. x. 18, 2; and several passages quoted by Nonius, 392.

CCXXVI. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 10).

XIV. KAL. DEC., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Refert M. Caelius qui sint in urbe rumores de bello Parthico, quid in senatu de provinciis videatur actum iri, quid actum sit a Curione de agro Campano, quam ipse det operam ne M. Ciceroni prorogetur provincia.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Sane quam litteris C. Cassii et Deiotari sumus commoti. Nam Cassius cis Euphraten copias Parthorum esse scripsit: Deiotarus profectas per Commagenen in provinciam nostram. Ego quidem praecipuum metum, quod ad te attinebat, habui, qui scirem quam paratus ab exercitu esses, ne quod hic tumultus dignitati tuae periculum adferret. Nam de vita, si paratior ab exercitu esses, timuissem: nunc haec exiguitas copiarum recessum, non dimicationem mihi tuam praesagiebat. Hoc quo modo acciperent homines, quam probabilis necessitas futura esset vereor etiam nunc, neque prius desinam formidare quam tetigisse te Italiam audiero. 2. Sed de Parthorum transitu nuntii varios sermones excitarunt. Alius enim Pompeium mittendum, alius ab urbe Pompeium non removendum, alius Caesarem cum suo exercitu, alius consules, nemo tamen ex senatus consulto privatos. Consules autem, quia verentur ne illud senatus consultum fiat ut paludati exeant aut

1. *Sane quam*] cp. Fam. viii. 1, 2; 4, 2, Epp. cxcii., ccvi.; but the word is also Ciceronian, Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5, Ep. cv.

quam paratus] There is no necessity to alter to *imparatus* with C. F. Hermann, Klotz, and Baiter, any more than there is to alter *de litterarum missione* to *intermissione* in Att. i. 5, 3, Ep. i., where see note. For *ab*, 'in respect of,' cp. Fam. x. 15, 2, *Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur.*

tumultus] 'sudden inroad'; a word originally applied by the Romans to an inroad of the Gauls.

quam probabilis necessitas futura sit] 'how far they will be satisfied with what you were compelled to do.'

neque prius . . . audiero] Caelius will not cease fearing lest something should happen to bring censure on Cicero till he hears that he has arrived in Italy.

2. *aut*] We cannot understand this passage unless we read *aut* for *et* with Graevius, Ernesti, and Schütz. The consuls were in a dilemma. They did not want to leave the city as military commanders; and they did not want to submit to the slight of being passed over. They tried to appear as if they really wished to go, but did not want to be grasping, and so did not call together the senate; and thus a real unwillingness to go to the province 'had a veil of respectability thrown over it by this show of moderation.' We have followed Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* iii. 161), in reading *contumeliose se praeteritis* for *contumeliose praeter eos*: because it should be *se* not *eos*. Cobet reads *praeter os*, 'before their face.' But the passage may be explained somewhat

contumeliose se praeteritis ad alium res transferatur, omnino senatum haberi nolunt, usque eo, ut parum diligentes in re publica videantur: sed honeste, sive neglegentia sive inertia est sive ille, quem proposui, metus, latet sub hac temperantiae existimatione, nolle provinciam. A te litterae non venerunt et, nisi Deiotari subsecutae essent, in eam opinionem Cassius veniebat, quae diripuisset ipse ut viderentur ab hoste vastata, finxisse bellum et Arabas in provinciam immisisse eosque Parthos esse senatui renuntiasse. Qua re tibi suadeo, quicumque est istic status rerum, diligenter et caute perscribas, ne aut velificatus alicui dicaris aut aliquid quod referret scire reticuisse. 3. Nunc exitus est anni: nam ego has litteras a. d. XIIII. Kal. Decembr. scripsi. Plane nihil video ante Kal. Ianuar. agi posse. Nosti Marcellum, quam tardus et parum efficax sit, itemque Servius quam cunctator. Cuius modi putas hos esse, aut quam id, quod nolint, conficere posse, qui quae cupiunt tamen ita frigide agunt, ut nolle existimentur? Novis magistratibus autem, si Parthicum bellum erit, haec causa primos menses occupabit. Sin autem aut non erit istic bellum aut tantum erit, ut vos aut successores parvis additis copiis sustinere possint, Curionem video se dupliciter iactaturum: primum ut aliquid

differently, thus:—'we may reasonably suppose that there is concealed under this show of moderation an unwillingness to take the province.' For this meaning of *honeste* see Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 43, *Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste*, where, however, Orelli interprets 'with honour,' sc. to the old writers. But this is a rather forced interpretation; and are we to suppose the rule absolute that *honestus* must mean 'honourable'? We think it less so than the rule that *obtinere* cannot mean 'obtain,' which Reid notices as a delusion (Arch. 9).

in eam . . . renuntiasse] 'it began to be thought about Cassius that to make his own depredations seem the devastations of the enemy, he had got up a war, let loose Bedouins on his province, and reported them to the senate as Parthian invaders.' For *opinio* used objectively cp. Off. ii. 36.

velificatus] 'to have helped,' 'wafted on his way': cp. De lege agr. 1, 27, *Quod si quis vestrum spe ducitur se posse turbulenta ratione honori velificari suo.* We have the metaphor in a converse sense, 'to take the wind out of a person's sails.'

quod referret scire] 'which it was important for me to know.'

3. *parum efficax*] 'inefficient.' *Efficax* is not used by Cicero. For *quam cunctator*, cp. Fam. ix. 2, 2, *quis est tam Lynceus*; Plaut. Pers. iv. 3, 64 (531).

quam id] 'and how effectively they can accomplish what they do not like, when what they desire they take in hand with such apathy that they are thought to be averse to it.' We are not to translate *quam* by 'how *in*effectively,' for the idea of the negation is conveyed by the context: cp. Reid on Sull. 33.

novis magistratibus] If these words are ablative, they are similar to that used in marking a year by consuls, e.g. *Sulpicio Marcello consulibus*; but possibly the words here might be dat. incommodi.

vos] sc. Cicero and Bibulus.

Curionem . . . dupliciter iactaturum] 'will plume himself doubly.' Caelius seems to think that Curio has in his mind some such proposal as was afterwards made, viz. that each of the two generals should give a legion for the Parthian war. For that purpose Pompeius demanded back from Caesar a legion he had lent him.

Caesari adimat, inde ut aliquid Pompeio tribuat, quodvis quamlibet tenue munusculum. Paullus porro non humane de provincia loquitur. Huius cupiditati occursurus est Furnius noster: plures suspicari non possum. 4. Haec novi: alia, quae possunt accidere, non cerno. Multa tempus adferre et praeparata mutare scio: sed intra fines hos quaecumque acciderint vertentur. Illud addo ad actiones C. Curionis, de agro Campano, de quo negant Caesarem laborare, sed Pompeium valde nolle, ne vacuus advenienti Caesari pateat. 5. Quod ad tuum decessum attinet, illud tibi non possum polliceri, me curaturum ut tibi succedatur: illud certe praestabo, ne amplius prorogetur. Tui consilii est, si tempus, si senatus coget, si honeste a nobis recusari non poterit, velisne perseverare: mei officii est meminisse, qua obtestatione discedens mihi, ne paterer fieri, mandaris.

non humane] 'in a frantic manner,' viz. about taking Caesar's province from him. Paullus was another vigorous declaimer against Caesar: he was afterwards bribed (App. Bell. Civ. ii. 26, Suet. Jul. 29); but at this time, and a little later (Fam. xv. 13, Ep. ccxli.) he was still on the side of the senate.

Furnius] a friend of Cicero's. He was a sensible, but not rabid, opponent of Caesar: cp. Att. v. 18, 3, Ep. ccxviii.

4. *multa . . . scio*] The MSS read *multa rescio*, corrected by C. F. Hermann. In the text of Harl. 2591 there is *multa esse scio*, and in the margin *mutare rescio*.

Illud addo ad] The *ad* of the MSS is certainly to be retained. For a similar clause to *de agro Campano*, explanatory of a pronoun or noun, Wesenberg (*Em.* 69) refers to Att. i. 1, 3, Ep. x., *Verum hoc ridiculum est, de magistro;* Fam. viii. 11, 3, Ep. cclxvii., *in unam causam . . . de provinciis*.

de quo valde nolle] Manutius and Schütz wish to omit *nolle*, supplying *laborare* from the preceding clause; but it is in nearly all the MSS, and so ought to be retained. We must supply *affirmant* out of *negant:* cp. Att. vii. 15, 3, *plerique negant Caesarem in condicione mansurum postulataque haec ab eo interposita esse quo minus quod opus esset ad bellum a nobis pararetur*. The motion of Curio was that the division of the Campanian land to Pompeius' soldiers, made by Caesar in his consulship 695 (59), should be reconsidered, with a view to its being annulled. It was a favourite project of the Senate. Cicero had tried to do the same before, but failed egregiously, Q. Fr. ii. 5, 1, Ep. cvi.; Fam. i. 9, 8, Ep. cliii.: cp. vol. ii. Introd. p. xxxvii. With *vacuus* supply *ager*.

5. *obtestatione*] 'solemn injunction.'

discedens] The MSS read *decedens*, which is contrary to usage: see note to Fam. viii. 1, 1, Ep. cxcii.

CCXXVII. CICERO TO C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO (FAM. II. 7).

ABOUT IV. ID. DEC., A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero C. Curioni tribunatum gratulatur hortaturque, ne aliorum consilia sequatur, sed, quod rectum sit, constanter faciat, neve sibi provinciam prorogari patiatur. Scripta epistola est in castris apud Pindenissum.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. CURIONI TR. PL.

1. Sera gratulatio reprehendi non solet, praesertim si nulla neglegentia praetermissa est: longe enim absum, audio sero. Sed tibi et gratulor et, ut sempiternae laudi tibi sit iste tribunatus, exopto teque hortor, ut omnia gubernes et moderere prudentia tua, ne te auferant aliorum consilia. Nemo est qui tibi sapientius suadere possit te ipso: nunquam labere, si te audies. Non scribo hoc temere: cui scribam video: novi animum, novi consilium tuum: non vereor ne quid timide, ne quid stulte facias, si ea defendes, quae ipse recta esse senties. 2. Quod *in* rei publicae tempus non incideris, sed veneris—iudicio enim tuo, non casu in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum—profecto vides: quanta vis in re publica temporum sit, quanta varietas rerum, quam incerti exitus, quam flexibiles hominum voluntates, quid insidiarum, quid vanitatis in vita non dubito quin cogites. Sed, amabo te, cura et cogita, Curio, nihil novi, sed illud idem, quod initio scripsi: tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera: alteri qui melius consilium dare possit quam tu, non facile inveniri potest: tibi vero ipsi certe nemo melius dabit.

imp.] So Wesenberg (*Em.* 72). Cicero was declared Imperator, iii. Id. Oct.: cp. Att. v. 20, 3, Ep. ccxxviii.

tr. pl.] The tribunes entered on their office, Dec. 10 (iv. Id. Dec.).

1. *auferant*] 'carry you away.'

2. *quod in*] We have added *in* with Wesenberg (*Em.*, pp. 25, 26), Klotz, and Baiter. *Quod*, i. e. *quam grave.*

in ipsum . . . tribunatum tuum] 'brought your tribunate to bear on this the very crisis of our history.' The implication is that he could have got the tribunate when he liked, and that he thought it right to take it at a crisis.

quanta vis] 'the force in politics of seizing the moment, the shifting nature of events, how incalculable their issues, how changeable the wishes of men, all the treachery and falseness in life, I feel sure you have given thought to.'

cura et cogita, Curio] *cogitacione*, MH. See Adn. Crit. Possibly *mi Curio* would be better.

Di immortales! cur ego *non* adsum vel spectator laudum tuarum vel particeps vel socius vel minister consiliorum? tametsi hoc minime tibi deest, sed tamen efficeret magnitudo et vis amoris mei, consilio te ut possem iuvare. 3. Scribam ad te plura alias: paucis enim diebus eram missurus domesticos tabellarios, ut, quoniam sane feliciter et ex mea sententia rem publicam gessimus, unis litteris totius aestatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem. De sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim quamque difficili in re atque causa, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas Thrasoni liberto tuo dedi. 4. Te, mi Curio, pro tua incredibili in me benevolentia meaque item in te singulari rogo atque oro, ne patiare quidquam mihi ad hanc provincialem molestiam temporis prorogari. Praesens tecum egi, cum te tribunum pl. isto anno fore non putarem, itemque petivi saepe per litteras, sed tum quasi a sectatore, nobilissimo

cur ego non adsum] See Adn. Crit.

particeps . . . consiliorum] 'associate or companion or assistant in your counsels.'

sed tamen efficeret] 'but nevertheless so great and strong is my love, that it would enable me to assist you with my advice'—a very fine sentiment.

3. *eram missurus*] 'I am going to send,' epistolary tense. *Domesticos tabellarios*, 'private letter-carriers.' These letters to the senate arenot extant. A possible reason for this may be, as Cicero suggests (Fam. iii. 9, 4, Ep. cclix.), that they arrived when the senate was breaking up real business at the end of January (for February was a month devoted to the hearing of embassies); and that whoever they were consigned to in the first instance did not keep the letters, as they had not been brought before the senate.

quamque] So Wesenberg, Klotz, and Baiter, after several MSS (see Graevius, i. p. 424). M gives *quamquam*, which Wes. (*Em.* 99) says is absurd, as if great care was not to be bestowed on a difficult subject. He compares Att. xv. 11, 2, where there is a similar corruption of *quamque*.

Thrasoni] a slave's name. As freedman, he would be C. Scribonius Thraso.

4. *ad hanc provincialem molestiam*] 'to this worrying provincial administration.'

cum te tribunum pl. isto anno] For he had only presented himself as a candidate on the condemnation of Servaeus, Fam. viii. 4, 2, Ep. ccvi.

sed tum quasi a sectatore] For the MSS reading, see Adn. Crit. Klotz practically gives the MSS reading: "et credo," says he, "iam locum restitutum esse." But Streicher does not think so. He argues that there should be a climax in *tribuno* and following words, but there is none if we read *senatore;* and what is the force of *quasi* if we adhere to this latter word? The error lies in *senatore*. Now we have seen (Fam. ii. 1, 2, Ep. clxvi.) that Cicero was, in a measure, guide, philosopher, and friend to Curio, who probably, when a youth, was, as it were, apprenticed to Cicero, according to Roman custom: cp. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 34, *Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc* SECTARI, *hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat*, &c. Thus Cicero was brought in his youth to Scaevola (Brut. 306), and Caelius to Cicero (Cael. 9). The *sectator* or *assectator* accordingly is one who, in a subordinate position, does the behests of another, especially in electioneering, and who is therefore his political supporter (Mur. 71); and it has just that amount of bad meaning which attaches to our word 'partisan'; it is not so strong as *satelles*, 'a creature' (Tac. Ann. xvi. 22). Therefore Cicero says *quasi*, which is often used to soften an expression (see Reid on Sull. 53), 'what I might call a partisan,' and, to qualify it still more, he adds, 'however a youth of the highest rank and influence.' Streicher's emendation is excellent, and we unhesitatingly accept it.

tamen adolescente et gratiosissimo, nunc a tribuno pl. et a Curione tribuno: non ut decernatur aliquid novi—quod solet esse difficilius—sed ut ne quid novi decernatur, ut et senati consultum et leges defendas eaque mihi condicio maneat, qua profectus sum. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

CCXXVIII. TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 20).

A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Attico res a se in Cilicia gestas et maxime Pindenissi oppidi Eleutherocilicum munitissimi expugnationem exponit. Addit de abstinentia sua, de Ariobarzane sua opera regnum obtinente, de Bruto a se excitato, de litteris Romam publice de his rebus gestis mittendis, de metu ne sibi provincia prorogetur, de rebus urbanis, de quibus omnibus per Philogenem libertum Attici certiorem se factum scribit, dein de rebus familiaribus ac domesticis. Scripta epistola est in castris ad Pindenissum tertio die Saturnaliorum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Saturnalibus mane se mihi Pindenissitae dediderunt, septimo et quinquagesimo die, postquam oppugnare eos coepimus. Qui, malum! isti Pindenissitae? qui sunt? inquies: nomen audivi numquam. Quid ergo faciam? num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam aut

a tribuno plebis et a Curione tribuno] Manutius compares Att. v. 2, 2, Ep. clxxxv., *cum Hortensius veniret et infirmus et tam longe et Hortensius*; Q. Fr. i. 2, 15, Ep. liii., *rempublicam funditus amisimus, adeo ut Cato, adolescens nullius consilii, sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato vix vivus effugerit.*

ut ne quid] *Ut non* is only used in *consecutive* sentences; *ut ne* generally is *final* (as here), but sometimes in consecutive when *ita* precedes: cp. Fam. xvi. 9, 3, Ep. ccxcii. See Reid's important note to Sull. 27.

leges] In Fam. xv. 9, 2, Ep. ccxvii. Cicero uses the singular *lege*; but probably the plural refers to a single law, as in the phrase *legibus solvi* (cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 31; Merivale, iii. 467).

1. *Saturnalibus*] The *Saturnalia* were at this time celebrated Dec. 17–19: the first day of the *Saturnalia* is here indicated; the siege therefore began on October 21. It must be remembered that before the Roman Calendar was reformed by Caesar in 709 (45), the number of days in the month were: in March, May, July, October, 31; in Feb. 28; in all the rest 29. Remembering this, and allowing for inclusive reckoning, we find that the 57th day before Dec. 17 is Oct. 21.

qui, malum] 'who the deuce,' a phrase redolent of the comic stage.

quid faciam] 'what am I to do? (is it my fault that you never heard of Pindenissus before?) Could I have transformed Cilicia into an Aetolia or Macedonia?' (Could I have made Cilicia as familiar to you as Aetolia and Macedonia?) See note on *omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, Att. iv. 3, 3, Ep. xcii.

Macedoniam reddere? Hoc iam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu *nec* hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. Quae cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ. Sic enim concedis mihi proximis litteris. Ephesum ut venerim nosti, qui etiam mihi gratulatus es illius diei celebritatem, qua nihil me unquam delectavit magis. Inde in oppidis iis, † que erant† mirabiliter accepti Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sext. venimus. Ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus honorificisque verbis omnes iniurias revellimus superioris *quadriennii;* idem dein Apameae quinque dies morati et Synnadis triduum, Philomelii quinque dies, Iconii decem fecimus. Nihil ea iuris dictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. 2. Inde in castra veni a. d. VII. Kal. Septembr. A. d. III. exercitum lustravi apud Iconium. Ex his castris, cum graves de Parthis nuntii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam per Cappadociae partem eam, quae Ciliciam attingit, eo consilio, ut Armenius Artavasdes et ipsi Parthi Cappadocia se excludi putarent. Cum dies quinque ad Cybistra [Cappadociae] castra habuissem, certior sum factus Parthos ab illo aditu Cappadociae longe abesse, Ciliciae magis imminere. Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. 3. Tarsum veni a. d. III. Non. Octobr. Inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit, qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. d. III. Idus Octobr. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima nocturno Pomptini adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus: imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa, quae contra Dareum habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paullo melior quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto et vastato Amano, inde discessimus. Scis enim dici quaedam πανικά, dici item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Rumore

hoc exercitu] 'with such an army': abl. of attendant circumstances like *hac infirmitate* above, Att. v. 18, 1, Ep. ccxviii., where see reference. *Hic* = *in hoc loco*, 'in such a place as this.'

ἐν ἐπιτομῇ] '*tout court*.'

revellimus] 'took the sting out of': the metaphor is from plucking out a thorn. He means that his unexpected affability made them forget their wrongs. The *quadriennium* refers to the rule of Appius and his predecessor.

3. *in aquarum divortio*] 'by its watershed'; lit. 'at the point where its streams run different ways': see Fam. ii. 10, 2, Ep. ccxxv., where he says that Mount Amanus belongs partly to the province of Bibulus and partly to his own, *divisus aquarum divortiis*, where perhaps we should read *divisus in aquarum divortiis*, or *divisis aquarum divortiis*.

scis . . . πολέμου] 'you know there are such words as *panic* and *war's uncertainties*.' If these words stand rightly here, and are to be punctuated as in the text, the only meaning is that Cicero accounts for his leaving Amanus by the fear that his men might take alarm, or that the tide

adventus nostri et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit et Parthis timor iniectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga, magna auctoritate Osaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit eoque interiit paucis post diebus. Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. 4. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo, voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano coepit loreolam in mustaceo quaerere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit centurionemque primi pili, nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem, et reliquos cohortis eiusdem et Sex. Lucilium, T. Gavii Caepionis, locupletis et splendidi hominis, filium, tribunum militum. Sane plagam odiosam acceperat cum re tum tempore. 5. Nos ad Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleutherocilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit. Feri homines et acres et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati.

of his success might turn. But it seems unnatural that he should assign such a reason, or indeed any reason, for leaving Mount Amanus, where he had no further business. Sch. would transpose the words to follow *cum graves de Parthis nuntii venirent*, above § 2. It would be a less bold step to transpose them to stand after the almost immediately subsequent words, *animus accessit . . . iniectus est.* Asc., supposing some such word as *Interim* to have fallen out after *discessimus*, would read *Interim—scis enim . . . πολέμου—rumore*, &c. Then the words *scis . . . πολέμου* account for the confidence of Cassius and the discouragement of the Parthians. κοινὰ would seem a more natural word than κενὰ. The allusion would be to Homer's (Il. xviii. 309) ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα.

4. *appell. hac inani*] the title of *Imperator.*

loreolam in must.] The *mustaceum* was the Roman wedding-cake. It was made on bay leaves. Hence 'to look for a bay leaf in a wedding-cake' is to look for a thing where it is very easily found. When Appius had plucked his laurel from the Amanus it would be very little credit to him. But we find that he failed to pluck it.

nobilem sui generis] This is always understood to mean, as Boot explains it, 'non illustri loco natum sed qui sua virtute inclaruit.' But is *nobilem sui generis* possible Latin for 'not of noble birth, but ennobled by his own qualities'? The words might mean 'noble in his own class' of centurions, that is, 'a noble fellow,' one of nature's noblemen, though of course not noble in the technical sense. But why should Cicero state this fact here amid his sneers at Bibulus? On the other hand, there is no reason why an ancestor of Asinius Dento should not have held a curule office—no reason, therefore, why Asinius should not be *nobilis*. The position of a *centurio primi pili* was a distinguished one. Is it not quite possible that Cicero here falls a victim to his besetting sin of punning on names? *Asinium* lends itself to an obvious play on the word *asinus*. 'He lost,' says Cicero, 'a noble *of his own kidney*, like himself if you can judge by his name, in *Asinius* Dento.' It will be remembered that Cicero applies the word *asinum* to himself in Att. iv. 5, 3, Ep. cviii. My rendering involves the more normal use of *sui*, though of course *sui* might refer to Dento. It is hardly too much to say that Cicero cannot resist a pun on a name.

plagam odiosam] 'a galling, mortifying reverse.'

5. *omnium mem.*] The phrase found in Cicero is either *omni mem.* or *hominum mem.* But there seems no reason against *omnium mem.* The whole sentence is a careless one, 'the town in Eleutherocilicia best fortified for war of which history bears record in these parts': cp. *iisdem in armis fui*, Lig. 9: *est tua toga omnium armis felicior*, Fam. xii. 13, 1: cp. Fam. xv. 4, 10, Ep. ccxxxviii.

Cinximus vallo et fossa, aggere maximo, vineis, turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis: magno labore, apparatu, multis sauciis nostris, incolumi exercitu, negotium confecimus. Hilara sane Saturnalia, militibus quoque, quibus *mancipiis* exceptis reliquam praedam concessimus: mancipia venibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum haec scribebam: in tribunali res erat ad HS cxx. Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam. Ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam. 6. Haec adhuc. Sed ad praeterita revertamur. Quod me maxime hortaris et quod pluris est quam omnia, in quo laboras, ut etiam Ligurino μώμῳ satis faciamus, moriar, si quidquam fieri potest elegantius. Nec iam ego hanc continentiam appello, quae virtus voluptati resistere videtur. Ego in vita mea nulla umquam volup-

incolumi exercitu] 'without any loss of life, though many were wounded.' It is bad criticism to insert *non* here: cp. Fam. xv. 4, 10, Ep. ccxxxviii.

Hilara . . . concessimus] 'we had a pleasant Saturnalia, which the troops enjoyed as well, for I gave them all the booty except the prisoners': see Adn. Crit.

Sat. tertiis] The 3rd day of the Sat., Dec. 19.

res] 'the sum realized,' viz., by the sale of the captives.

dabam] 'I am making over the army to Q. to take into winter quarters in the more disturbed part of the province, while I am returning myself to Laodicea.' As in English, so in Lat., the present (which is here represented by the epistolary imperfect) has sometimes, as here, the force of a future: see on Att. v. 17, 1, Ep. ccix.

6. *Ligurino μώμῳ*] 'My Ligurian *moqueur*.' It is most probable that he thus describes P. Aelius Ligur, who took a bitter part against him at the time of his exile, and of whom he often speaks very severely, e.g. *Ligur iste additamentum inimicorum meorum*, Sest. 68; *ille novitius Ligur*, pro dom. 47; *quisquilias seditionis Clodianae*, Sest. 74. This Ligur had, no doubt, essayed sarcasm without much skill, hence Cicero, with a play on his name, calls him *Ligurinus:* he describes the Ligures as *montani duri atque agrestes*, de leg. agr. ii. 95. He alludes slightingly to them in a similar passage Cluent. 72. Momus was not the God of Laughter and Fun, as with us, but presided over carping criticism and taunts (see Hes. Th. 214; Plat. Rep. 487). So Cicero means 'I will not leave room for objection even from the most carping critic.' Hortensius has been supposed to be here alluded to, but without reason. There is however much to dispose one to believe the reference to be to Cato. We should then suppose that this Ligur called Cato Μῶμος, 'the God of carping criticism,' and that Cato is here referred to as 'Ligur's Momus.' It is to Cato that Cicero constantly refers as the universal moral referee, *e. g.* Att. vi. 1, 7, 13, Ep. cclii.; vi. 2, 8, Ep. cclvi., &c.

moriar si . . . elegantius] 'as I live the fastidiousness of my rectitude could not be surpassed.' We have had *ita vivam ut . . . facio*, Att. v. 15, 2, Ep. ccvii.; *ne vivam si concedo*, Fam. vii. 23, 4, Ep. cxxvi.

continentiam] *continentia*, ἐγκράτεια, implies a conquest achieved over a desire, and is therefore οὐκ ἄνευ λύπης, but Cicero feels the greatest pleasure in his 'self-restraint,' so he finds the word inapplicable. Aristotle (Nic. Eth. ii. 3, 1) makes this very pleasure in the act the test of the existence of the moral quality. *Abstinentia* would not necessarily imply a desire overcome. The opp. to *continentia* is *libido*. His own word instead of *continentia* is *integritas*, which of course implies no struggle with a counter-desire. *Elegantia* and *integritas* are coupled together in Att. vi. 2, 8, Ep. cclvi.

tate tanta sum adfectus, quanta adficior hac integritate. Nec me tam fama, quae summa est, quam res ipsa delectat. Quid quaeris? Fuit tanti: me ipse non noram nec satis sciebam quid in hoc genere facere possem: recte πεφυσίωμαι. Nihil est praeclarius. Interim haec λαμπρά. Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat. Ἐν παρόδῳ, consilio et auctoritate et quod insidiatoribus eius ἀπρόσιτον me non modo ἀδωροδόκητον praebui, regem regnumque servavi. Interea e Cappadocia ne pilum quidem.—Brutum abiectum quantum potui excitavi, quem non minus amo quam tu, paene dixi, quam te.—Atque etiam spero toto anno imperii nostri teruncium sumptus in provincia nullum fore. 7. Habes omnia. Nunc publice litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. At te Romae non fore! Sed est totum, quod Kal. Mart. futurum est. Vereor enim ne, cum de provincia agetur, si Caesar resistet, nos retineamur. His tu si adesses, nihil timerem. 8. Redeo ad urbana: quae ego diu ignorans ex tuis iucundissimis litteris a. d. xv. Kal. Ian. denique cognovi. Eas diligentissime Philogenes, libertus tuus, curavit perlonga et non satis tuta via perferendas. Nam quas Laenii pueris scribis datas, non acceperam. Iucunda de Caesare et quae senatus decrevit et

Fuit tanti] 'for this feeling of satisfaction it was worth while' (to undergo the tedium of provincial life).

noram . . . sciebam] a good example of the different use of these two verbs.

πεφυσίωμαι] '*entêté* with myself.' πεφυσίωμαι is fr. φυσιοῦσθαι, 'to be puffed up.' The word is found in 1 Cor. 4, 6.

haec λαμπρά] 'this is a score for me,' or 'meantime I have made a *coup* in this.' See I² p. 67.

ἐν παρόδῳ] 'in my progress through my province.' See on Att. v. 21, 2, Ep. ccl., where I believe that *ἐν παρόδῳ* should stand for *transitam*, which arose from *in transitu*, a gloss on *ἐν παρόδῳ*.

quod . . . praebui] 'by refusing to receive not only their bribes but their visits.'

pilum] 'the value of a hair': cp. *ne pilo quidem minus me amabo*, Q. Fr. ii. 15 (16), 5, Ep. cxlvii.; *ne ullum pilum viri boni habere dicatur*, Rosc. Com. 20. Supply some such word as *abstuli* or *sustuli*.

abiectum . . . excitavi] Cicero 'encouraged' Brutus, who was 'cast down' at the prospect of losing the money he had lent to Ariobazanes.

quam tu] sc. amas; *quam te;* sc. amo, 'when I love as much as you do, I had almost said, as much as I do you.'

7. *nunc . . . parabam*] See on Att. v. 16, 4, Ep. ccviii.

uberiores erunt] 'richer in detail.'

est totum] 'the result of the first of March is everything.' On that day the new consuls were to bring before the senate the subject of the provinces. If Caesar refused to give up his province, Cicero feared that the senate would not let Pompeius leave Rome. Cicero hoped that Pompeius would be sent out to finish the Parthian war when his own year of office should expire.

8. *ad. xv. Kal. Ian. denique*] 'only on the 17th of Dec.' *Denique* goes with the date as with adverbs of time, *nunc, tum denique*.

nam] 'unsafe, *for* I did not receive the letters sent by the same route by the hands of Laenius' messengers.'

decrevit] To consider the question of sending a successor to Caesar.

quae tu speras: quibus ille si cedit, salvi sumus. Incendio Plaetoriano quod Seius ambustus est, minus moleste fero. Lucceius de Q. Cassio cur tam vehemens fuerit et quid actum sit aveo scire. 9. Ego, cum Laodiceam venero, Quinto, sororis tuae filio, togam puram iubeor dare, cui moderabor diligentius. Deiotarus, cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum, ad me, ut scripsit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat. Tuas etiam Epiroticas exspecto litteras, ut habeam rationem non modo negotii, verum etiam otii tui. Nicanor in officio est et a me liberaliter tractatur: quem, ut puto, Romam cum litteris publicis mittam, ut et diligentius perferantur et idem ad me certa de te et a te referat. Alexis quod mihi totiens salutem ascribit, est gratum. Sed cur non suis litteris idem facit, quod meus ad te Alexis facit? Phemio quaeritur κέρας. Sed haec hactenus. Cura ut valeas et ut sciam quando cogites Romam. Etiam atque etiam vale. 10. Tua tuosque Thermo et praesens Ephesi diligentissime commendaram et nunc per litteras, ipsumque intellexi esse perstudiosum tui. Tu velim, quod antea ad te scripsi, de domo Pammeni des operam, ut, quod tuo meoque beneficio puer habet, cures ne qua ratione convellatur. Id *cum honestum* utrique nostrum existimo, tum mihi erit pergratum.

salvi sumus] 'my case is won,' that is, 'I shall be safe from a prorogation of my term of provincial government.' For this use of the present to indicate the certain future, see on *habemus consules*, Att. v. 12, 2, Ep. ccii.

Incendio] metaphorically used; Plaetorius was condemned for extortion; Seius, who shared the plunder, was tried on the charge *quo ea pecunia pervenerit*, and was compelled to pay part of the fine.

Q. Cassio] brother of C. Cassius, and a friend of Atticus.

9. *non modo negotii*] See Planc. 66, where this sentiment is quoted from the *Origines* of Cato.

in officio est] 'N. is working well for me.'

meus Alexis] 'Tiro, who is my Alexis,' who stands to me as A. to you: cp. Att. iv. 8*a*, 1, Ep. cxii., where a similar relation is strangely expressed. Cicero asks why does not Alexis write to him as Tiro does to Atticus.

Phemio] A musical slave of Atticus, named from Hom. Od. i. 154. That Atticus was in the the habit of purchasing musical slaves is clear from Att. iv. 16, 7 (13), Ep. cxliv. *κέρας* is a horn for blowing.

CCXXIX. CICERO TO P. VOLUMNIUS EUTRAPELUS, (FAM. VII. 32).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero P. Volumnio scribit de dictis, de iudiciis, de re publica, de Dolabella nondum genero. Data est epistola ex Cilicia, incertum quo tempore.

M. CICERO S. D. VOLUMNIO.

1. Quod sine praenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistolam misisti, primum addubitavi num a Volumnio senatore esset, quocum mihi est magnus usus, deinde εὐτραπελία litterarum fecit, ut intellegerem tuas esse. Quibus in litteris omnia mihi periucunda fuerunt praeter illud, quod parum diligenter possessio salinarum mearum a te procuratore defenditur. Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Sestiana, in me conferri. Quid? tu id pateris? nonne defendis? nonne resistis? Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent. 2. Sed quoniam tanta faex est in urbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθηρον quod non alicui venustum

Volumnius was a wealthy Roman knight, best known by his agnomen Eutrapelus, and as patron and lover of his freedwoman, the actress Cytheris. Cicero (Fam. ix. 26) gives an account of a dinner party where he met Volumnius and Cytheris. Volumnius was influential with Antonius, whose *praefectus fabrum* he was (Nep. Att. 12). Accordingly, we find Cicero sometimes on friendly terms with him, as here, and asking his good offices (Att. xv. 8, 1), sometimes speaking of him with contempt (Phil. xiii. 3). Volumnius was saved by Atticus when the partisans of Antonius were in danger (Nep. *l. c.*), and in turn was able to do the like service for Atticus (*ib.* 10).

1. *sine praenomine familiariter*] cp. vol. I² p. 49.

εὐτραπελία] 'graceful raillery.' Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 12, 16, defines it as *πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*, *esprit railleur et malin*. St. Paul warns the Ephesians against it (v. 14), where the E. V. translates the word 'jesting.'

salinarum] 'my Attic salt mines,' jestingly for my stores of *sales*, Attic salt, witticisms, *bons mots*.

Sestiana] P. Sestius, whom Cicero defended, though a man of eminent respectability and varied virtues (Sest. 6), did not possess much grace of style or liveliness of wit. The severe cold which Catullus caught from the speech read by Sestius at a dinner party, in conseqence of which Catullus had to go to the country for change of air, forms a melancholy page of history (Catull. 44). Pompeius on another occasion (Att. vii. 17, 2) had to address a public letter to L. Caesar, and got Sestius to write it — a proceeding on which Cicero is very severe, for whereas Pompeius had an admirable style, Sestius on this occasion out-Sestiused himself (*nihil unquam legi scriptum σηστιωδέστερον*).

nonne defendis? nonne resistis] So we read with H. See Adn. Crit.

2. *faex*] 'scum.'

ἀκύθηρον] lit. 'without charm' (like *ἀναφρόδιτος*), *fade*, *banale*.

venustum] 'charming.'

esse videatur, pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία, nisi elegans ὑπερβολή, nisi παράγραμμα bellum, nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν, nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro DE ORATORE per Antonii personam disputata de ridiculis, ἔντεχνα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas mea non esse. Nam de iudiciis quod quereris, multo laboro minus. Trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei, sit vel Selius tam eloquens, ut possit probare se liberum: non laboro. Urbanitatis possessionem, amabo, quibusvis interdictis defendamus: in qua te unum metuo, contemno ceteros. Derideri te putas? Nunc demum intellego te sapere. 3. Sed mehercules extra iocum: valde mihi tuae litterae facetae elegantesque visae sunt. Illa, quamvis ridicula essent, sicut erant, mihi tamen risum non moverunt. Cupio enim nostrum illum amicum in tribunatu quam plurimum habere gravitatis, id cum ipsius causa—est mihi, ut scis, in amoribus—tum mehercule etiam

pugna . . . mea non esse] 'insist, an you love me, unless a smart *double entendre*, a tasteful hyperbole, a good pun, a jocular παρὰ προσδοκίαν, unless everything else is *secundum artem*, and pointed according to the rules discussed by me in the second book De Oratore, under the character of Antonius on the subject of jokes, maintain, even unto the laying of money thereon, that they are not mine.' παράγραμμα, usually called *paranomasia*, e. g. as Manutius quotes, Ter. Andr. i. 3, 13, *inceptio est amentium haud amantium*. The section on jokes in De Oratore ii. is really handled by Caesar (C. Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus). It is a mere μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα on Cicero's part to ascribe it to Antonius.

ut sacramento contendas] The translation given above perhaps goes near hitting the spirit of the passage, lit. 'insist so that you are willing to go to law.' The *actio sacramenti* was the most ancient of the actions at law. After some formalities, each party 'challenged his adversary to deposit a certain sum, which the loser of the cause was to forfeit to the Treasury of the people, to be applied to the expenses of the sacrifices' (Sandars' Justinian, p. lxiv). This stake was called *sacramentum*.

trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei] cp. note to Att. iv. 18, 2, Ep. cliv., 'for all I care litigants may go to perdition' (as they will do in consequence of the dreadful decadence of legal oratory you tell me of). 'I care not a jot about that. It is in brilliancy in conversation that I am really interested to maintain our supremacy. Do get an interdict. Think you I am laughing at you? Well *now* I fancy you are not far wrong.' The whole passage applies 'graceful raillery' to the 'graceful railler,' for what he seems to think the be-all and the end-all for which a man should strive is—to be *urbanus*. For *urbanitas*, a witty and cultivated style of conversation, see Quintilian, vi. 3, 102–112. The definition of the *urbanus* given there is (§ 105) *cuius multa benedicta responsaque erunt, et qui in sermonibus circulis conviviis, item in concionibus, omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet*.

amabo] 'I pry'thee,' a word belonging to the language of conversation.

interdictis] an order of the praetor having reference to a special case, though there was always an under-idea of public interest in the grant, of protecting the public peace, or the like. Interdicts were chiefly used in cases of possession or quasi-possession, and mostly were prohibitory (Justinian, Instit. iv. 15).

3. *Illa*] There must be some word or words lost here possibly referring to indiscreet actions or expressions on Curio's part; or the lost word may apply to the position in the epistle of the expression in question, e. g., *illa extrema*, or the like.

rei publicae: quam quidem, quamvis in me ingrata sit, amare non desinam. Tu, mi Volumni, quoniam et instituisti et mihi vides esse gratum, scribe ad me quam saepissime de rebus urbanis, de re publica. Iucundus est mihi sermo litterarum tuarum. Praeterea Dolabellam, quem ego perspicio et iudico cupidissimum esse atque amantissimum mei, cohortare et confirma et redde plane meum; non mehercule, quo quidquam desit, sed quia valde *ei* cupio, non videor nimium laborare.

CCXXX. CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. XIII. 53).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

Cicero Q. Thermo pro pr. Asiae negotia L. Curvi commendat.

CICERO THERMO PRO PR. S.

1. L. Genucilio Curvo iam pridem utor familiarissime, optimo viro et homine gratissimo. Eum tibi penitus commendo atque trado: primum, ut omnibus in rebus ei commodes, quoad fides tua dignitasque patietur: patietur autem in omnibus: nihil enim abs te umquam quod sit alienum tuis aut etiam suis moribus postulabit. 2. Praecipue autem tibi commendo negotia eius, quae sunt in Hellesponto: primum, ut obtineat id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit et quod semper obtinuit sine ulla controversia, deinde, si quid habebit cum aliquo Hellespontio controversiae, ut in illam διοίκησιν reiicias. Sed non mihi videor,

non videor nimium laborare] 'I do not think I am too anxious.'

Q. Minucius Thermus, trib. pl. in 692 (62), and praetor in 702 (52), was a staunch optimate. He governed Asia in 701 (53), and his government was good (*valde honeste se gerunt*, Att. vi. 1, 13, Ep. cclii). Cicero was constantly writing letters of recommendation to him: cp. Fam. ii. 18; Att. v. 13, 2, Ep. cciii; 20, 10, Ep. ccxxviii.; 21, 14, Ep. ccl. In the civil war he fought on the side of Pompeius (Att. vii. 23, 1: Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 12: cp. Att. vii. 13, 7; Lucan ii. 463).

2. *Pariana civitas*] Parium was a town a little east of Lampsacus in the dioecesis of the Hellespont in the province of Asia. The chief town of the district was Cyzicus, not Parium; for the cistophori supposed to have been struck at Parium really came from Apamea (Marquardt, i. 340–1). It was made a colony by Augustus.

cum tibi totum hominem diligentissime commendarim, singulas ad te eius causas perscribere debere. Summa illa est: quidquid officii, beneficii, honoris in Genucilium contuleris, id te existimabo in me ipsum atque in rem meam contulisse.

CCXXXI. CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. XIII. 56).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Q. Thermo pro pr. negotia Cluvii Puteolani commendat.

CICERO THERMO PRO PR. S.

1. Cluvius Puteolanus valde me observat valdeque est mihi familiaris. Is ita sibi persuadet, quod in tua provincia negotii habeat, nisi te provinciam obtinente meis commendationibus confecerit, id se in perditis et desperatis habiturum. Nunc, quoniam mihi ab amico officiosissimo tantum oneris imponitur, ego quoque tibi imponam pro tuis in me summis officiis, ita tamen, ut tibi nolim molestus esse. Μυλασεῖς et Ἀλαβανδεῖς pecuniam Cluvio

perscribere debere] So H rightly. The editors, following M, omit *debere*. But *videor mihi* means 'I think,' not 'I think right': cp. Fam. iv. 13, 5; and *debere* could readily have fallen out after *perscribere*.

officii] is a word like our 'service,' which has very frequently no sense of inferiority or obligation on the part of the performer. The collocation of *officium* and *beneficium* is very common.

1. *Cluvius Puteolanus*] The Cluvii were a Campanian family, one of whom we hear of as supplying Roman captives with provisions in 530 (215) (Liv. xxvi. 33–4). The Cluvius here alluded to is M. Cluvius, a rich banker of Puteoli, with whom Cicero had business relations (Att. vi. 2, 3, Ep. cclvi). He afterwards made Cicero one of his heirs (Att. xiii. 46, 3; xiv. 9, 1).

valde me observat] 'is devoted to me.'

is ita sibi persuadet] 'has got the idea into his head.'

officiosissimo] 'untiring of service.'

pro tuis in me summis officiis] So M. *officiis vel beneficiis* H. This is a case of two variants having crept into the text of H: cp. Fam. xiii. 16, 4, *iamdiu pridem*: xiii. 63, 1, *cum plurimis eius beneficiis vel officiis*.

ita tamen ut . . . esse] 'but in doing so I should be unwilling to put you to any trouble.'

Μυλασεῖς et Ἀλαβανδεῖς] The reading of the MSS *Mylasis et Alabandis* shows plainly that we should print these words in Greek: cp. Polyb. xxx. 5. 15, and Lachmann on Lucr., p. 281. Mylasa or Mylassa was an inland town in Caria of great antiquity; it was a 'free town' under the Romans. Alabanda was also a free town, and the chief town of a dioecesis, famous for its manufactures of cut gems and glass made from *lapis Alabandicus*, and for the luxury and extravagance of its inhabitants (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 63; xxxvii. 92, 96; Strabo, xiv. 660). There is a proverb given by Steph. Byz. 57, Ἀλάβανδα Καρῶν εὐτυχεστάτη.

debent. Dixerat mihi Euthydemus, cum Ephesi essem, se curaturum ut ecdici a Mylasinis Romam mitterentur. Id factum non est. Legatos audio missos esse, sed malo ecdicos, ut aliquid confici possit. Qua re peto a te, ut et eos et Ἀλαβανδεῖς iubeas ecdicos Romam mittere. 2. Praeterea Philocles Alabandensis ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit. Eae commissae sunt. Velim cures ut aut de hypothecis decedat easque procuratoribus Cluvii tradat aut pecuniam solvat, praeterea Heracleotae et Bargylietae, qui item debent, aut pecuniam solvant aut fructibus suis satis faciant. 3. Caunii praeterea debent: sed aiunt se depositam pecuniam habuisse. Id velim cognoscas et, si intellexeris eos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam ut usurae Cluvio instituto tuo conserventur. His de rebus eo magis laboro, quod agitur res Cn. Pompeii etiam nostri necessarii et quod is magis etiam mihi laborare videtur quam ipse Cluvius: cui satis factum esse a nobis valde volo. His de rebus te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

ecdici a Mylasinis] Here certainly H appears to have the right reading. The form of the adjective is *Mylasenus* in Liv. xxxviii. 39, 8, or *Mylasensis* in xlv. 25, 13. Probably the *a* was not noticed by the copyist of Med. owing to its similarity in capitals to part of capital M. The *ecdicus* of a town under the Republic and early Empire was an advocate who conducted at Rome legal cases in which the town was one of the parties. In Trajan's time he was a regular magistrate in each town, who represented the provincial governor and looked after its financial affairs: cp. Plin. Epist. x. 110 (111), also Marquardt i. 214. It was preferable as Schütz shows that *ecdici* rather than *legati* should be sent; for the latter could only make a request, the former could plead at law; and so the matter could be argued and settled at once without deputations having to go backwards and forwards.

2. *Alabandensis*] the Latin termination, not the Greek one, as in § 1.

ὑποθήκας] *i. e.* a mortgage mostly on immovables to cover a debt, but which the debtor still held, differing therein from a *pignus*, which had actually been delivered to the creditor: cp. Just. Instit. iv. 6, 7. When the time of payment had passed, the mortgage lapsed (*commissae*) into the hands of the mortgagee.

Heracleotae] the inhabitants of Heraclea called Salbace in Caria. Bargylia, also in Caria, declared 'free' by P. Lentulus in 558 (196): cp. Liv. xxxiii. 30, 3; 35, 1.

fructibus] 'income': cp. Off. i. 25. They are either to pay down the money owed or give Cluvius a charge on their estate.

3. *Caunii*] Caunus was an unhealthy town in Caria, with an export trade in figs: cp. De Div. ii. 84.

se depositam pecuniam habuisse] 'that they have had for some time past the money lying in deposit.' If a debtor offered payment and it was refused, the debtor might with permission of the magistrate deposit the amount of the debt in a temple (Att. v. 21, 12, Ep. ccl.; Fam v. 20, 5) or other safe place (Dig. xxvi. 7, 28, 1), and afterwards be free from all liability and consequently interest: cp. Rein, *Privatrecht*, 770, note 1.

edicto] The *edictum* set forth the general principles of the governor's administration. A *decretum* was an order referring to a special case.

Pompeii] Billerbeck thinks that Pompeius was really the chief creditor in all these cases, and that he was pressing his claims through the banking house of Cluvius.

CCXXXII. CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. XIII. 55).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Q. Thermo pro pr. Asiae commendat M. Anneii, legati sui, cum ceteras res tum causam Sardianam.

CICERO THERMO PRO PR. S.

1. Etsi mihi videor intellexisse, cum tecum Ephesi de re M. Anneii legati mei locutus sum, te ipsius causa vehementer omnia velle, tamen et M. Anneium tanti facio, ut mihi nihil putem praetermittendum quod illius intersit, et me a te tanti fieri puto, ut non dubitem quin ad tuam voluntatem magnus cumulus accedat commendationis meae. Nam cum iam diu diligerem M. Anneium deque eo sic existimarem, ut res declarat, qui ultro ei detulerim legationem, cum multis petentibus denegassem, tum vero postea quam mecum in bello atque in re militari fuit, tantam in eo virtutem, prudentiam, fidem tantamque erga me benevolentiam cognovi, ut hominem neminem pluris faciam. Eum cum Sardianis habere controversiam scis: causam tibi exposuimus Ephesi: quam tu tamen coram facilius meliusque cognosces. 2. De reliquo mihi mehercule diu dubium fuit quid ad te potissimum scriberem. Ius enim quem ad modum dicas clarum et magna cum tua laude notum est. Nobis autem in hac causa nihil aliud opus est nisi te

1. *M. Anneii*] He was one of Cicero's *legati*, a capable military man: cp. Fam. xiii. 57, 1, Ep. ccliv.; xv. 4, 8, Ep. ccxxxviii.

ipsius causa . . . omnia velle] 'that you were very much interested in': cp. Fam. xiii. 64, 1, Ep. ccxxxv., *vehementer eius causa cupere eum intellexi*, a slightly altered form of this common expression of ordinary politeness.

commendationis meae] 'that my recommendation shall make a large addition to your kind interest in him.' Baiter reads *commendatione mea*, comparing Fam. vi. 9. 2; xiii. 17, 2. But this genitive of material after *cumulus* need cause no difficulty: cp. Fam. xiii. 15, 3; Att. xvi. 3, 1.

qui] The MSS give *quae*, which is ordinarily altered to *quod*; but this would require *detuli*, as has been pointed out by Wes. (*Em.* 122, note).

Sardianis] the inhabitants of Sardes in Lydia. *Sardi* are Sardinians.

cognosces] 'inquire into.'

2. *potissimum*] 'exactly.' Cicero's request was evidently that Thermus should carry out some questionable transaction for Anneius; so he says he does not know exactly what to say to him.

ius instituto tuo dicere. Sed tamen cum me non fugiat quanta sit in praetore auctoritas, praesertim ista integritate, gravitate, clementia, qua te esse inter omnes constat, peto abs te pro nostra coniunctissima necessitudine plurimisque officiis paribus ac mutuis, ut voluntate, auctoritate, studio tuo perficias ut M. Anneius intellegat te et sibi amicum esse quod non dubitat—saepe enim mecum locutus est—et multo amiciorem his meis litteris esse factum. In tuo toto imperio atque provincia nihil est quod mihi gratius facere possis. Iam apud ipsum gratissimum hominem atque optimum virum quam bene positurus sis studium tuum atque officium dubitare te non existimo.

CCXXXIII. CICERO TO P. SILIUS NERVA, PROPRAETOR OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS (FAM. XIII. 61).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero P. Silio pro pr. Bithyniae T. Pinnii negotium commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SILIO PRO PR.

T. Pinnio familiarissime me usum esse scire te arbitror: quod quidem ille testamento declaravit, qui me cum tutorem tum etiam secundum heredem instituerit. Eius filio mei mire studioso et erudito et modesto pecuniam Nicaeenses grandem debent, ad HS octogiens, et, ut audio, in primis ei volunt solvere. Pergratum igitur mihi feceris (quoniam non modo reliqui tutores, qui sciunt quanti me facias, sed etiam puer ipse sibi persuasit te omnia mea

plurimisque . . . mutuis] 'the many good services we have done for one another.'

Iam] Baiter alters to *nam*; but *iam* is often used in a conclusion. 'Now (after what I have said).'

positurus sis] 'you could not more advantageously show favour to.' The Latin word implies a metaphor from investing money, which metaphor we do not use in English in this connexion.

P. Silius Nerva was propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 703 (51). His administration was praiseworthy (Att. vi. 1, 13, Ep. cclii.). He had a notorious lawsuit in 710 (44): cp. Fam. vii. 21. Many coins struck by this Silius Nerva still survive, on which see Pauly, *Realencycl.* vi. 1191.

Nicaeenses] Bithynia was divided for administrative purposes into twelve town-districts of which Nicaea was one (Plin. *H. N.* v. 143, 148; Marquardt, i. 356).

octogiens] sc. *centena millia*, 8,000,000 sesterces, *i. e.* about £70,000.

causa facturum esse), si dederis operam, quoad tua fides dignitasque patietur, ut quam plurimum pecuniae Pinnio solvatur Nicaeensium nomine.

CCXXXIV. CICERO TO P. SILIUS NERVA, PROPRAETOR OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS (FAM. XIII. 62).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero P. Silio pro pr. Bithyniae gratias agit de Atilio: Q. fratrem suum commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SILIO PRO PR.

Et in Atilii negotio te amavi—cum enim sero venissem, tamen honestum equitem Romanum beneficio tuo conservavi—et mehercule semper sic in animo habui, te in meo aere esse propter Lamiae nostri coniunctionem et singularem necessitudinem. Itaque primum tibi ago gratias, quod me omni molestia liberasti: deinde impudentia prosequor, sed idem sarciam. Te enim semper sic colam et tuebor ut quem diligentissime. Quintum fratrem meum, si me diligis, eo numero cura ut habeas quo me. Ita magnum beneficium tuum magno cumulo auxeris.

ut . . . nomine] 'that as much of the money as possible be paid to Pinnius on account for the Nicaeans.' We read *quam plurimum pecuniae* with the MSS. The editors, till Wesenberg, followed Cratander in altering to *quam primum pecunia*, 'that the money be paid as soon as possible.' But we can well suppose that the whole of such a large sum could not have been paid off at once, and that Cicero only asks that as large a portion of the debt as possible be recovered.

te amavi] 'I am very much obliged to you.'

in aere meo esse] 'to be entirely at my command'; lit. 'in my property': cp. Fam. xv. 14, 1, Ep. ccxli.

propter necessitudinem] 'on account of the bond and special connexion our Lamia forms between us.' L. Aelius Lamia was a rich Roman knight, and devoted to the Senate. He had been relegated because he took up Cicero's part vigorously against Piso (Sest. 29). He was aedile in 709 (45), and stood for the praetorship 711 (43): cp. Fam. xi. 16, 2; xii. 29.

deinde . . . auxeris] 'then I shall follow on with a shameful request, but I'll make up for it too; for I shall always oblige and aid you, none more carefully. If you love me, hold my brother Quintus in as high esteem as you do me; so you will enhance your great service to me by a great additional favour.' For *sarciam* cp. Pet. Cons. 45, Ep. xii. We use the metaphor only in the case of patching up a quarrel; it was of wider application in Latin

CCXXXV. CICERO TO P. SILIUS NERVA, PROPRAETOR OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS (FAM. XIII. 64).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero P. Silio pro pr. Bithyniae T. Claudium Neronem denuo diligenter, dein Servilium Strabonem commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SILIO PRO PR.

1. Nero meus mirificas apud me tibi gratias egit, prorsus incredibiles, ut nullum honorem sibi haberi potuisse diceret qui a te praetermissus esset. Magnum fructum ex ipso capies: nihil est enim illo adolescente gratius. Sed mehercule mihi quoque gratissimum fecisti: pluris enim ex omni nobilitate neminem facio. Itaque, si ea feceris, quae ille per me tecum agi voluit, gratissimum mihi feceris: primum de Pausania Alabandensi, sustentes rem, dum Nero veniat—vehementer eius causa cupere eum intellexi, itaque hoc valde te rogo—deinde Nysaeos, quos Nero in primis habet necessarios diligentissimeque tuetur ac defendit, habeas tibi commendatissimos, ut intellegat illa civitas sibi in Neronis patro-

1. *Nero*] 'My dear friend Nero has expressed to me his gratitude to you in the most glowing terms (indeed you'd hardly believe them), going so far as to say, &c.' Tiberius Claudius Nero impeached Gabinius in 700 (54): cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 15; 2, 1, Epp. cxlviii., cl. He came to Cicero to Cilicia to try to negotiate a marriage with Tullia. Cicero wrote at once to his family urging the match, but was too late; Tullia had already been betrothed to Dolabella (Att. vi. 6, 1, Ep. cclxxvi). Nero afterwards married Livia Drusilla, who bore to him two sons, the Emperor Tiberius and Drusus, but whom in later life Nero had to resign to be the wife of the Emperor Augustus. Nero was Caesar's Quaestor in the Alexandrine war, and was by him put in command of the fleet (Bell. Alex. 25). Later we hear of him as pontifex, as founding colonies at Narbo and Arelate, and as holding the praetorship in 713 (41): cp. Suet. Tib. 4. He stood with L. Antonius at Perusia, and after his fall tried to raise the war in Campania (see Vell. ii. 75, who calls him *magni vir animi doctissimique ingenii*). Afterwards he fled to Sextus Pompeius, but was restored to Rome when peace was concluded (ib. 77).

nobilitate] 'aristocracy': cp. Liv. xxvi. 12, 8, *nobilitas rempublicam deseruerant*. At first sight we should be inclined to say that *nobilitas* could not have this meaning.

sustentes] 'hold over,' 'delay': cp. Q. Fr. ii. 5, 4, Ep. cvi.

vehementer . . . intellexi] 'I perceive that he (Nero) takes a great interest in him (Pausanias).' For *eius causa cupere*, cp. Verr. ii. 180, *qui istius causa omnia cupiunt*; also Fam. xiii. 75, 1, Ep. clxxviii.; 55, 1, Ep. ccxxxii. In other places the simple dative is used with *cupere*, Plancus in Fam. x. 4, 4.

Nysaeos] The inhabitants of Nysa in Caria.

habeas tibi commendatissimos] 'take under your special care.'

cinio summum esse praesidium. Strabonem Servilium tibi saepe commendavi: nunc eo facio id impensius, quod eius causam Nero suscepit. Tantum a te petimus, ut *tu* agas eam rem, ne relinquas hominem innocentem ad alicuius tui dissimilis quaestum. Id cum gratum mihi erit, tum etiam existimabo te humanitate tua esse usum. 2. Summa huius epistolae haec est, ut ornes omnibus rebus Neronem, sicuti instituisti atque fecisti. Magnum theatrum habet ista provincia, non ut haec nostra, *ad* adolescentis nobilis, ingeniosi, abstinentis commendationem atque gloriam. Qua re, si te fautore usus erit, sicuti profecto et utetur et usus est, amplissimas clientelas acceptas a maioribus confirmare poterit et beneficiis suis obligare. Hoc in genere si eum adiuveris eo studio quo ostendisti, apud ipsum praeclarissime posueris, sed mihi etiam gratissimum feceris.

CCXXXVI. CICERO TO P. SILIUS NERVA, PROPRAETOR OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS (FAM. XIII. 65).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero a P. Silio pro pr. Bithyniae petit, ut P. Terentio Hisponi commodet in pactionibus cum civitatibus de scriptura conficiendis.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SILIO PRO PR.

1. Cum P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat, mihi summa familiaritas consuetudoque est, multa-

2. *ut . . . Neronem*] 'further the advancement of Nero in every way you can.'

theatrum] 'stage': cp. Tusc. ii. 64, *nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est*.

ad adolescentis . . . obligare] 'to advance to reputation and renown a young man of high rank, intellect, and conduct. Wherefore if he shall succeed in getting your support, as of course he has had the benefit of it both now and in the past, he will be able to strengthen, and by his kindness bind to his interests most distinguished bodies of clients which have been handed down to him by his ancestors.'

sed mihi etiam] *non solum* is omitted. This omission is very rarely found in Cicero if at all (Dräger, ii. p. 109). Even in other writers *sed et* is the common collocation; and Baiter reads *et* after Orelli. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 46) supposes the expression elliptical, *sed* (*non solum ipsi sed*) *mihi etiam*, referring to Fam. xiii. 31, 2; 26, 2, though *sed* there is the *sed* of transition.

1. *P. Terentio Hispone*] was a connexion of Cicero through his wife Terentia. Three years later we find him again in the same business, *operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit* (Att. xi. 10, 1).

qui . . . dat] 'who is in the service of the Grazing Company as provincial mana-

que et magna inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt. Eius summa existimatio agitur in eo, ut pactiones cum civitatibus reliquis conficiat. Non me praeterit nos eam rem Ephesi expertos esse neque ab Ephesiis ullo modo impetrare potuisse. Sed quoniam, quem ad modum omnes existimant et ego intellego, tua cum summa integritate tum singulari humanitate et mansuetudine consecutus es, ut lubentissimis Graecis nutu quod velis consequare, peto a te in maiorem modum, ut honoris mei causa hac laude Hisponem adfici velis. 2. Praeterea cum sociis scripturae mihi summa necessitudo est, non solum ob eam causam, quod ea societas universa in mea fide est, sed etiam quod plerisque sociis utor familiarissime. Ita et Hisponem meum per me ornaris et societatem mihi coniunctiorem feceris tuque ipse et ex huius observantia gratissimi hominis et ex sociorum gratia hominum amplissimorum maximum fructum capies et me summo beneficio adfeceris. Sic enim velim existimes, in tota tua provincia omnique isto imperio nihil esse quod mihi gratius facere possis.

ger.' That part of the *ager publicus* which could not be cultivated was let out for grazing. It was let by the censors to the Grazing Company of the *publicani*, who were called *scripturarii*, because *scriptura* came to be the name for the tax paid for the right of grazing, since the lessees had to register their names and the number and kind of animals. Other companies of the *publicani* were those *decumarum* (which was the principal one, and its members were called simply *publicani*) and *portoriorum*. Each company had a Chairman at Rome (*manceps, princeps societatis*) who made the bargains with the State, furnished securities, and was generally responsible; an annually elected Managing Director, (*magister societatis*) who had the accounts kept and correspondence conducted; and a Deputy Director (*pro magistro*) in the provinces or places where the tax was collected: under him were clerks, postmen, bailiffs, &c. The Deputy Director was not a member but a servant of the company: cp. Val. Max. vi. 9, 8, *P. Rupilius non publicanum in Sicilia egit sed operas publicanis dedit.* For further, cp. Marquardt, ii² 299 ff.

officia paria et mutua] 'and many good services have been done by us to one another': cp. Fam. xiii. 55, 2, Ep. ccxxxii.

eius . . . conficiat] 'His reputation mainly turns on his settling the bargains with the rest of the states,' *i. e.* those not yet settled with. Boot (*Obs. Crit.*, p. 25) thinks *reliquis* means 'arrears,' comparing Fam. ii. 13, 4, Ep. cclvii.; Att. xv. 15, 3.

tua cum . . . velis] 'since by your strict uprightness combined with remarkable kindliness and mildness you have brought it to pass that by your mere nod you can get the most hearty performance by the Greeks of whatever you want—I beg of you very earnestly that out of compliment to me you will be kind enough to let Hispo gain distinction in this matter,' *i. e.* that he be able to let the pasture lands to the Ephesians at the price he wants. *Libentissimis Graecis* is abl. of attendant circumstances: cp. Roby, 1242. *honoris mei causa* (*gratia*), 'out of compliment to me,' frequent in the comic poets, Plaut. Aul. iii. 4, 4; Amph. iii. 1, 7; Ter. Phorm. v. 8, 35.

cum sociis scripturae] 'with the Grazing Company.'

2. *in mea fide est*] 'is my client.'

Ita . . . ornaris] 'If you do this you will have furthered Hispo's interests through my recommendation.'

in tota] So Wes. (*Em. Alt.*, 46) for *ex tota*, which arose out of *existumes*: cp. Fam. xiii. 55, 2, Ep. ccxxxii., *in tuo toto imperio*.

CCXXXVII. CICERO TO P. FURIUS CRASSIPES, QUAESTOR OF BITHYNIA (FAM. XIII. 9).

CILICIA, A. U. C. 703; B. C. 51; AET. CIC. 55.

M. Cicero Crassipedi, Bithyniae quaestori, Bithynicam publicanorum societatem, in primisque Cn. Pupium commendat.

CICERO CRASSIPEDI S.

1. Quamquam tibi praesens commendavi ut potui diligentissime socios Bithyniae, teque cum mea commendatione tum etiam tua sponte intellexi cupere ei societati quibuscumque rebus posses commodare, tamen, cum ii, quorum res agitur, magni sua interesse arbitrarentur, me etiam per litteras declarare tibi qua essem erga ipsos voluntate, non dubitavi haec ad te scribere. 2. Volo enim te existimare me, cum universo ordini publicanorum semper libentissime tribuerim *plurimum*, idque magnis eius ordinis erga me meritis facere debuerim, tum in primis amicum esse huic Bithynicae societati: quae societas ordine ipso et hominum genere pars est maxima civitatis: constat enim ex ceteris societatibus: et casu permulti sunt in ea societate valde mihi familiares, in primisque is cuius praecipuum officium agitur hoc tempore, P. Rupilius P. F.

Crassipedi] P. Furius Crassipes was the second husband of Tullia, whom he married in 698 (56). About 702 (52) he separated from her. The last we hear of him is his desertion of the cause of Pompeius, Att. ix. 11, 3. Matthiae in Pauly, *Realencyl.* iii., 557, makes three different Crassipedes:—(1) Tullia's husband; (2) Quaestor of Bithynia; (3) Deserter of Pompeius.

1. *socios Bithyniae*] 'the Bithynian Company.' The companies of *publicani* were sometimes classified by the province they traded in, and we hear of *societates provinciarum*, Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 3: cp. *per magistros scripturae et portus nostrarum dioecesium*, Att. v. 15, 3, Ep. ccvii.

2. *libentissime tribuerim plurimum*] 'most willingly defer to in much'; sometimes found with *omnia*, Brut. 190. As *tribuere* is very rarely (if ever) found in this sense without an object, we have added *plurimum* with Kayser, which might readily have dropped out after *tribuerim*.

ordine ipso et hominum genere] So H and Hittorp. This reading is justly adopted by Graevius. The sense is, the Bithynian *publicani* are a great factor in the state, both as belonging to the general corporation of *publicani* and as being wealthy and influential in themselves; for they are a picked selection from the other companies. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 42) objects that this would require '*et* ordine ipso *et* ipso hominum genere'; if the text be read he would consider *et* explicative 'that is.' But he is of opinion with Ern. that *ordine* is an error which has crept into the text owing to the proximity of *ordini* and *ordinis*. Schütz wishes to read *prima est et maxima:* sc. *societas*; or else *prorsus* for *pars*.

Men., qui est magister in ea societate. 3. Quae cum ita sint, in maiorem modum a te peto Cn. Pupium, qui est in operis eius societatis, omnibus tuis officiis atque omni liberalitate tueare curesque, ut eius operae, quod tibi facile factu est, quam gratissimae sint sociis, remque et utilitatem sociorum, cuius rei quantam potestatem quaestor habeat, non sum ignarus, per te quam maxime defensam et auctam velis. Id cum mihi gratissimum feceris tum illud tibi expertus promitto et spondeo, te socios Bithyniae, si iis commodaris, memores esse et gratos cogniturum.

Men.] i. e. *Menenia tribu*, abl. of origin: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii.

3. *in operis eius societatis*] 'in the service of this company.'

non sum ignarus] Cicero had been quaestor in Sicily in 679 (75): cp. Verr. v. 35; Tusc. v. 64.

LETTERS OF THE NINETEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CCXXXVIII.-CCC.

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

COSS C. MARCELLUS AND L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS.

The letters of the earlier part of this year describe the closing months of Cicero's provincial administration, an account of which is given in the introduction. The first is a long interesting and admirably written letter to Cato. The letters of the latter part of the year deal with the events which immediately preceded the outbreak of the Civil War. We hear in them the pattering of the first drops of the thunderstorm. Politics, and the hopes and fears about his triumph, were so engrossing at this time that Cicero found no leisure for literary work. The most interesting circumstance in his private life was the marriage of his daughter Tullia with Dolabella.

CCXXXVIII. CICERO TO CATO (Fam. xv. 4).

JANUARY, A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero res a se in provincia gestas exponit ordine et a M. Catone petit, ut in senatu sibi supplicationes decernendas curet.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CATONI.

1. Summa tua auctoritas fecit meumque perpetuum de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea interesse putarem et res eas, quas gessissem, tibi notas esse et non ignorari a te qua aequitate et continentia tuerer socios provinciamque administrarem. Iis enim a te cognitis arbitrabar facilius me tibi quae vellem probaturum. 2. Cum in provinciam pridie Kal. Sext. venissem et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quadriduum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomelii. Quibus in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi. Cumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine centurione ullo apud Philomelium consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia, M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret coactoque in unum locum exercitu

With this letter may be compared, for an account of Cicero's military actions, Epp. ccxix., ccxxi., ccxxv., ccxxviii.

1. *aequitate et continentia*] 'by fair dealing and moderation': cp. § 14.

2. *Apameae quatriduum*] The following list will show the discrepancies of Cicero's statements as to the length of time he stayed in each place:—

Att. v. 16, 2, Ep. ccviii.:—

Laodicea,	3 days.
Apamea,	3 ,,
Synnada,	3 ,,

Att. v. 20, 1, Ep. ccxxviii.:—

Laodicea,	2 days.
Apamea,	5 ,,
Synnada,	3 ,,
Philomelium,	5 ,,

Fam. xv. 4, 2, Ep. ccxxxviii.:—

Laodicea,	2 days.
Apamea,	4 ,,
Synnada,	3 ,,
Philomelium,	3 ,,

gravissimis usuris] 48 per cent. compound interest: cp. Att. v. 21, 12, Ep. ccl.

falso] Scaptius, for example, wanted to make out that the Salaminians owed him 200,000 sesterces instead of 106,000 (*ib*). Hofmann takes *falso* as 'illegal,' *i.e.* brought about by illegal exactions and illegal rates of interest.

cohortes] A cohort had 600 men. Cicero had two legions = 12,000 men in Cilicia: cp. Plut. Cic. 36.

locum] Klotz and Baiter omit *locum*, because Nonius, in quoting the passage (p. 264), does so.

castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium faceret. 3. Quod cum ab illo diligenter esset actum, ego in castra a. d. VII. Kal. Septembr. veni, cum interea superioribus diebus ex senatus consulto et evocatorum firmam manum et equitatum sane idoneum et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim cum exercitu lustrato iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem III Kal. Septembr., legati a rege Commageno ad me missi pertumultuose, neque tamen non vere, Parthos in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt. 4. Quo audito vehementer sum commotus cum de Syria tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demisissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem—duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria, quorum uterque parvis praesidiis propter angustias intercludi potest, nec est quidquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius—sed me Cappadocia movebat, quae patet a Syria regesque habet finitimos, qui, etiam si sunt clam amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer et Cappadociam tenens nova finitimorum consilia impedirem. 5. Interea in hoc tanto motu tantaque exspectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus, cui non sine causa plurimum semper et meo et tuo et senatus iudicio tributum est, vir cum benevolentia et fide erga populum Romanum singulari tum praestanti magnitudine et animi et consilii, legatos ad me misit se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cuius ego studio officioque commotus egi ei per litteras gratias, idque ut maturaret hortatus

3. *evocatorum*] cp. Fam. iii. 6, 5, Ep. ccxiii.

III. Kal. Sept.] Cicero started from the camp in Iconium Prid. Kal. Sept. (Fam iii. 6, 6, Ep. ccxiii.), in which passage, by the way, he makes no mention of these ambassadors. From Fam. xv. 3, 1, Ep. ccxii., we learn that they arrived, III. Kal. Sept. (for we must certainly correct *Non.* of the MSS into *Kal.* with Manutius). Accordingly we supply III. here with the editors.

pertumultuose . . . vere] 'in the wildest state of alarm, yet with a certain amount of truth.'

4. *me . . . demisissem*] 'descended': cp. Caes. B. G., vi. 40, 6.

clam] So Or., Kl., Btr., instead of *etiam*, which Hofm. retains in the sense of 'still.'

nova finitimorum consilia] *e.g.* Artavasdes, Fam. xv. 2, 2, Ep. ccxix.

5. *praestanti magnitudine*] Kl., Btr., and Wes. all adopt this reading of Cratander instead of *praesentia, magnitudine*, which is read by Man., Schütz, and Billerbeck, after the MSS. No doubt, as Schütz says, *praesentia animi* and *magnitudo animi* are different ideas, and may well be both emphasised; but the asyndeton is awkward with genitives following.

sum. 6. Cum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus, regem Ariobarzanem, cuius salutem a senatu te auctore commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis nec opinantem liberavi, neque solum ei saluti fui, sed etiam curavi ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram et eum quem tu mihi diligenter commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exsilio multatos, *in* maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui. Cumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, *ego* tuto iis, qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci, ut e regno ille discederet rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis omni auctoritate aulae communita regnum cum dignitate obtineret. 7. Interea cognovi multorum litteris atque nuntiis magnas Parthorum copias *atque* Arabum ad oppidum Antiochiam accessisse magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transisset, ab equitum meorum turmis et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaneae praesidii causa, occidione occisum. Qua re cum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias aversas non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae, quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum

6. *propter rationem belli*] 'according to the plan of the campaign': cp. Prov. Cons. 35.

importunitate] 'savage hostility,' a very strong word: cp. Clu. 195. There is an idea of unnaturalness about it. The derivation is from *in* and *portus*, what is unfavourable to one's reaching one's goal: cp. Reid on Sull. 66. Athenais was the queen-mother.

in maxima auctoritate] 'in the greatest influence and favour with the king. It is absolutely necessary to add *in* (which might easily have dropped out before *m*), as has been done by all editors since C. F. Müller. Hofm. compares 2 Verr. i. 77, *cum tibi quaestoris in loco constitueras*; Petit. Cons. 37, Ep. xii.; Ov. Met. v. 319.

sacerdos] The temple of Comana was said to have been dedicated by Orestes to Artemis Taurica (also called Tanaitis, Enyo, Bellona). Its chief priest was the second man in the kingdom of Cappadocia, and complete master of the goods and slaves belonging to the temple. Strabo (xii. 558) says the latter, called ἱερόδουλοι, were no fewer than 6000. Pompeius established Archelaus in the priesthood (App. Mithr. 114); afterwards Caesar gave Nicomedes the position: cp. Bell. Alex. 66, *Comana . . . vetustissimum et sanctissimum in Cappadocia Bellonae templum quod tanta religione colitur ut sacerdos eius deae maiestate imperio et potentia secundus a rege consensu gentis illius habeatur*. Appian (*l. c.*) says the priesthood was virtually δυναστεία βασιλική: cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv. 144.

ego tuto] The apodosis evidently begins after *paratus*; and as a comparatively long protasis has preceded, a subject to the principal verb is required. We have accordingly ventured to read *ego* for *et* of the MSS, as Cicero is not averse to the use of this personal pronoun. We also read *tuto* with H, Hittorp., Pal. Sext., and Erf., 'I, without any damage having befallen the revolutionists, brought it to pass that the priest left the kingdom.' By effecting that the chief of the revolt should leave the kingdom, he averted the revolt without any bloodshed. For the various attempts to correct the MSS reading, see Adn. Crit.

7. *et a cohorte praetoria*] At this time each independent commander had his special body-guard (*cohors praetoria*): cp. Fam. x. 30, 1, *Antonius legiones eduxit duas*

duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochia recessisse, Bibulum Antiochiae esse cognovi: Deiotarum confestim iam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu et cum omnibus suis copiis certiorem feci non videri esse causam cur abesset a regno, meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim litteras nuntiosque missurum esse. 8. Cumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae, si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem, tum id, quod iam ante statueram vehementer interesse utriusque provinciae, pacare Amanum et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexi. Cumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem et alias partes Ciliciae petere abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei et castra apud Epiphaneam fecissem, a. d. IIII. Idus Octobres, cum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut a. d. III. Idus Octobres, cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisqne cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Q. frater legatus mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinus legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tullius legati praeessent, plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus, qui occisi captique sunt, interclusi fuga. Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorim, acriter et diu repugnantes, Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus castellaque vi capta complura incendimus. 9. His rebus ita gestis castra in radicibus Amani

. . . *et cohortes praetorias duas unam suam, alteram Silani* (who was only a military tribune) . . . *Legionem Martiam . . . et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis* (each consul accordingly had his *cohors praetoria*) . . . *In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est:* cp. Sall. Cat. 60, Marquardt ii[2] 402 ff.

ab Antiochia recessisse] Cicero does not here mention that the retreat was due to the conduct of Cassius, though he does so to Atticus, v. 20, 3, Ep. ccxxviii. According to Fam. iii. 8, 10, Ep. ccxxii., Cicero advanced from Tarsus to Mount Amanus, Non. Oct., and on viii. Id. Oct. was at Mopsuhestia, a town at the foot of that mountain. Meanwhile Cassius, who had been left by Bibulus in command in Syria, defeated the Parthians before Antiochia, about prid. Non. Oct.

8. *perpetuum hostem*] cp. *sempiterni hostes*, Fam. ii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxvi.; Att. v. 20, 3, Ep. ccxxviii.

interclusi fuga] 'shut off as they were from flight.'

Eranam . . . Commorim] Of these towns on Mt. Amanus we do not hear elsewhere. Possibly instead of *Eranam* we should read *Amanam:* the chief town of the mountain might be so called.

repugnantes] So Btr. and Wes. (*Em. Alt.* 52). Klotz. marks a lacuna, while Orelli adds *hostibus*. Wes. does not object so much to *iis* being omitted (cp. Caes. B. C. i. 30, 3; B. G. iv. 12, 2), as to the fact that there is here no necessity that the participial sentence should be separated from the principal one: cp. Madv. § 428, Obs. 1.

ex antelucano] This rare word is found elsewhere in Cicero, Tusc., iv. 44; Cat. ii. 22.

vi capta] So Madvig (Opusc. ii. 273) ingeniously for *sex* (vi.) of the MSS.

habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quadriduum, et in reliquiis Amani delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars eius montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumpsimus. 10. Confectis his rebus ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum Pindenissum exercitum abduxi: quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem umquam paruissent, cum et fugitivos reciperent et Parthorum adventum acerrime exspectarent, ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam, quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circumdedi, sex castellis castrisque maximis saepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumptuve sociorum, septimo quinquagensimo die rem confeci, ut omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis aut incensis compulsi in potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tebarani: ab iis Pindenisso capto obsides accepi: exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male pacatis exercitus collocaretur. 11. Nunc velim sic tibi persuadeas, si de iis rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu honorem meum sententia tua comprobaris. Idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius te a me quam rogandum puto. Tu es enim is, qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti, qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in contionibus ad caelum extulisti, cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo cum mea laude coniuncto omnia adsequi me arbitrarer. Te denique memini, cum cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro supplicationem non decerneres, dicere te decreturum,

9. *Aras Alexandri*] cp. Fam. ii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxvi.; Curt. iii. 33.

10. *abduxi*] So Wes. (*Em. Alt.* 52) thinks we should read; for in relating the same event in Fam. ii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxvi., Cicero says *abduxi*, and in Att. v. 20, 3, Ep. ccxxviii., *inde discessimus*.

compulsi] 'pressed to extremities': cp. Prov. Cos. 33.

11. *admonendum a me*] The abl. with *a* after the gerundive is not very unusual in Cicero's speeches and letters, but rare in other writers. Generally the agent is denoted by a personal pronoun, but not always, *e.g.* Fin. ii. 30: cp. Reid on Sull. 23; Roby, § 1147.

praedicatione] 'commendation.' The sentence is a climax, 'by the language you used, by your commendation, and by your high panegyrics.'

clarissimo atque optimo viro] Generally taken to be Lentulus Spinther, the predecessor of Appius as governor of Cilicia. When the motion for a *supplicatio* in honour of his provincial administration was advanced, Cato opposed it, saying he would

si referretur ob eas res, quas is consul in urbe gessisset. Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato, non ut multis, re publica bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, republica conservata. 12. Mitto quod invidiam, quod pericula, quod omnes meas tempestates et subieris et multo etiam magis, si per me licuisset, subire paratissimus fueris, quod denique inimicum meum tuum inimicum putaris: cuius etiam interitum, *ut* facile intellegerem mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis causa in senatu defendenda approbaris. A me autem haec sunt *in te* profecta, quae ego in beneficii loco non pono, sed in veri testimonii atque iudicii, ut praestantissimas tuas virtutes non tacitus admirarer—quis enim non facit?—sed in omnibus orationibus, sententiis dicendis, causis agendis, omnibus scriptis, Graecis Latinis, omni denique varietate litterarum mearum, te *non* modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus audissemus, omnibus anteferrem. 13. Quaeres fortasse quid sit quod ego<hoc nescio quid> gratulationis et honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam iam tecum familiariter, ut est et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis et summa amicitia dignum et necessitudine etiam paterna. Si quisquam fuit umquam remotus et natura et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consulatus meus, in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset, ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam putavi expetendam. Itaque et provinciam ornatam et spem non dubiam

support it if the ground of the *supplicatio* were the good services which Lentulus, as consul, did the State in advocating Cicero's recall.

12. *Mitto quod subieris*] It is rare to find the subj. after this *quod:* the indicative is the ordinary construction: cp. Clu. 189.

Milonis causa . . . defendenda] cp. Asconius in Mil. p. 53, Or., *Fuerunt qui crederent M. Catonis sententia eum* (sc. *Milonem*) *esse absolutum.*

in te] We have added these words after Kleyn and Wes.: cp. Fam. iii. 1, 1, Ep. clxxxi.; v. 5, 2.

sententiis . . . agendis] 'whether I speak in the senate or plead at the bar.'

non modo . . . audissemus] 'When a transition from greater to lesser things is to be expressed we usually find *non modo . . . sed* without *etiam:* cp. Leg. Manil. 66; Sest. 45,' Zumpt, Gramm. § 724: cp. also Holden on Planc. 78, 81, who shows that the ellipse is *non* (*dicam*).

13. *honoris a senatu*] Two substantives can be united by a preposition without a participle, when the second gives the origin of the first: cp. Liv. i. 21, 3; xxviii. 15, 4; xxxii. 23, 9.

et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis] 'our common interests and duties.'

necessitudine etiam paterna] 'the close intimacy too of our fathers.'

Si quisquam . . . profecto is sum] This vanity is just the one fault of which even his warmest admirers are unable to acquit Cicero.

ratione et doctrina] 'my course of thought and study.'

gloriam per se] 'praise without merit,' 'mere praise.'

provinciam ornatam] sc. Gallia Citerior,

triumphi neglexi: sacerdotium denique, cum—quem ad modum te existimare arbitror—non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem post iniuriam acceptam—quam tu rei publicae calamitatem semper appellas, meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam—studui quam ornatissima senatus populique Romani de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram, et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim, nunc mihi expetendum puto. 14. Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desiderii ad sanandum vulnus iniuriae, ut faveas adiutorque sis, quod paullo ante me negaram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo, sed ita si non ieiunum hoc nescio quid, quod ego gessi, et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tantum, ut multi nequaquam paribus rebus honores summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem etiam illud mihi animum advertisse videor—scis enim quam attente te audire soleam—te non tam res gestas quam mores, instituta atque vitam imperatorum spectare solere in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa considerabis, reperies me exercitu imbecillo contra metum maximi belli firmissimum praesidium habuisse aequitatem et continentiam. His ego subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis legionibus consequi potuissem, ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem animosque novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos ad veteris imperii benevolentiam traducerem. 15. Sed nimis haec

'quam in concione deposuerat, Fam. v. 2, 3, Ep. xiv.' (Manut.)

sacerdotium] sc. the augurate. Cicero was elected into the place of Crassus, killed at Carrhae 700 (54): cp. Phil. ii. 4; Brut. 1.

non appetivi] yet cp. Att. ii. 5, 2, Ep. xxxii., *auguratus . . . quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum.*

Idem] 'yet for all that.'

intercedere] 'to be on record,' lit. 'come to pass.'

14. *ieiunum*] 'meagre,' 'paltry.'

sed tale . . . consecuti sint] 'but more signal and extensive by far than those for which many generals have obtained the highest honours from the senate.'

mores instituta atque vitam] 'With three or more perfectly co-ordinate words, *e.g.* summa fide, constantia, diligentiaque, we may omit the conjunction between the first members and annex *que* to the last, but we must avoid in this case using *et*, *ac*, or *atque*, unless with a desire to mark the last member as distinct from the rest,' Madv. § 434, note 1: cp. Roby, § 2202. Hofmann, however, compares Att. i. 20, 1, Ep. xxvi. (a passage generally corrected by editors); Fam. xvi. 11, 2; De Orat. iii. 113. For a lengthened discussion on exceptions to this rule, cp. Wesenberg, *Em. Alt.*, p. 53; Madvig. on Fin. iv. 56.

exercitu imbecillo] This is the reading in the margin of M, and is probably right, as it forms a good antithesis to *firmissimum*. The reading of the MSS, viz. *imbello*, points to *imbelli*, but Cicero's army was weak in numbers, not in efficiency.

animosque novarum . . . traducerem] 'and their excited minds, which were on the tip-toe of expectation of revolution, I changed to kindly feelings towards the old rule.'

multa de me, praesertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum querellae audiuntur: cognosces ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant, cumque omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur: puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam maiora sunt et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt qui suas cupiditates quam qui hostium copias vincerent, est profecto tuum, cum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adiunxeris, ipsas etiam illas res gestas illustriores esse et maiores putare. 16. Extremum illud est, ut quasi diffidens rogationi meae philosophiam ad te allegem, qua nec mihi carior ulla umquam res in vita fuit nec hominum generi maius a deis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti soli prope modum nos philosophiam veram illam et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidiae videtur, in forum atque in rem publicam atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus,

15. *recreatos*] 'have got a new life.'

Cyprus] This island was taken from King Ptolemy in 696 (58) by Cato, who was entrusted with this duty on the motion of Clodius. Hence, as the commander who annexed it to the Roman dominions, Cato became its patron: cp. Fin. iv. 56; just as the Marcelli were patrons of Sicily and the elder Cato of the Spaniards. Why the younger Cato is here spoken of as patron of the Cappadocians is not so plain. Manutius, says Cato, had a personal regard for Ariobarzanes, and urged in the Senate his being recommended to Cicero. Hofmann thinks his interest was on account of his nephew Brutus, who had lent large sums of money to Ariobarzanes.

et in omnibus . . . vincerent] A commonplace in all ages. Manutius refers to Xenophon, Agesil. 8, 8, *καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων. πολὺ μέν τοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τό τὴν αὑτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου*: cp. *Bis vincit in victoria qui se ipsum vincit:* also the fine passage in Green's *Short History*, p. 586, about the New Model after the Restoration, beginning: 'But none of the victories of the New Model were so glorious as the victory which it won over itself.'

illustriores] The MSS give *iustiores;* but though *iustus* is often used of anything which fully answers to its idea, and is frequently so used in reference to military affairs, as *iusta acies, caedes, victoria,* yet it could hardly be applied to such a colourless word as 'events,' or 'exploits,' *res gestae.* Manutius reads *illustriores.*

16. *Extremum illud est*] 'the last thing I have to say is that, as it were distrusting the efficacy of my request, I am sending to you to plead for me our philosophy, than which there is nothing I hold dearer in this life, nor has a greater boon than it been given by the gods to mankind. Yes, this companionship which exists between us in our studies and pursuits—pursuits to which we have been so devoted and bound that we have almost brought that genuine philosophy of the ancient times, which seems to some to be a sign of an idle and indolent life, to the bar, to political life, almost to the very battle-field—is pleading with you on behalf of my renown, and I do not think that a Cato can in conscience refuse to give ear to it.' *Allegare* is used of private missions: *legare* of public ones.

tecum agit de mea laude, cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quam ob rem tibi sic persuadeas velim si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis litteris fuerit, me sic existimaturum, cum auctoritate tua tum benevolentia erga me mihi quod maxime cupierim contigisse.

CCXXXIX. CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS THE CONSUL (FAM. XV. 10).

JANUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Marcello cos. existimationem suam in decernenda supplicatione diligenter commendat.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. MARCELLO C. F. COS.

1. Quoniam id accidit, quod mihi maxime fuit optatum, ut omnium Marcellorum, Marcellinorum etiam—mirificus enim generis ac nominis vestri fuit erga me semper animus—quoniam ergo ita accidit, ut omnium vestrum studio tuus consulatus satis facere posset, in quem meae res gestae lausque et honos earum potissimum incideret, peto a te id, quod facillimum factu est non aspernante, ut confido, senatu, ut quam honorificentissime senatus consultum litteris meis recitatis faciundum cures. 2. Si mihi tecum minus esset quam est cum tuis omnibus, allegarem ad te illos, a quibus intellegis me praecipue diligi. Patris tui beneficia in me sunt amplissima: neque enim saluti meae neque honori amicior quisquam dici potest. Frater tuus quanti me faciat semperque fecerit esse hominem qui ignoret arbitror neminem. Domus tua denique tota me semper omnibus summis officiis prosecuta est. Neque

1. *Quoniam*] 'Since what I have especially longed for has come to pass, that all the Marcelli and Marcellini too—for the kindly feelings towards me of those of your family and name have always been most remarkable—well then, since it *has* come to pass that all of you can gratify your wish owing to your holding the consulship, and as my exploits and the praise and distinction attaching to them are coincident therewith, I beg of you, &c.' For the Marcelli see note on Fam. xv. 7, Ep. ccxiv. *Ergo* is resumptive after a parenthesis, as in Tusc. i. 14 (Kühner), Fin. ii. 113.

2. *allegarem*] cp. note to Fam. xv. 4, 13, Ep. ccxxxviii.

me . . . prosecuta est] 'has always supported me with every kind of valuable service': cp. Planc. 73, *me animo, corpore, copiis prosecutus esses*.

vero tu in me diligendo cuiquam concessisti tuorum. Qua re a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me per te quam ornatissimum velis esse meamque et in supplicatione decernenda et in ceteris rebus existimationem satis tibi esse commendatam putes.

CCXL. CICERO TO L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS THE CONSUL (FAM. XV. 13).

JANUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero a L. Paullo cos. petit, ut supplicationes sibi decernat, omninoque suam existimationem commendat.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. L. PAULLO COS.

1. Maxime mihi fuit optatum Romae esse tecum multas ob causas, sed praecipue, ut et in petendo et in gerendo consulatu meum tibi debitum studium perspicere posses. Ac petitionis quidem tuae ratio mihi semper fuit explorata, sed tamen navare operam volebam. In consulatu vero cupio equidem te minus habere negotii, sed moleste fero me consulem tuum studium adolescentis perspexisse, te meum, cum id aetatis sim, perspicere non posse. 2. Sed ita fato nescio quo contigisse arbitror, ut tibi ad me ornandum semper detur facultas, mihi ad *te* remunerandum nihil suppetat praeter voluntatem. Ornasti consulatum, ornasti reditum meum. Incidit meum tempus rerum gerendarum in ipsum consulatum tuum. Itaque cum et tua summa amplitudo et dignitas et meus magnus honos magnaque existimatio postulare videatur, ut a te plurimis verbis contendam ac petam, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus consultum de meis rebus gestis faciun-

1. *Ac petitionis . . . volebam*] 'And the question of your candidature always was to me a matter of certainty, yet, however, I wished to lend my aid': cp. Mur. 49, *ut si iam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur*.

me . . . non posse] 'but I am annoyed that while I experienced to the full your zealous help when you were young, you were not able to experience mine in my now advanced years': for *tuum adolescentis*, cp. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 23; Phil. ii. 111, *tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus*. For *id aetatis*, a loose expression, length of time instead of point of time, cp. Roby, § 1092, who quotes De Orat. i. 207, *quoniam id nobis hominibus id aetatis oneris ab horum adolescentium studiis imponitur*: cp. Madv. § 238.

2. *ornandum*] 'add honour to.'

dum cures, non audeo vehementer a te contendere, ne aut ipse tuae perpetuae consuetudinis erga me oblitus esse videar aut te oblitum putem. 3. Qua re, ut te velle arbitror, ita faciam, atque ab eo, quem omnes gentes sciunt de me optime meritum, breviter petam. Si alii consules essent, ad te potissimum, Paulle, mitterem ut eos mihi quam amicissimos redderes. Nunc, cum tua summa potestas summaque auctoritas notaque omnibus nostra necessitudo sit, vehementer te rogo, ut et quam honorficentissime cures decernendum de meis rebus gestis et quam celerrime; dignas res esse honore et gratulatione cognosces ex iis litteris, quas ad te et collegam et senatum publice misi. Omniumque mearum reliquarum rerum maximeque existimationis meae procurationem susceptam velim habeas. In primisque tibi curae sit, quod abs te superioribus quoque litteris petivi, ne mihi tempus prorogetur. Cupio te consulem videre omniaque, quae spero, cum absens tum etiam praesens te consule adsequi.

CCXLI. CICERO TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, PROQUAESTOR OF SYRIA (FAM. XV. 14).

JANUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Cassio Fadium commendanti se etiam hominis ipsius causa satis facturum pollicetur: sibi non contigisse dolet ut eum e provincia redeuntem videret: rogat ut operam det ne sibi tempus provinciae prorogetur.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. CASSIO PRO Q.

1. M. Fadium quod mihi amicum tua commendatione das, nullum in eo facio quaestum. Multi enim anni sunt, cum ille

3. *omniumque . . . habeas*] 'I hope you will undertake to look after all my remaining interests, and above all, my reputation.' For *procurare = administrare*, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 9, 3, Ep. clx., *reipublicae statu in quo etiam si nihil procuro tamen nihil curare vix possum.*

C. CASSIO] This Cassius, who afterwards conspired against Caesar, and whom Shakespeare (Jul. Caes. v. 1, 63) dignifies as 'the sun of Rome,' was quaestor of Crassus. After the death of the latter he commanded the remains of the Roman army in Syria as *proquaestor propraetore*: cp. for the title Fam. xii. 15, init. It was not unusual for the quaestor to hold such a position; Cicero himself on his departure from Cilicia left it to his quaestor Caelius (Fam. ii. 15, 4, Ep. cclxxiii.: cp. Marquardt, i. 530). Cassius, as we have seen (Fam. ii. 10, 2, Ep. ccxxv.: cp. Phil. xi. 35), defeated the Parthians under Pacorus before Antioch.

1. *M. Fadium*] sc. *Gallum*, to whom Cicero addressed Fam. vii. 23–26. He wrote a panegyric on Cato of Utica (Fam. vii. 24, 2).

nullum . . . quaestum] 'I get no gain in him.'

in aere meo est et a me diligitur propter summam suam humanitatem et observantiam. Sed tamen, quod *te* ab eo egregie diligi sensi, multo amicior ei sum factus. Itaque quamquam *aliquid* profecerunt litterae tuae, tamen aliquanto plus commendationis apud me habuit animus ipsius erga te mihi perspectus et cognitus. 2. Sed de Fadio faciemus studiose quae rogas: tu multis de causis vellem me convenire potuisses: primum ut te, quem iam diu plurimi facio, tanto intervallo viderem, deinde ut tibi, quod feci per litteras, possem praesens gratulari, tum ut, quibus de rebus vellemus, tu tuis, ego meis inter nos communicaremus, postremo ut amicitia nostra, quae summis officiis ab utroque culta est, sed longis intervallis temporum interruptam consuetudinem habuit, confirmaretur vehementius. 3. Id quoniam non accidit, utemur bono litterarum et eadem fere absentes, quae, si coram essemus, consequemur. Unus scilicet animi fructus, qui in te videndo est, percipi litteris non potest: alter gratulationis, est is quidem exilior, quam si tibi te ipsum intuens gratularer, sed tamen et feci antea et facio nunc tibique cum pro rerum magnitudine, quas gessisti, tum pro opportunitate temporis gratulor, quod te de provincia decedentem summa laus et summa gratia provinciae prosecuta est. 4. Tertium est ut id, quod de nostris rebus coram communicassemus inter nos, conficiamus idem litteris. Ego ceterarum rerum causa tibi Romam properandum magno opere censeo. Nam et ea, quae reliqui, tranquilla de te erant et hac tua recenti

in aere meo est] cp. Fam. xiii. 62, 1, Ep. ccxxxiv.

humanitatem et observantiam] 'kindliness and respect.'

quamquam aliquid profecerunt] We have added *aliquid* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.*, p. 54), who justly objects to *proficere* used absolutely in Cicero (Plancius uses it thus in Fam. x. 15, 2), and notices besides that the next clause points to the omission of some such word.

2. *consuetudinem*] 'continuity.'

3. *bono litterarum*] 'what advantage letters afford.' We do not know any closer parallel than such expressions as *bona animi*, *corporis*, &c.

consequemur] Wesenberg (*Em.*, p. 128) reads *consequeremur* with the MSS, quoting as examples of a principal verb attracted into a subordinate clause, Att. i. 15, 1, Ep. xxi. (*nuntiarint*); Fam. i. 9, 23, Ep. cliii. (*delectarunt*); vi. 4, 3 (*mitigavit*); vi. 18, 5 (*videbis*); vii. 24, 1 (*observor*). But none of these attractions is nearly so harsh as that of the present passage would be.

animi] So Orelli conjectured for *uni* of the MSS, 'one crop of heartfelt pleasure, indeed, that of looking on your face, cannot be garnered in letters.' For *percipere*. in the technical sense of 'gathering in' the harvest, see De Sen. 24; N.D. ii. 156.

prosecuta est] 'has followed you,' commonly used of following for the purpose of paying honour to one.

4. *ea quae reliqui*] 'the state of affairs I left behind was a complete calm as far as you were concerned,' *i. e.* there were no bad reports or bitter expressions about Cassius, who himself on other occasions 'was much condemned to have an itching palm.'

victoria tanta clarum tuum adventum fore intellego. Sed si quae sunt onera tuorum, si tanta sunt, ut ea sustinere possis, propera: nihil tibi erit lautius, nihil gloriosius: sin maiora, considera ne in alienissimum tempus cadat adventus tuus. Huius rei totum consilium tuum est: tu enim scis quid sustinere possis. Si potes, laudabile atque populare est: sin plane non potes, absens hominum sermones facilius sustinebis. 5. De me autem idem tecum his ago litteris, quod superioribus egi, ut omnes tuos nervos in eo contendas, ne quid mihi ad hanc provinciam, quam et senatus et populus annuam esse voluit, temporis prorogetur. Hoc a te ita contendo, ut in eo fortunas meas positas putem. Habes Paullum nostrum nostri cupidissimum: est Curio, est Furnius. Sic velim enitare, quasi in eo sint mihi omnia. 6. Extremum illud est de iis, quae proposueram, confirmatio nostrae amicitiae, de qua pluribus verbis nihil opus est. Tu puer me appetisti, ego autem semper ornamento te mihi fore duxi. Fuisti etiam praesidio tristissimis meis temporibus. Accessit post tuum discessum familiaritas mihi cum Bruto tuo maxima. Itaque in vestro ingenio et industria mihi plurimum et suavitatis et dignitatis constitutum puto. Id tu ut tuo studio confirmes, te vehementer rogo litterasque ad me et continuo mittas et, cum Romam veneris, quam saepissime.

onera tuorum] *i. e.* prosecutions of his friends (and especially of his brother, Q. Cassius, who had been quaestor of Pompeius), for extortion and such like offences.

populare] 'which will please the people.'

5. *Furnius*] Cicero always looked to Furnius to prevent his own tenure of office being extended, though he was not satisfied with the bill brought in on the point (cp. Att. v. 2, 1, Ep. clxxxv.; 18, 3, Ep. ccxiv.; vi. 1, 11, Ep. cclii.). Furnius did good service to Cicero in advocating his triumph, Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvii. In the civil war he appears on the side of Caesar, Att. ix. 6, 6.

6. *Bruto tuo*] Cassius married a sister of Brutus.

Itaque . . . puto] 'accordingly, I think that in your talents and exertions I have a very large fund of pleasant intercourse and renown stored up for my enjoyment.' The talents and exertions of Cassius will procure Cicero's speedy return, and thereby restore him to his friends and to the proper sphere in which he can win real renown.

CCXLII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VIII. 6).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Caelius Appium a Dolabella accusatum maximam scribit spem in M. Cicerone habere: de adfinitate cum Dolabella iungenda, de re publica.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Non dubito quin perlatum ad te sit, Appium a Dolabella reum factum: sane quam non ea, qua existimaveram, invidia. Neque enim stulte Appius: qui, simul atque Dolabella accessit ad tribunal, introierat in urbem triumphique postulationem abiecerat. Quo facto rettudit sermones paratiorque visus est quam speraverat accusator. Is nunc in te maximam spem habet. Scio tibi eum non esse odio. Quam velis eum obligare in tua manu est: cum quo *si* simultas tibi non fuisset, liberius tibi de tota re esset. Nunc si ad illam summam veritatem legitimum ius exegeris, cavendum tibi erit ne parum simpliciter et candide *de*posuisse inimicitias videaris. In hanc partem porro tutum tibi erit, si quid volueris, gratificari: nemo enim necessitudine et amicitia te deter-

1. *reum factum*] sc. of *maiestas*, evidently owing to something connected with the province. Zumpt (*Criminalrecht*, ii. 1, 386) thinks the formal ground was perhaps because Appius went to his province without the *Lex curiata de imperio*. The defence was conducted by Hortensius and Brutus, and the result was a complete acquittal (Brut. 230, 324; Fam. iii. 11, 3, Ep. cclxv.).

sane quam] cp. Fam. viii. 10, 1, Ep. ccxxvi.

Appius] sc. *fecit*. For ellipse in Cicero's letters, see Dräger, § 116, and for some striking examples, see Introd. to I², p. 70.

rettudit] 'took the edge off': cp. Liv. xxxiii. 31, 8: *si Aetolorum linguas retundere vellent*.

odio] 'enmity': *simultas*, 'grudge.'

cum quo] Lewis and Short say that where *cum* is emphatic or a demonstrative pronoun understood, *cum* is placed before the relative: cp. Off. ii. 82, *adhibuit sibi in consilium quindecim principes cum quibus* (i. e. *et cum iis*) *causas cognovit*.

liberius] 'you could have acted more independently in the whole matter.' Cicero would have said *magis integrum tibi esset* Pluygers proposes to add *iudicium* after *esset*.

veritatem] 'now if you wish to enact your full legal rights according to the standard of "absolute rectitude."' The inverted commas represent *illam*.

parum simpliciter et candide] 'with some lack of straightforwardness and sincerity.'

necessitudine] Cicero was formally reconciled to Appius; but could not be thought likely to show him any partiality.

ritum ab officio dicet. Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem et nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit. 2. Quid mihi discedens mandaris memini: quid ego tibi scripserim te non arbitror oblitum. Non est iam tempus plura narrandi. Unum illud monere te possum: si res tibi non displicebit, tamen hoc tempore nihil de tua voluntate ostendas et exspectes quem ad modum exeat ex hac causa: vide ne qua invidiosum tibi sit, si emanarit; porro, *si* significatio ulla intercesserit, clarius quam deceat aut expediat fiat. Neque ille tacere eam rem poterit, quae suae spei tam opportuna acciderit quaeque in negotio conficiendo tanto illustrior erit: cum praesertim is sit qui, si perniciosum sciret esse loqui de hac re, vix tamen se contineret. 3. Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterum utrum de filiis ad te missurum. Hic nos omnes absolvimus, et hercules consaepta omnia foeda et inhonesta sunt. Consules autem habemus summa diligentia: adhuc senatus consultum nisi de feriis Latinis nullum facere potuerunt. Curioni nostro tribunatus conglaciat. 4. Sed dici non potest quo modo hic omnia iaceant.

postulationem] cp. Fam. viii. 8, 2, Ep. ccxxiii.

2. *Quid . . . mandaris*] sc. about choosing a husband for Tullia.

quid . . . scripserim] Possibly, as Mr. Watson says, Caelius had suggested Dolabella as a suitable husband for Tullia.

ostendas] without *ut*, as often after verbs of warning, Cat. ii. 20. For *et*, where we should say 'but,' in an affirmative proposition following a negative one, and continuing the same thought, see Madvig, § 433, Obs. 2, Reid on Amic. 30.

vide ne qua] So we read with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 19) for *denique* of the MSS. Mr. Watson translates, 'In a word it would bring you into disrepute if it were divulged'; but his reference to Madvig, 347 b, does not justify the subj. in this sense following the fut. perf. indicative. Lehmann (p. 40), puts the full stop after *denique:* cp. Plaut. Trin. iv. 2, 93; Ter. Phorm. ii. 2, 11. The implication in *deceat* is that it would not be respectable, after being reconciled with Appius, to connect himself with Appius' accuser.

quaeque . . . erit] 'and which will bring more glory on him while the business (*i. e.* prosecution) is being carried through.'

cum praesertim is sit] 'since he is just that sort of person.'

3. *alterum utrum*] Pompeius' two sons were Gnaeus and Sextus. The former was killed at Munda, 709 (45); the latter was the great admiral who was killed in 719 (35), aged 39; he was accordingly 24 at this time.

et hercules . . . inhonesta sunt] 'every scandalous and dishonest charge is carefully fenced off,' *i. e.* they have managed that no scandalous charge against Appius will be able to be substantiated. C. F. Hermann reads *foedere inhonesto*, 'by a scandalous league.' Kleyn, whom Streicher (p. 212) follows, makes a wholesale alteration: *Hic nos omnes obsolevimus, consopita omnia foede et inhoneste.*

nisi de feriis Latinis] which would be the merest formality: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4, 4, Ep. cv.

conglaciat. Sed] Lehmann (p. 39), objecting that there is no opposition in *sed* to what goes before, reads *conglaciat se: dici non potest*, quoting for *conglaciare* used transitively Plin. H. N., ii. 152. But *conglaciare* is used intransitively in Cic. N. D., ii. 26; and *sed* means 'but why go into details? the long and the short of it is, that words cannot express the stagnation of everything here.' For *con-*

Nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem, veternus civitatem occupasset. Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore rigescimus. Tamen, quoquo modo potuit, sine Parthis Bibulus in Amano nescio quid cohorticularum amisit. Hoc sic nuntiatum est.

5. Quod tibi supra scripsi Curionem valde frigere, iam calet: nam ferventissime concerpitur. Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Caesare loqui coepit, legemque viariam, non dissimilem agrariae Rulli, et

glaciat, cp. *congelasse*, Fam. ii. 13, 3, Ep. cclvii.; and for *iaceant*, Att. vii. 23, 3.

4. *tabernariis*] 'shop-keepers,' as Manutius says. The *tabernarii* evidently bribed the managers of the public water supply to allow water to be turned on for private use: cp. Frontinus De Aquaeductibus 75 (quoted by Manutius), *Causa est fraus aquariorum quos aquas ex publicis ductibus in privatorum usum derivare deprehendimus. Sed et plerique possessorum, et quorum agris aquae circumducuntur, fraude formas rivorum* (i. e. the pipes) *perforant; unde fit, ut ductus publici hominibus privatis vel ad hortorum usum subserviant vel ad itinera suspendant. Ac de vitiis eiusmodi nec plura nec meliora dici possunt quam a Caelio Rufo dicta sunt in ea concione cui titulus est De Aquis. Quae nunc nos omnes simili licentia usurpata utinam non per offensas probaremus. Irriguos agros, tabernas, coenacula et corruptelas denique omnes perpetuis salientibus instructas invenimus.*

veternus] 'lethargy'; not found in Cic.

rigescimus] So all edd. for *frigescimus* of the MSS. The error arose from the final E of *frigore* getting attached to the next word: cp. Wesenberg (*Em.* p. 102). Lehmann retains the MS reading (p. 86).

quoquo modo potuit] After *modo* the MSS have *hic omnia iaceant*, which has got repeated from a few lines above. For similar repetitions see Streicher, p. 157. The editors who retain the insertion mostly punctuate *Tamen quoquo modo hic omnia iaceant potuit sine Parthis. Bibulus*, &c., *i. e.* for all that, no matter how stagnant we be here, we could get on very well without the excitement of a Parthian invasion: *potuit* = *potuit fieri*, 'it could be got on.' For *fieri* understood after *possum*, cp. Reid on Acad. ii. 121. But for this sense we should require *iacent*, not the subjunctive.

5. *Quod tibi*] Here, as Mr. Watson says, a postscript begins. Caelius wrote it with his own hand: cp. Fam. ii. 13, 3, Ep. cclvii., *extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo.*

ferventissime concerpitur] 'he is being cut up to boiling point.' Manutius is justly indignant at this expression, 'Iure sordes verborum in Caelio damnavit antiquitas. Quid enim hoc est *ferventissime concerpitur*.'

de intercalando] This function of intercalation was assigned to the pontifices by the Lex Acilia of 563 (191): cp. Lange, ii. 676; and it was often exercised, or held in abeyance most unjustifiably for political purposes. The intercalary month ought to have been inserted after Febr. 23, in 704 (50). This would have deferred the debate on the consular provinces which was to have been brought forward on Kal. Mart.

legemque viariam . . . Rulli] Mr. Watson rightly supposes that the point of resemblance in the law of Curio to that of Rullus was the extensive and long-continued powers which it would have conferred on its proposer: cp. App. Bell. Civ. ii. 27, who gives the reasons why Curio brought forward these laws, ὁ δὲ Κουρίων ἵνα μὴ ἄφνω μετατιθέμενος γίγνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσηγεῖτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευάς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς εἶναι· εἰδὼς μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδὲν τούτων ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηΐου φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπήϊον ἕξειν τι τοῦτο πρόσκρουμα: also De Lege Agr. ii., *passim*. To defray the expenses of the new roads and their repairs, Curio appears to have proposed that a tax should be laid on those who travelled with a numerous retinue, Att. vi. 1, 25, Ep. cclii.

alimentariam, quae iubet aediles metiri, iactavit. Hoc nondum fecerat, cum priorem partem epistolae scripsi. Amabo te, si quid quod opus fuerit Appio facies, ponito me in gratia. De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves suadeo, et huic rei, de qua loquor, et dignitati tuae aequitatisque opinioni hoc ita facere expedit. Turpe tibi erit pantheras Graecas me non habere.

CCXLIII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 7).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De bello Parthico, de nuptiis Cornificii et filiae Orestillae, de Paullae divortio, de Ocellae adulteriis.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Quam cito tu istinc decedere cupias nescio: ego quidem eo magis, quo adhuc felicius res gessisti, dum istic eris, de belli Parthici periculo cruciabor, ne hunc risum meum metus aliqui perturbet. Breviores has litteras properanti publicanorum tabellario subito dedi: tuo liberto pluribus verbis scriptas pridie dederam. 2. Res autem novae nullae sane acciderunt nisi haec vis tibi scribi, quae certe vis: Cornificius adolescens Orestillae filiam sibi despondit. Paulla Valeria, soror Triarii, divortium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia venturus erat, fecit. Nuptura

alimentariam] The only place in untechnical literature where this word occurs. Lange says (iii. 392) that this law laid on the aediles the duty of inspecting the weights and measures.

iactavit] 'put ostentatiously forward': cp. Liv. v. 53, 2. It was characteristic of Curio to make a great display about any motion he brought forward, Fam. viii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxvi.

rei] sc. the marriage of Tullia.

Graecas] Asia Minor was hellenized since the time of the Diadochi. Caelius had already got African panthers from Curio (Fam. viii. 8, 10, Ep. ccxxiii.). Suringar, and after him Lehmann (p. 58), think (perhaps rightly) the word a gloss on Κιβυράτας; for these panthers are elsewhere alluded to as *Cibyratae pantherae*, e. g. Att. v. 21, 5, Ep. ccl.

1. *gessisti, dum*] So we punctuate with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 19). He argues that if a full stop be placed at *gessisti* we should have *eo citius* instead of *eo magis*. The latter goes with *cruciabor*.

risum] This probably refers to the laughter he is constantly talking about as regards Hirrus, *e.g.* Fam. viii. 3, 1, Ep. cxcvii., or to the general laugh he is perpetually indulging in against the mad world.

pridie] Owing to the epistolary tenses, *dedi* and *dederam*, this word must be translated 'yesterday.'

2. *Orestilla*] Catiline's wife, Sall. Cat. 15.

divortium sine causa] Divorce, without any reason assigned, was quite possible and sometimes practised at this time by

est D. Bruto. Nondum rettulerat. Multa in hoc genere incredibilia te absente acciderunt. Servius Ocella nemini persuasisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset. Quaeres, ubi? *ubi* hercules ego minime vellem. Relinquo tibi quod ab aliis quaeras. Neque enim displicet mihi imperatorem singulos percontari, cum qua sit aliqui deprehensus.

CCXLIV. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (FAM. III. 7).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Appii querellam refellit contraque ipse queritur, et virtutem suam laudans se amicissimum Appio fore confirmat. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO S. D. AP. PULCRO.

1. Pluribus verbis ad te scribam, cum plus otii nactus ero. Haec scripsi subito, cum Bruti pueri Laodiceae me convenissent et se Romam properare dixissent. Itaque nullas iis praeterquam ad te et ad Brutum dedi litteras. 2. Legati Appiani mihi volumen a te plenum querellae iniquissimae reddiderunt, quod eorum aedificationem litteris meis impedissem. Eadem

both sexes: cp. Marquardt, *Privatleben*, pp. 69, 70.

rettulerat] Most editors read *rettulerat;* some supplying *dotem* (Man.) or *res suas* (Wes.), or reading *mundum* for *nondum* (Pantagathus). Some suppose that *rettulerat* means notification to the pontifices of the divorce (Ern. Schütz). Baiter and Klotz read *rettuleram*, 'I had related it.' But Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 19) says that at this time *referre* could not mean *nuntiare*, but only *renuntiare*. The MSS give *rettuleras*, which Orelli strangely explains, 'Have you not yet booked (or 'noted') this?' Manutius, however, highly approves of the attractive conjecture *mundum rettulerat*, 'she at once sent back her whole wardrobe': cp. Liv. xxxiv. 7, 9, *munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt; hunc 'mundum muliebrem' appellarunt maiores nostri.*

Servius Ocella] See Att. x, 10, 4. In Fam ii. 15, 5, Ep. cclxxiii., Cicero complains that Caelius is not explicit enough in this matter.

Quaeres ubi? ubi] The second *ubi* is read by Wesenberg, after a suggestion of Klotz, who proposed *ubi? ibi ubi hercules.*

1. *Laodiceae*] Cicero stayed here from iii. Id. Febr. to Kal. Mart. (Att. vi. 2, 4, Ep. cclvi.).

2. *Appiani*] Appia or Apia was a small town in Phrygia Pacatiana belonging to the assize-district of Synnada (Plin. H. N. v. 105).

volumen] a whole book, not a mere letter.

impedissem] 'hindered as you said'; virtual oblique subj.

autem epistola petebas, ut eos quam primum, ne in hiemen inciderent, ad facultatem aedificandi liberarem, et simul peracute querebare, quod eos tributa exigere vetarem prius quam ego re cognita permisissem: genus enim quoddam fuisse impediendi, cum ego cognoscere non *possem*, nisi cum ad hiemen me ex Cilicia recepissem. 3. Ad omnia accipe et cognosce aequitatem expostulationis tuae. Primum, cum ad me aditum esset ab iis, qui dicerent a se intolerabilia tributa exigi, quid habuit iniquitatis me scribere, ne facerent ante quam ego rem causamque cognossem? Non poteram, credo, ante hiemem: sic enim scribis. Quasi vero ad cognoscendum ego ad illos, non illi ad me venire debuerint. Tam longe? inquis. Quid? cum dabas iis litteras, per quas mecum agebas, ne eos impedirem quo minus ante hiemem aedificarent, non eos ad me venturos arbitrabare? Tametsi id quidem fecerunt ridicule: quas enim litteras adferebant, ut opus aestate facere possent, eas mihi post brumam reddiderunt. Sed scito et multo plures esse qui de tributis recusent quam qui exigi velint, et me tamen, quod te velle existimem, esse facturum. De Appianis hactenus. 4. A Pausania, Lentuli liberto, accenso meo, audivi, cum diceret te secum esse questum, quod tibi obviam non prodissem. Scilicet contempsi te, nec potest fieri me quidquam superbius! Cum puer tuus ad me secunda fere vigilia venisset, isque te ante lucem Iconium mihi venturum nuntiasset, incertumque *esset*, utra via, cum essent duae, altera *A*. Varronem, tuum familiarissimum, altera Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum, tibi obviam misi. Mandavi utrique

ut eos liberarem] 'that I should release them from the enactment as soon as possible to enable them to build, so that they might not run on into the winter.'

prius . . . recepissem] 'until I investigated the matter and gave them permission, for it was, you say, virtually putting a stop to their collecting tribute (*i. e.* for the purposes of the buildings), as I could not investigate the matter till I returned from Cilicia for the winter': *impediendi* is the emphatic word.

3. *non illi*] If 'and not' is used in a sentence where the truth is first stated and an erroneous opinion then negatived; it is usual to employ *non*, not *et non* nor *sed non:* cp. Sen. 65, *haec morum vitia sunt non senectutis* (Madv. § 458, a obs. 1).

4. *accenso*] The *accensi* were special attendants, mostly used as court-criers by magistrates who had the *imperium;* they were generally freedmen of the magistrates (Q. Fr. i. 1, 13, Ep. xxx.). No doubt Pausanias had been the *accensus* of Lentulus when the latter held the government of Cilicia some years before 698–701 (56–53).

audivi, cum diceret] cp. Brut. 85, *ex P. Rutilio Rufo audisse cum diceret.*

incertumque esset] We have added *esset* with Streicher (p. 200). The slave had not enquired or been told by which of the roads (although there were two) Appius intended to enter the town.

A. Varronem] Wes. (*Em. Alt.*, p. 5) thinks that as a praenomen is given to Lepta, one ought also to be given to Varro. He was perhaps the Aulus Varro mentioned in Fam. xvi. 12, 6.

praefectum fabrum] See Addenda.

eorum, ut ante ad me currerent, ut tibi obviam prodire possem. Currens Lepta venit mihique nuntiavit te iam castra praetergressum esse. Confestim Iconium veni. Cetera iam tibi nota sunt. An ego tibi obviam non prodirem? primum Appio Claudio? deinde imperatori? deinde more maiorum? deinde, quod caput est, amico? cum in isto genere multo etiam ambitiosius facere soleam quam honos meus et dignitas postulat. Sed haec hactenus. 5. Illud idem Pausania dicebat te dixisse: 'Quidni? Appius Lentulo, Lentulus Ampio processit obviam, Cicero Appio noluit?' Quaeso, etiamne tu has ineptias, homo mea sententia summa prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo rerum usu, addo urbanitatem, quae est virtus, ut Stoici rectissime putant, ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas? Cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vestra nomina numquam sum admiratus: viros eos, qui ea vobis reliquissent, magnos arbitrabar. Postea vero quam ita et cepi et gessi maxima imperia, ut mihi

currerent] So Wesenberg, who supposes (*Em. Alt.*, p. 5) that the last letter of *me* and the first letter of *currerent* brought about *eccurrerent*, and hence *excurrerent* of the MSS. Ernesti reads *recurrerent*.

deinde quod caput est] We should rather expect *denique* here; but *quod caput est* sufficiently expresses the climax: 'again, and this is the chief point.'

cum] Wes. (*Em.*, p. 122) reads *qui*, which he considers more suitable, comparing Fam. xii. 6, 4; Att. vi. 3, 6, Ep. cclxiv.; Madv. on Fin. v. 55: declaring, too, that *cum* would require *solerem*. Yet this latter statement Streicher (p. 146) shows to be not conclusive by reference to Att. i. 5, 1, 4, Ep. i.; and by showing that *cum* (which is in H) might easily have been lost after *-co*; and by reference to Madvig's note, in which the latter says that *cum* would be quite as allowable as *qui*.

5. *Quidni?*] 'of course' (he wouldn't come to meet me). Cicero is, 'of course,' too great a man to come and meet *me*—ironical. *Quidni?* is often used without a verb in conversational language: Roby, § 1616.

summa prudentia] 'a man of great common sense, well-educated also, of wide knowledge of the world, and I add politeness, which is a virtue, as the Stoics are most right in thinking—can you suppose that any Appiism or Lentulism has more weight with me than virtue's sword and coronet'? Mayor on Juv. viii. 20 (*nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*), quotes, among other passages, Cicero ap. Non. 437, 28, *cum enim nobilitas nihil aliud sit nisi cognita virtus*. Cicero coined the word *Appietas* to express the possession of the noble name of Appius: cp. Tennyson, 'Sir Aylmer Aylmer in his Aylmerism.' Inside their main conception of virtue as based on knowledge, the Stoics, especially Chrysippus, distinguished a great number of special individual virtues, roused a whole swarm of them, in fact, at the outlandish names of which Plutarch (De Virtute Morali, *init*, p. 441, 9) loses all patience. Χρύσιππος δὲ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν ἀρετὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιότητι συνίστασθαι νομίζων, ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν σμῆνος ἀρετῶν οὐ σύνηθες οὐδὲ γνώριμον ἐγείρας· ὡς γὰρ παρὰ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον ἀνδρείαν, καὶ παρὰ τὸν πρᾷον πρᾳότητα, καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρὰ τὸν δίκαιον, οὕτως παρὰ τὸν χαρίεντα χαριεντότητα, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἐσθλότητα, καὶ παρὰ τὸν μέγαν μεγαλότητα, καὶ παρὰ τὸν καλὸν καλότητα, ἑτέρας τε τοιαύτας ἐπιδεξιότητας, εὐαπαντησίας, εὐτραπελίας, ἀρετὰς τιθέμενος, πολλῶν καὶ ἀτόπων ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν δεομένην ἐμπέπληκε φιλοσοφίαν. Stobaeus, too (Eth. 106), notices as virtues subordinate to δικαιοσύνη both εὐκοινωνησία (defined

nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam acquirendum putarem, superiorem quidem numquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum. Nec mehercule aliter vidi existimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus, qui umquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipsi antepono. Tu si aliter existimas, nihil errabis, si paullo diligentius, ut quid sit *εὐγένεια*, quid sit nobilitas intellegas, Athenodorus Sandonis filius quid de his rebus dicat attenderis. 6. Sed ut ad rem redeam, me tibi non amicum modo, verum etiam amicissimum existimes velim. Profecto omnibus officiis meis efficiam, ut ita esse vere possis iudicare. Tu autem si id agis, ut minus mea causa, dum ego absim, debere videaris, quam ego tua laborarim, libero te ista cura:

πάρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι,
οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

Si autem natura es *φιλαίτιος*, illud non perficies, quo minus tua causa velim: hoc adsequere, ut quam in partem tu accipias minus laborem. Haec ad te scripsi liberius, fretus conscientia officii mei benevolentiaeque, quam a me certo iudicio susceptam, quoad tu voles, conservabo.

as *ἐπιστήμη ἰσότητος ἐν κοινωνίᾳ*) and *εὐσυναλλαξία*: cp. Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 260, Eng. Trans.

quid sit εὐγένεια, quid sit nobilitas] i.e. the difference between them: cp. Eurip. *Dictys*, frag 11, *εἰς δ' εὐγένειαν ὀλίγ' ἔχω φράσαι καλά· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενὴς ἔμοιγ' ἀνήρ, ὁ δ' οὐ δίκαιος, κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς Ζηνὸς πεφύκῃ, δυσγενὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ.*

Athenodorus] A Stoic professor, born at Kana near Tarsus. He is called 'son of Sandon,' to distinguish him from Athenodorus of Tarsus, surnamed Cordylion. He lived in cultivated society at Rome (Att. xvi. 11, 4; 14, 4), and was the tutor of Augustus, with whom he afterwards had much influence. In 721 (33) he returned to Tarsus to try and moderate the disturbances in the city excited by partisans of Antonius, but did not succeed till the overthrow of the latter. He died at Tarsus, aged 82. For his philosophical works, see Dict. Biogr.

6. *si id agis . . . laborarim*] 'if your aim is to be under less obligations to serve my interests than I exerted myself in yours, I free you from all anxiety.' The quotation is the reply of Agamemnon to Achilles, Iliad, i. 174. If Cicero means any special person by *Ζεύς*, it is probably Pompeius.

quam in partem tu accipias] 'how you take it.' We can talk of taking a thing in bad part.

benevolentiaeque] 'kindliness, which as I have deliberately adopted it, I shall continue to show as long as *you* wish.'

CCXLV. CICERO TO CAELIUS, CURULE AEDILE (FAM. II. 14).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Fadii de fundo Herculanensi negotium commendat (cp. IX. 25, Ep. ccxlvi.): Caelii litteras de rebus urbanis exspectat. Scripsit Laodiceae.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

M. Fadio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor mirificeque eum diligo cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam. Eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos: hominem occidat oportet, qui vestra opera uti velit, sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques, si me amabis, cum tua opera Fadius uti volet. Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero, in primisque quid agas scire cupio: nam iam diu propter hiemis magnitudinem nihil novi ad nos adferebatur.

CCXLVI. CICERO TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PAETUS (FAM. IX. 25).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Cum M. Cicero procos. Ciliciam obtineret, misit ad eum L. Paetus litteras de re militari, quibus facete exagitatis amico M. Fadium commendat Cicero. Scripsit Laodiceae.

CICERO IMP. PAETO SAL.

1. Summum me ducem litterae tuae reddiderunt: plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineae

Fadio] This is M. Fadius Gallus: see note to Fam. xv. 14, 1, Ep. ccxli. For the matter in which Fadius was interested, see next letter.

viro . . . homine] There is no difference of meaning implied in these words here, though elsewhere Cicero makes a marked distinction: see note to Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), fin., Ep. cxxxii.

Omnia relinques] It is to be noticed how much more urgent in expression ancient letters of recommendation are than ours would be. In their panegyrical tone they remind one of the tone of our testimonials.

1. *Cineae*] Both Pyrrhus and his minis-

video lectitasse. Itaque obtemperare cogito praeceptis tuis: hoc amplius, navicularum habere aliquid in ora maritima: contra equitem Parthum negant ullam armaturam meliorem inveniri posse. Sed quid ludimus? nescis quo cum imperatore tibi negotium sit. Παιδείαν Κύρου, quam contriveram legendo, totam in hoc imperio explicavi. 2. Sed iocabimur alias coram, ut spero, brevi tempore. Nunc ades ad imperandum vel ad parendum potius: sic enim antiqui loquebantur. Cum M. Fadio, quod scire te arbitror, mihi summus usus est, valdeque eum diligo cum propter summam probitatem eius ac singularem modestiam tum quod in iis controversiis, quas habeo cum tuis combibonibus Epicuriis, optima opera eius uti soleo. 3. Is cum ad me Laodiceam venisset mecumque ego eum esse vellem, repente percussus est atrocissimis litteris, in quibus scriptum erat fundum Herculanensem a Q. Fadio fratre proscriptum esse, qui fundus cum eo communis esset. Id M. Fadius pergraviter tulit existimavitque fratrem suum, hominem non sapientem, impulsu inimicorum suorum eo progressum esse. Nunc, si me amas, mi Paete, negotium totum suscipe: molestia Fadium libera. Auctoritate tua nobis opus est et consilio et etiam gratia. Noli pati litigare fratres et iudiciis turpibus conflictari. Matonem et Pollionem inimicos habet Fadius. Quid multa? non mehercule tam perscribere possum quam mihi gratum feceris, si otiosum Fadium reddideris. Id ille in te positum esse putat mihique persuadet.

ter Cineas wrote treatises on military service (Aelian Tact. 1).

hoc amplius] 'more than this, I am thinking of having some ships.'

ullam armaturam] This is a joke. Running away by sea is the best means of fighting the Parthian horsemen.

Παιδείαν Κύρου] Of the Cyropaedia Cicero says, Q. Fr. i. 1, 23, Ep. xxx. *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem iusti imperii.* This ideal government, Cicero, who had read and re-read it, has now exemplified in practice (*explicavi*). For *explicare* in this sense cp. De Orat. iii. 103, *nam ipsa ad ornandum praecepta quae dantur eiusmodi sunt ut ea quamvis vitiosissimus orator explicare possit.*

contriveram] 'had well thumbed.'

2. *ades ad imperandum*] 'attend to orders': cp. Sall. Jug. 62, 8, *cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur*, 'attend to orders,' *i. e.* to your commander giving you orders—an old military expression. It is best not to take *imperandum* passively: see Kritz on Sall. *l. c.* Could *vel ad parendum . . . loquebantur* be a gloss?

3. *percussus est*] 'he got a severe blow by a shocking letter.'

proscriptum esse] 'was advertised for sale': cp. Off. iii. 66.

eo progressum esse] 'has taken this hasty step.'

Auctoritate . . . gratia] 'We want you to command, to advise, to even ask it as a favour.'

iudiciis turpibus conflictari] 'to be brought to ruin by a disgraceful lawsuit'; disgraceful, as between brothers.

Pollionem] probably Asinius Pollio.

tam perscribere] *tam . . . quam* are correlative: literally the words mean, 'I cannot write with an emphasis as strong as will be my obligation.'

CCXLVII. CICERO TO GAIUS CURTIUS PEDUCAEANUS, PRAETOR (FAM. XIII. 59).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Curtio praetori commendat M. Fadium.

M. CICERO C. CURTIO PEDUCAEANO PRAETORI S.

M. Fadium unice diligo summaque mihi cum eo consuetudo et familiaritas est pervetus. In eius controversiis quid decernas a te non peto—servabis, ut tua fides et dignitas postulat, edictum et institutum tuum—sed ut quam facillimos ad te aditus habeat, quae erunt aequa lubente te impetret, ut meam amicitiam sibi, etiam cum procul absim, prodesse sentiat, praesertim apud te: hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

CCXLVIII. CICERO TO GAIUS TITIUS RUFUS, PRAETOR URBANUS (FAM. XIII. 58).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Titio Rufo pr. urb. commendat L. Custidium tribulem suum.

M. CICERO C. TITIO L. F. RUFO PR. URB. S.

L. Custidius est tribulis et municeps et familiaris meus. Is causam habet: quam causam ad te deferet. Commendo tibi

C. CURTIO PEDUCAEANO] One of the Peducaei, who was adopted into the Curtian family. In Red. ad Sen. he is called Manius Curtius.

institutum tuum] 'your rule of administration.'

apud te: hoc] Baiter puts only a comma at *te*. But Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 46) shows that if Cicero had meant to construct *habeat*, *sentiat* with *rogo*, he would have used some more appropriate word than *non peto* with *quid* (= *quidnam*) *decernas*. As the text stands we must understand *peto* to have by zeugma a double sense, viz. with the first clause *tibi iniungo*, or something of the kind; with the second, its natural meaning of 'ask.' It is tempting to suppose that *ut* fell out after *controversiis*.

RUFO] This is the only place where this Q. Rufus is mentioned.

tribulis et municeps] The municipality of Arpinum was in the Cornelian tribe;

hominem, sicut tua fides et meus pudor postulat, tantum, ut faciles ad te aditus habeat: quae aequa postulabit ut lubente te impetret sentiatque meam sibi amicitiam, etiam cum longissime absim, prodesse, in primis apud te.

CCXLIX. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (FAM. III. 9).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Appii litteris humanissime scriptis Cicero humanitate pari respondet, cui de triumphi spe gratulatur. Ad absolvendos libros augurales eum adhortatur ab eoque petit, uti operam det ut sibi supplicatio decernatur. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO AP. PULCRO S.

1. Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Appio Claudio, plenas humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. Aspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit. Nam quas ex itinere ante, quam ex Asia egressus es, ad me litteras misisti, unas de legatis a me prohibitis proficisci, alteras de Appianorum aedificatione impedita, legi perinvitus. Itaque conscientia meae constantis erga te voluntatis rescripsi tibi subiratus. Iis vero litteris lectis, quas Philotimo liberto meo dedisti, cognovi intellexique in provincia multos fuisse qui nos, quo animo inter nos sumus, esse nollent, ad urbem vero ut accesseris vel potius ut primum tuos videris, cognosse te ex iis qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis tuendis erga te observantia et constantia fuissem. Itaque quanti illud me aestimare putas, quod est in tuis litteris scriptum: Si quid inciderit quod ad meam dignitatem pertineat, etsi vix fieri

but of course it only formed a small portion of that tribe, so that to be a fellow-*municeps* is a closer bond of union than to be a *tribulis*.

ut . . . apud te] From a comparison with the previous letter it would appear that these were common requests to make in a man's favour—probably not meaning very much.

1. *humanitatis . . . diligentiae*] 'kindliness, courtesy, and thoughtfulness.'

rescripsi tibi subiratus] The letter alluded to is Fam. iii. 7, Ep. ccxliv.

meo] Philotimus was a freedman of Terentia, not of Cicero.

qua in te . . . fuissem] 'the loyalty I showed you in your absence, and the unremitting zeal with which I fulfilled all my duties to you.'

Itaque . . . facies] 'Accordingly you cannot think what great value I set upon the passage in your letter (in which you say) that if anything happens having

possit, tamen te parem mihi gratiam relaturum—tu vero facile facies: nihil est enim quod studio et benevolentia vel amore potius effici non possit. 2. Ego, etsi et ipse ita iudicabam et fiebam crebro a meis per litteras certior, tamen maximam laetitiam cepi ex tuis litteris de spe minime dubia et plane explorata triumphi tui: neque vero ob eam causam, quo ipse facilius consequerer —nam id quidem Ἐπικούρειον est—sed mehercule, quod tua dignitas atque amplitudo mihi est ipsa cara per se. Qua re quoniam plures tu habes quam ceteri, quos scias in hanc provinciam proficisci, quod te adeunt fere omnes, si quid velis, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me, simul atque adeptus eris quod et tu confidis et ego opto, litteras miseris. Longi subsellii, ut noster Pompeius appellat, iudicatio et mora si quem tibi item unum alterumve diem abstulerit—quid enim potest amplius?—tua tamen dignitas suum locum obtinebit. Sed, si me diligis, si a me diligi vis, ad me litteras, ut quam primum laetitia adficiar, mittito. 3. Et velim, reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui, mihi persolvas. Cum ipsam cognitionem iuris augurii consequi cupio, tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector. Quod autem a me tale quiddam desideras, sane mihi considerandum est quonam te remunerer potissimum genere: nam profecto non est meum, qui in scribendo, ut soles admirari, tantum industriae ponam, committere ut neglegens *in* scribendo fuisse videar, praesertim cum id non modo neglegentis, sed etiam ingrati

reference to my distinction—although it can scarcely do so, yet if it does—that you will do me an equally kind service in return; indeed you will be able to do so easily.' *Quanti . . . putas*, lit., 'at what price do you think I value.' In what follows Cicero slightly alters the quotation from Appius' letter; instead of *meam* and *te* Appius had said *tuam* and *ego*. The allusion in *si quid inciderit* is perhaps that some opposition might be made in the senate to granting a triumph to Cicero.

2. *explorata*] 'certain.'

Ἐπικούρειον] '*secundum Epicurum*,' 'a very utilitarian ground.'

amplitudo] 'greatness.' *per se*, 'without any other motive.'

si quid velis] sc. *interrogantes*, 'asking if there is anything they could do for you.' Constrast with this the ordinary formula for taking leave, or rather getting rid, of a person, *Num quid vis*.

Longi subsellii] 'the debating and obstruction of the "long bench," as Pompeius calls it, if it does take away from you, as well as from others, some one or two days.' The *longum subsellium* is generally interpreted the δημαρχικὸν βάθρον, Dio. Cass. xliv. 4, the bench on which the tribunes sat: see Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. 173: but Mommsen (St. R. iii. 934, note 2) shows that the tribunician bench is only spoken of under the empire. Possibly it might be the bench on which the opposition sat who favoured Caesar. There were no fixed places for each senator; so that those of the same party would naturally congregate together. The joke, in *longi* appears to be that the word might mean 'tedious' as well as 'long'—'the long (-winded) bench.'

3. *incredibiliter*] This word qualifies *delector*. It is a very strong hyperbaton, even for the letters: cp. vol. II., p. xxii.

animi crimen futurum sit. Verum haec videbimus. 4. Illud, quod polliceris, velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra non instituta, sed iam inveterata amicitia cures *et* enitare, ut supplicatio nobis quam honorificentissime quam primumque decernatur. Omnino serius misi litteras quam vellem: in quo cum difficultas navigandi fuit odiosa, tum *in* ipsum discessum senatus incidisse credo meas litteras. Sed id feci adductus auctoritate et consilio tuo: idque a me recte factum puto, quod non statim, ut appellatus imperator sim, sed aliis rebus additis aestivisque confectis literas miserim. Haec igitur tibi erunt curae, quem ad modum ostendis, meque totum et mea et meos commendatos habebis.

CCL. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. v. 21).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Atticum in Epirum salvum venisse gaudet, abesse vero Roma dolet: de Cassii legati litteris ad senatum missis, item de suis, de Bibuli litteris adhuc mittendis: veretur ne sibi provincia prorogetur, etsi secus existimet Atticus, de litteris Attici ad se datis, de Cibyratis pantheris a M. Octavio expetitis, de abstinentia sua provinciali, de praefecturis in provincia constitutis, de itineribus per Asiam factis et adhuc faciendis, de decessu suo, de causis et negotiis M. Scaptii a Bruto sibi commendatis, de rebus domesticis. Scripsit Laodiceae Idibus Februariis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Te in Epirum salvum venisse et, ut scribis, ex sententia navigasse vehementer gaudeo: non esse Romae meo tempore pernecessario submoleste fero, hoc me tamen consolor uno: spero te istic iucunde hiemare et libenter requiescere. 2. C. Cassius, frater Q. Cassii, familiaris tui, pudentiores illas litteras miserat—de quibus tu ex me requiris quid sibi voluerint—quam eas, quas

4. *in ipsum discessum senatus*] The Senate used generally, but not always, to rise in the month of April owing to the great number of festivals and comitial days in that month.

erunt . . . habebis] the polite future 'You will kindly attend to.'

meque totum . . . commendatos] 'myself entirely and my fortunes and my family are assigned to your care.'

1. *uno* This is the conj. of Madv. for *non*, which would involve a piece of ἀγροικία altogether alien from the manners and character of Cicero.

2. *pudentiores*] is predicative, 'the letter which he wrote is more modest than,' &c.

postea misit, quibus per se scribit confectum esse Parthicum bellum. Recesserant illi quidem ab Antiochia ante Bibuli adventum, sed nullo nostro εὐημερήματι. Hodie vero hiemant in Cyrrhestica maximumque bellum impendet. Nam et Orodi, regis Parthorum, filius in provincia nostra est, nec dubitat Deiotarus, cuius filio pacta est Artavasdis filia, ex quo sciri potest, quin cum omnibus copiis ipse prima aestate Euphraten transiturus sit. Quo autem die Cassii litterae victrices in senatu recitatae sunt, datae Nonis Octobribus, eodem meae tumultum nuntiantes. Axius noster ait nostras auctoritatis plenas fuisse, illis negat creditum. Bibuli nondum erant adlatae, quas certo scio plenas timoris fore. 3. Ex iis rebus hoc vereor, ne, cum Pompeius propter metum rerum novarum nusquam dimittatur, Caesari nullus honos a senatu habeatur, dum hic nodus expediatur, non putet senatus nos, ante quam successum sit, oportere decedere nec in tanto motu rerum tantis provinciis singulos legatos praeesse. Hic, ne quid mihi prorogetur, quod ne intercessor quidem sustinere possit, horreo, atque eo magis, quod tu abes, qui consilio, gratia, studio multis rebus occurreres. Sed dices me ipsum mihi sollicitudinem struere. Cogor ut velim ita sit. Sed omnia metuo. Etsi bellum ἀκροτελεύτιον habet illa

nostro] 'not in consequence of any *coup de main* on our part.' Cic. by *nostro* means *Romano*, not *meo*, as *provincia nostra*, just below, means 'a Roman province,' not 'my province,' for Cyrrhestica was in Syria, the province of Bibulus.

ex quo sciri potest] 'a good authority.' Pacorus was the son of Orodes, and was married to a sister of Artavasdes, King of Armenia. A daughter of Artavasdes was betrothed to the son of Deiotarus; therefore Deiotarus might be presumed to know, when he said that Orodes was going to cross the Euphrates in the early summer.

datae] This is the excellent emendation of Hofm. for *id est*, which cannot be right, for we know from Fam. xv. 1, Ep. ccxxii., written towards the end of Sept., that Cicero had not then heard of the success of Cassius; how then could a letter from Cassius announcing that success have reached Rome by October 7? Moreover, Cicero uses *hoc est* far more frequently than *id est* in the sense of '*viz.*' We have *id est* above, Att. v. 5, 2, Ep. clxxxviii; but *hoc est* is far more common, *e.g.* Mil. 24; Caec. 19, 74, 100; Sull. 49; Fam. v. 12, 8, Ep. cix.

3. *nullus honos . . . habeatur*] 'no respect is paid' to the demands of Caesar.

singulos legatos] Cicero fears that the senate would not allow the provincial governors to entrust their provinces to the charge of legates, as Pompeius was doing with his province of Spain.

in tanto . . . rerum] 'in such troublous times.'

quod ne intercessor] We read in Att. iv. 2, 4, Ep. xci., of a resolution of the senate that any tribune who should veto the resolution restoring Cicero his house should be considered responsible for any riot which might arise in consequence. See also Fam. viii. 8, 6, Ep. ccxxiii. *Sustinere*, 'to bring the matter to a deadlock,' = ἐπέχειν: see Att. xiii. 21, 3.

Cogor ut velim] This is the admirable emendation of Lehmann (p. 112). The meaning is, 'I am reduced to hoping that it may be so (that the troubles which confront me exist only in my imagination); but everything alarms me.' Koch would insert *adsentiri* after *cogor*, comparing Att. vi. 6, 3, Ep. cclxxvi.

ἀκροτελεύτιον] '*finale*.'

tua epistola, quam dedisti nauseans Buthroto: 'tibi, ut video et spero, nulla ad decedendum *erit* mora.' Mallem 'ut video': nihil opus fuit 'ut spero.' 4. Acceperam autem satis celeriter Iconii per publicanorum tabellarios a Lentuli triumpho datas. In his γλυκύπικρον illud confirmas, moram mihi nullam fore, deinde addis, si quid secus, te ad me esse venturum. Angunt me dubitationes tuae, simul et vides quas acceperim litteras. Nam quas Hermonis centurionis caculae ipse scribis te dedisse, non accepi. Laenii pueris te dedisse saepe ad me scripseras. Eas Laodiceae denique, cum eo venissem, III. Id Febr. Laenius mihi reddidit, datas a. d. X. Kal. Octobres. Laenio tuas commendationes et statim verbis et reliquo tempore *re* probabo. 5. Eae litterae cetera vetera habebant, unum hoc novum, de Cibyratis pantheris. Multum te amo, quod respondisti M. Octavio te non putare. Sed posthac omnia, quae certa non erunt, pro certo negato. Nos enim et nostra sponte bene firmi et mehercule auctoritate tua inflammati vicimus omnes—hoc tu ita reperies—cum abstinentia, tum iustitia, facilitate, clementia. Cave putes quidquam homines magis umquam esse miratos quam nullum teruncium me obtinente provinciam sumptus factum esse nec in rem publicam nec in quemquam meorum, praeterquam in L. Tullium legatum. Is, ceteroqui abstinens *est*, sed Iulia lege, †transitam† semel tamen in diem, non,

4. *a*] 'immediately after': see L. S. *ab* ii. A. 1. Lentulus had recently celebrated a triumph for his success in Cilicia, which he had governed for three years before Appius.

si quid secus] 'if anything goes wrong.'

Angunt] This is a more probable correction of the *ungunt* of M than *pungunt*, which would indicate a *sudden and fleeting* cause of concern.

Hermonis cent. caculae] We have adopted the correction of Gron., which seems to us to have been undeservedly neglected, *caculae*, for *canule* of M, *camulae* of other MSS. *Cacula* is a 'soldier's servant.'

5. *amo*] 'I am delighted with you for saying you don't think I could do it. In future whenever there is any doubt, give a decided *no*.' Caelius had asked Cicero to get panthers from Cibyra for his show as curule aedile. Octavius, his colleague, had asked Atticus whether he thought Cicero would get some panthers for him too. For *amo* cp. *amavi amorem tuum*, Fam. ix. 16, 1; *et in Atili negotio te amavi*, Fam xiii. 62, Ep. ccxxxiv.; *volo ames meam constantiam*, Att. ii. 10, Ep. xxxviii.; *Alexidis manum amabam*, Att. vii. 2, 3, Ep. ccxciii.

in rem publicam] 'on public objects.' Cicero must mean 'beside the regular supplies;' he cannot mean that he kept up his public establishment at his own expense.

†*transitam*†] Many corrections of this passage have been essayed, but none are satisfactory. We believe that under *transitam* lurks *in transitu*, which was an interlinear explanation of ἐν παρόδῳ, 'in the progress through my provinces,' or 'in my public entry on my official duties.' The words occur above, Att. v. 20, 6, Ep. ccxxviii.: *Iulia lege transita* could not mean 'in violation of the Julian law,' and if it could it would be out of place here, for it is clear from the whole tenor of the passage that the supplies accepted by Tullius were allowances which were sanctioned by the Julian law, but which Cicero did not wish his staff to accept.

ut alii solebant, omnibus vicis—praeter eum semel nemo—accepit: *ita* facit ut mihi excipiendus sit, cum teruncium nego sumptus factum. Praeter eum accepit nemo. Has a nostro Q. Titinio sordes accepimus. 6. Ego aestivis confectis Quintum fratrem hibernis et Ciliciae praefeci; Q. Volusium, tui Tiberii generum, certum hominem, sed mirifice etiam abstinentem, misi in Cyprum, ut ibi pauculos dies esset, ne cives Romani pauci, qui illic negotiantur, ius sibi dictum negarent: nam evocari ex insula Cyprios non licet. 7. Ipse in Asiam profectus sum Tarso Nonis Ianuariis, non mehercule dici potest qua admiratione Ciliciae civitatum maximeque Tarsensium. Postea vero quam Taurum transgressus sum, mirifica exspectatio Asiae nostrarum dioecesium, quae sex mensibus imperii mei nullas meas acceperat litteras, numquam hospitem viderat. Illud autem tempus quotannis ante me fuerat in hoc quaestu: civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant: Cyprii talenta Attica cc., qua ex insula—non ὑπερβολικῶς, sed verissime loquor—nummus nullus me obtinente erogabatur. Ob haec beneficia, quibus illi obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni sino: statuas,

Transitans is also plainly an inappropriate word. The meaning is:—'Tullius is on the whole well-behaved, but during my progress under the provisions of the Julian law—only once, however, and for the day's needs, not as others used at every hamlet—he did take somewhat; and thus forces me to make him an exception when I say that not a farthing has been spent on me. Except him no other took anything. This disgrace I owe to Titinius' (who recommended Tullius to me). *Accepit* is used absolutely above Att. i. 17, 8, Ep. xxiii.; Q. Fr. i. 1, 13, Ep. xxx.; Att. xi. 22, 2. There is probably an intentional repetition in *accepit* . . . *excipiendus* . . . *accepit* . . . *accepimus*, which would make *accepted* and *excepted* a better rendering. For *sordes* cp. *sordidior*, 'a kind of blot on your government,' Q. Fr. i. 1, 11, Ep. xxx.

6. *certum*] 'a safe man': see on Fam. i. 7, 1, Ep. cxiv.

et . . . etiam] *Etiam* is not found in M, but it is given by F and A. For this use of *sed* . . . *etiam* without any foregoing expression, such as *nedum* or *non modo*, and meaning, 'nay more,' see on Att. iii. 15, 5, Ep. lxxiii., and Fam. xiii. 64, 2, Ep. ccxxxv. *Sed* is sometimes used by Cicero even without *etiam* in a way which resembles the present passage; but whereas *sed etiam* is ampliative, *sed* by itself is corrective and limitative, as in Orat. 97, *eloquentiam sed hanc eloquentiam quae*, 'I mean that kind of eloquence which.' If with M we omitted *etiam* here the restrictive sense would not be unsuitable, 'a trustworthy man, I mean one conspicuously law-abiding,' free from rapacity and violence in the exercise of his authority.

evocari] 'to be summoned to a court held out of Cyprus.'

7. *nostrarum dioec.*] 'Asia, that is so far as my districts extend.' The gen. is in apposition with *Asiae*, and explains the limits of the term.

litteras] 'requisitionary letters,' such as are mentioned in Q. Fr. i. 2, 8, Ep. liii.

nunquam hospitem] 'had never seen a single case of billeting.'

fuerat in] 'was devoted to'

cc] 200 Attic talents, nearly £50,000. From this we may infer what a terrible visitation was the quartering of troops on the provincials.

non ὑπερβολικῶς, sed verissime] 'I am not drawing the long bow, but speaking quite literally.'

fana, *τέθριππα* prohibeo, nec sum in ulla re alia molestus civitatibus, sed fortasse tibi, qui haec praedicem de me. Perfer, si me amas. Tu enim me haec facere voluisti. 8. Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci, ut etiam fames, qua nihil miserius est, quae tum erat in hac mea Asia—messis enim nulla fuerat—mihi optanda fuerit. Quacumque iter feci, nulla vi, nullo iudicio, nulla contumelia, auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Graeci et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur. 9. Idibus Februariis, quo die has litteras dedi, forum institueram agere Laodiceae Cibyraticum et Apameense, ex Idibus Mart. ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylium—tum Phemio dispiciam *κέρας*—Lycaonium, Isauricum: ex Idibus Maiis in Ciliciam, ut ibi Iunius consumatur, velim tranquille a Parthis. Quinctilis, si erit, ut volumus, in itinere est per provinciam redeuntibus consumendus. Venimus enim *in* provinciam Laodiceam Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus, pridie Kal. Sextiles. Inde nos oportet decedere a. d. III. Kal. Sext. Primum contendam a Quinto fratre, ut se praefici patiatur, quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet. Sed aliter honeste fieri non potest, praesertim cum virum optimum, Pomptinum, ne nunc quidem retinere possim. Rapit enim hominem Postumius Romam, fortasse etiam Postumia. 10. Habes consilia nostra. Nunc cognosce de Bruto. Familiares habet Brutus tuus quosdam creditores Salaminiorum ex Cypro, M. Scaptium et P. Matinium, quos mihi maiorem in modum commendavit. Matinium non novi, Scaptius ad me in castra venit. Pollicitus sum curaturum me Bruti causa ut ei Salaminii pecuniam solverent. Egit

τέθριππα] chariots of stone or marble containing the statue of the proconsul. Provincial flattery often took this form, and even went so far as to raise shrines to the object of its adulation. Theophanes, the *protégé* of Pompeius, was deified by Mitylene: see Q. Fr. i. 1, 26, Ep. xxx. A temple was erected to Warren Hastings at Benares, according to Macaulay (*Essays*, p. 654).

8. *optanda*] 'I had reason to be glad there was a famine'; because it gave him an opportunity of showing the effect of his personal influence on the Greeks and Romans in the province.

compresserant] 'had stored.'

numerum] 'quantity,' so used with *vini* in Phil. ii. 66.

9. *forum agere*] 'to try cases from Cibyra and Apamea at Laodicea.'

Pamphylium] As there is no account of how Cicero proposed to spend the month from the Ides of April to the Ides of May; we think it possible that *ex Idibus Aprilib.* fell out after *Pamphylium* (which was written *pamphiliū*; and perhaps the *b* of *Aprilib.* was written *u*, as often).

dispiciam] 'I will hunt out.'

a Parthis] 'on the score of': see on Att. v. 18, 2, Ep. ccxviii.

Pomptinum] Pomptinus had left him, being hurried to Rome by Postumius, and perhaps Postumia too, adds Cicero, hinting that he had an intrigue with the wife of Postumius: see Suet. Jul. 50.

10. *maiorem in modum*] 'warmly,' a usual phrase in recommendations.

gratias: praefecturam petivit. Negavi me cuiquam negotianti dare, quod idem tibi ostenderam. Cn. Pompeio petenti probaram institutum meum, quid dicam? Torquato de M. Laenio tuo, multis aliis. Sin praefectus vellet esse syngraphae causa, me curaturum ut exigeret. Gratias egit: discessit. Appius noster turmas aliquot equitum dederat huic Scaptio, per quas Salaminios coerceret, et eumdem habuerat praefectum. Vexabat Salaminios. Ego equites ex Cypro decedere iussi. Moleste tulit Scaptius. 11. Quid multa? Ut ei fidem meam praestarem, cum ad me Salaminii Tarsum venissent et in iis Scaptius, imperavi ut pecuniam solverent. Multa de syngrapha, de Scaptii iniuriis. Negavi me audire. Hortatus sum, petivi etiam pro meis in civitatem beneficiis ut negotium conficerent: denique dixi me coacturum. Homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam hoc dicere, se a me solvere: quod enim praetori dare consuessent quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare, atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scaptii nomine quam in vectigali praetorio. Collaudavi homines. 'Recte,' inquit Scaptius, 'sed subducamus summam.' Interim, cum ego in edicto translaticio centesimas me observaturum haberem cum anatocismo anniversario, ille ex syngrapha postulabat quaternas. 'Quid ais?' inquam, 'possumne contra meum edictum?' At ille profert senatus consultum Lentulo Philippoque consulibus, UT, QUI CILICIAM OBTINERET, IUS EX ILLA SYNGRAPHA DICERET. 12. Cohorrui primo: etenim erat interitus civitatis. Reperio duo senatus consulta iisdem consulibus de eadem syngrapha. Salaminii cum Romae versuram facere vellent, non poterant, quod lex Gabinia vetabat. Tum iis Bruti familiares, freti gratia Bruti, dare volebant quaternis, si sibi senatus consulto caveretur. Fit gratia Bruti senatus consultum, UT NEVE SALAMINIIS NEVE QUI EIS DEDISSET FRAUDI ESSET. Pecuniam numerarunt. [Et] postea venit in mentem feneratoribus nihil se iuvare illud S. C. quod ex syngrapha ius dici lex Gabinia vetaret. Tum fit S. C., UT EX EA SYN-

sin . . . causa] 'if it was only to get his bond paid he wanted the post.'

11. *se a me solvere*] 'that they were really paying out of my pocket.'

praetori] 'the governor': see on Att. v. 13, 1, Ep. cciii.

cum ego . . . quaternas] 'though my traditionary edict fixed the rate of interest at 12 per cent., interest due to be added to the principal only at the end of each year (not each month), he demanded on his bond 48 per cent.'

Lent. Phil. cons.] 698 (56).

12. *lex Gabinia*] forbade lending money to provincials, passed 686 (68). But the friends of Brutus succeeded in getting a Sctum passed exempting the parties to this transaction from its pro-

GRAPHA *IUS DICERETUR: non ut alio iure ea syngrapha* esset quam ceterae, sed ut eodem. Cum haec disseruissem, seducit me Scaptius: ait se nihil contra dicere, sed illos putare talenta cc. se debere: ea se velle accipere, debere autem illos paullo minus, rogat, ut eos ad cc. perducam. 'Optime,' inquam. Voco illos ad me, remoto Scaptio. 'Quid vos? quantum,' inquam, 'debetis?' Respondent, CVI. Refero ad Scaptium. Homo clamare. 'Quid opus est?' inquam 'rationes conferatis.' Adsidunt, subducunt: *ad* nummum convenit. Illi se numerare velle, urgere ut acciperet. Scaptius me rursus seducit: rogat ut rem sic relinquam. Dedi veniam homini impudenter petenti. Graecis querentibus, ut in fano deponerent postulantibus, non concessi. Clamare omnes, qui aderant, nihil impudentius Scaptio, qui centesimis cum anatocismo contentus non esset: alii, nihil stultius. Mihi autem impudens magis quam stultus videbatur. Nam aut bono nomine

visions. Fortified by this decree, they lent the money to the Salaminians at 48 per cent. It afterwards occurred to the lenders that the debt would not be recoverable by law. The Sctum would only protect them from the punishment due for the breach of the *Lex Gabinia*, but would not make the debt recoverable at law. Accordingly they procured another Sctum to the effect *that that bond should be good at law* (UT EX EA SYNGRAPHA IUS DICERETUR), which, adds Cicero, did not put their bond on a different footing from other bonds; it only put it on the same footing; therefore, while it made the debt recoverable at law on that bond, it did not invest the bond with any peculiar validity, so that it could override the *edictum translaticium*. Scaptius could on that bond demand a legal interest, which the Gabinian law would have prevented him from doing but for the special Sctum UT EX EA SYNGRAPHA IUS DICERETUR; but he could not on that, or any, bond demand 48 per cent. when the traditionary edict fixed the rate of interest at 12 per cent. We have introduced into the text the words which Boot acutely suggests to fill the lacuna between SYNGRAPHA and *esset*. They are justified—(1) by the logic of the passage (observe the expression *cum haec disseruissem*); (2) by diplomatic considerations: there is a *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*, all the words between SYNGRAPHA and *syngrapha* having fallen out; (3) by the parallel passage, Att. vi. 2, 7, Ep. cclvi., *nunc ista habet iuris idem quod ceterae, nihil praecipui*, 'it has the same validity as other bonds, but no peculiar validity to itself.'

seducit] 'draws me aside.'

ut rem sic reliquam] because he hoped to be able to extort his illegal demand under Cicero's successor.

querentibus postulantibus] This asyndeton is very common in the letters, in substantives and adjectives (see note on cxxxiii. 1), and in verbs, e. g. *des efficias*, Fam. xv. 12, 2, Ep. ccxvii.; *cogi confici*, xi. 25, 3; *desiderari subaccusari*, xvi. 7, 1. For exact parallels to the text, asyndetic *participles*, cp. *confirmans excitans*, Att. i. 16, 8, Ep. xxii.; *confectas collatas*, Fam. v. 20, 2. The same feature is found in the comic drama, *e. g.* Plaut. Bacch., iv. 9, 11 (930), *obsignatas consignatas*.

ut in fano deponerent] if this were done by order of a court the interest would cease to run from the day of the deposit.

. . . . *Mihi impudens magis quam stultus videbatur. Nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus erat aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat*]. This passage is usually explained by giving *bonum nomen* the meaning of 'a good debt,' in modern parlance; that is, 'a debt which the debtor is likely to discharge in full.' The meaning of *non bonum nomen* is of course correlative. But this meaning does not suit the passage as it stands. It would be absurd that Cicero should write

centesimis contentus erat aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat. 13. Habes meam causam: quae si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus: sed avunculo eius certe probabitur, praesertim cum senatus consultum modo factum sit, puto, postquam tu es profectus, in creditorum causa, ut centesimae perpetuo fenore ducerentur. Hoc quid intersit, si tuos digitos novi, certe habes subductum. In quo quidem, ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, L. Lucceius M. F. queritur apud me per litteras summum esse periculum ne culpa senatus his decretis res ad tabulas novas perveniat. Commemorat quid olim mali C. Iulius fecerit, cum dieculam duxerit:

'either he was satisfied with a certainty of payment at 12 per cent., or he had a chance of payment with 48 per cent.' If Scaptius had been satisfied with the certainty of payment at 12 per cent., the whole transaction would at once have been concluded. The Salaminians were most anxious to pay on thoset erms. But Scaptius would not accept payment; and begged Cicero to let the matter stand over. This, then, cannot be the meaning of *bonum nomen* here. Mr. Watson understands *bonum nomen* to mean 'a debt recognised by law.' Then *bono nomine* would mean 'if he claimed a legal rate of interest, 12 per cent,' and *non bono*, 'if he demanded illegally 48.' This is beset by the same difficulty; he was *not* satisfied with payment, however prompt, at 12 per cent.

We can extract no meaning from the passage as it stands unless *bono nomine* can mean 'his claim being allowed to be good (acquiesced in) by the Salaminians.' Then all is clear. Scaptius claimed 200 talents as the amount of the principal lent; the Salaminians declared they had only borrowed 106. Scaptius was content with 12 per cent. if they allowed his claim (*bono nomine*); but he preferred, if they disputed his claim (*non bono nomine*), to let the matter stand over, and to take his chance under Cicero's successor, who might decide against the Salaminians, however just their cause, and allow him even to exact 48 per cent.

If this interpretation seems to strain the meaning of the phrase, we can only suggest to read *contentus esse poterat*. The sentence will then mean: I thought he showed more impudence than folly [because he proposed a bargain in which it was all *take* and no *give*], for he could either content himself with the certainty of repayment at a legal rate of interest, or indulge the hope of an illegal 48 per cent. under a less scrupulous, in fact an average, Roman governor.

13. *probatur*] 'obtain the sanction of.'

avunculo eius] M. Cato of Utica, the half-brother of Servilia, the mother of Brutus. Brutus and Cato are classed together by Juv. xiv. 43, *sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus usquam*, as typical high-minded men. It is strange that Mayor does not in his note refer to this passage, where the parallelism even of *language* is so striking. We can judge from this letter how far Brutus deserved such a reputation. The unfortunate loss of Cato's *duplicate* statement of his accounts on his return from Cyprus imposed on Plutarch, but perhaps affords grounds for doubting his right, too, to his fame for high-mindedness.

perpetuo fenore] 'that 12 per cent. simple interest would be the rate.' That is, that the interest in default should not be added to the principal at all.

hoc quid intersit] 'what is the difference between this and the offer of the Salaminians.' The recent Sctum only allowed 12 per cent. with *simple* interest (*perpetuo fenore*); the Salaminians had offered 12 per cent. with compound interest (*cum anatocismo*).

digitos] 'your skill as a ready-reckoner': cp. the Greek expression for a rough hasty computation, μὴ ψήφοις ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρός, Ar. Vesp. 656.

ὁδοῦ πάρεργον] '*en passant.*'

tabulas novas] 'a general repudiation,' χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς.

C. Julius] not the great Caesar, whom Cicero calls C. Caesar not C. Julius; probably the C. Julius who was slain in the Marian riots.

dieculam duxerit] 'allowed a little

numquam rei publicae plus. Sed ad rem redeo. Meditare adversus Brutum causam meam, si haec causa est, contra quam nihil honeste dici potest, praesertim cum integram rem et causam reliquerim. 14. Reliqua sunt domestica. De ἐνδομύχῳ probo idem, quod tu, Postumiae filio, quoniam Pontidia nugatur. Sed vellem adesses. A Quinto fratre his mensibus nihil exspectaris. Nam Taurus propter nives ante mensem Iunium transiri non potest. Thermum, ut rogas, creberrimis litteris fulcio. P. Valerium negat habere quidquam Deiotarus rex, eumque ait a se sustentari. Cum scies Romae intercalatum sit necne, velim ad me scribas *ut sciam* certum, quo die mysteria futura sint. Litteras tuas minus paullo exspecto quam si Romae esses, sed tamen exspecto.

CCLI. CICERO TO PUBLIUS SILIUS NERVA, PROPRAETOR OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS (FAM. XIII. 63).

FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero P. Silio pro pr. Bithyniae commendat M. Laenium.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SILIO PRO PR.

1. Non putavi fieri posse ut mihi verba deessent, sed tamen in M. Laenio commendando desunt. Itaque rem tibi exponam paucis verbis, sed tamen, ut plane perspicere possis voluntatem meam. Incredibile est quanti faciamus et ego et frater meus, qui

postponement of the day of payment': cp. *tibi dieculam addo*, Ter. Andr. iv. 2, 27, (710): *illud erat praesens: huic erat diecula*, Plaut. Pseud. i. 5, 87 (503).

plus] sc. *periculi fuisse*; these are the sentiments of Lucceius.

14. ἐνδομύχῳ] the betrothal of Tullia. He says he prefers Servius Sulpicius, the nominee and son of Postumia; for Pontidia, who was all for Dolabella, does not seem now to be in earnest about the matter.

P. Valerium] probably some one who owed money to Att.

ut sciam certum] cp. Fam. ix. 23; also *certum nescio*, 'I do not know for certain,' Att. xii. 23, 2.

mysteria] the rites of the Bona Dea, generally held at the beginning of May. The Bona Dea, however, on whose rites Clodius intruded, had her festival on Dec. 3 and 4 (Marquardt, iii. 331): see I², p. 21.

SILIO] cp. Fam. xiii. 61, Ep. ccxxxiii.

1. *ut mihi verba deessent*] cp. Fam. ii. 11, 1, Ep. cclv.

sed tamen, ut] Though *ut* is used for *ita ut*, cp. xiii. 64, 1, Ep. ccxxxv., yet it would be more natural here to read *sed ita tamen* or *sic tamen ut* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.*, p. 46).

mihi carissimus est, M. Laenium. Id fit cum plurimis eius officiis tum summa probitate et singulari modestia. Eum ego a me invitissimus dimisi, cum propter familiaritatem et consuetudinis suavitatem tum quod consilio eius fideli ac bono lubenter utebar. 2. Sed vereor ne iam superesse mihi verba putes, quae dixeram defutura. Commendo tibi hominem sic, ut intellegis me *eum, de* quo ea supra scripserim, debere commendare: a teque vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut quod habet in tua provincia negotii expedias, quod tibi videbitur rectum esse ipsi dicas. Hominem facillimum liberalissimumque cognosces. Itaque te rogo, ut eum solutum, liberum, confectis eius negotiis per te quam primum ad me remittas. Id mihi fratrique meo gratissimum feceris.

CCLII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VI. 1).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Attico scribit litteras, quas ille ad se dedisset, se praeter binas omnes accepisse. Ad has iam respondet et copiosius quidem de Appio antecessore suo, de Bruti mandatis, ac primum quidem de Ariobarzane, dein de Salaminiis, iniquitatem in se Bruti querens: postea de libris, qui sunt de re publica, et de errore in Cn. Flavio et fastis a se commisso, dein brevius scribit de se imperatore, de negotio Tulliae aliisque de rebus, de quibus scripserat Atticus. Tum de bello Parthico, de Bibuli edicto et de suo, de publicanis, de errore a Metello in subscriptione statuae Africani facto non excusando, similibus erroribus a Graecis auctoribus commissis, de Philotimo, de admonitione Attici, de M. Octavii postulatis, de Lepta, de filiola Attici et Pilia. Iam breviter respondet ad epistolam quamdam minorem de multis variisque rebus et hominibus. Litteras Attici ait se exspectare, de Caesare, de Pompeio, de P. Vedio eiusque deversatione apud Pompeium Vindullum Laodiceae, de monumento Appii Eleusine, de monumento quod sui ipse velit esse Athenis. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae a. d. VI. Kal. Martias.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi tuas litteras a. d. v. Terminalia Laodiceae, quas legi libentissime, plenissimas amoris, humanitatis, officii, diligentiae.

M. Laenium] cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 2, Ep. lxii., *Nos Brundisii apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies xiii. fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit, neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est quominus hospitii et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret*: cp. Sest. 131, Planc. 97.

2. *sic, ut*] 'as earnestly as you understand I ought.'

me eum, de quo] *eum de* was added by Lambinus.

quod tibi . . . dicas] 'and give him any advice you think you fairly can.'

1. *Terminalia*] The *Terminalia* took

Iis igitur respondebo *non* χρύσεα χαλκείων: sic enim postulas: nec οἰκονομίαν meam instituam, sed ordinem conservabo tuum. Recentissimas a Cybistris te meas litteras habere ais, a. d. x. Kal. Octobr. datas, et scire vis tuas ego quas acceperim. Omnes fere, quas commemoras, praeter eas, quas scribis Lentuli pueris et Equotutico et Brundisio datas. Qua re non οἴχεται tua industria, quod vereris, sed praeclare ponitur, si quidem id egisti, ut ego delectarer. Nam nulla re sum delectatus magis. 2. Quod meam βαθύτητα [in] Appio, tibi libertatem etiam in Bruto probo, vehe-

place on the 23rd of February, so the date here indicated is February 19. If intercalation took place the last five days of February were cut off. Cicero did not know whether intercalation had taken place or not; so he could not indicate February 19 by the ordinary notation—the number of days between it and March 1.

non χρύσεα χαλκείων] It is highly probable that these words should here be restored, as Wes. suggests, from § 22. Cicero would not say 'I will answer your letter, for such is your request.' Cicero would of course answer his friend's letter. Greek words would easily fall out. It is possible, however, that some short Greek phrase fell out, such as ἀκριβῶς, or κατὰ λεπτόν, or κατὰ μίτον which Boot suggests. The allusion in χρύσεα χαλκείων is to the passage in Hom. Il. vi. 236, where Glaucus gives Diomede golden arms for brass.

οἰκονομίαν *meam*] My own arrangement of topics; in § 11 he condemns the sudden transitions of Atticus's letter, *te sequor* σχεδιάζοντα, 'I follow your *harum scarum* method.'

Equotutico] This is the town *quod versu dicere non est* in Hor. Sat. i. 5, 87, according to the Scholiasts *ad loc.* There are, however, serious difficulties in accepting their statement: see Prof. Palmer's note.

οἴχεται] 'your energy is not a dead loss': cp. *argentum* οἴχεται, Plaut. Trin. ii. 4, 17: *ponitur* means 'invested,' 'laid out.'

2. βαθύτητα] 'self-restraint,' as in Att. iv. 6, 3, Ep. cx.; v. 10, 3, Ep. cxcviii. *Libertas* is 'boldness,' 'independence.' It seems to us that *in* should certainly be omitted before *Appio*. The sentence would then mean 'I am very glad to find that Appius gives me credit for my self-restraint, and that I have your approval of my independence even in the case of your friend Brutus.' For he goes on to say, 'ac putaram secus. Appius *enim* ad me ex itinere bis terve ὑπομεμψιμοίρους litteras miserat . . . Sed modo succenset, modo gratias agit; nihil enim a me fit cum ulla illius contumelia . . . Sin Appius, ut Bruti litterae quas ad te misit significabant, gratias nobis agit, non moleste fero.' Cicero would hardly say that he was rejoiced to find that he had the approval of Atticus for the self-restraint and dignified courtesy with which, in reversing many of the acts of Appius, he completely refrained from any token of disrespect for his predecessor, whom he might have offended with impunity, and whose administration must have been strongly condemned by the writer of the *Sex Libri de Republica*. On the other hand it is naturally satisfactory to Cicero to find that the courtesy of his bearing was recognised by Appius, even though the latter could not regard with satisfaction the rescinding of his measures by his successor. Cicero knew well that his conduct must meet the approbation of Atticus, but he congratulated himself that he now saw reason to infer from the letter of Brutus that the *pique* appearing in Appius' letters to him was only the querulousness of the physician who sees with jealousy the changed *regimen* prescribed by his successor. Appius had employed *depletion* on the province which he had bled and handed over to Cicero on the point of death, and he did not like to see the patient fed up (προσανατρεφομένην) by his successor. 'But,' says Cicero, 'anon he is angry, and anon he expresses his obligation to me for refraining from any disrespect to him (*nihil enim a me fit cum ulla illius contumelia*),' and finally 'if Appius is obliged to me I am satisfied.'

menter gaudeo, ac putaram secus. Appius enim ad me ex itinere bis terve ὑπομεμψιμοίρους litteras miserat, quod quaedam a se constituta rescinderem. Ut, si medicus, cum aegrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si, quae ipse in curando constituerit, mutet ille, sic Appius, cum ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, προσανατρεφομένην eam a me non libenter videt; sed modo suscenset, modo gratias agit; nihil enim a me fit cum ulla illius contumelia. Tantum modo dissimilitudo meae rationis offendit hominem. Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile quam illo imperante exhaustam esse sumptibus et iacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publice? Quid dicam de illius praefectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis? Nunc autem domus mehercule nulla tanto consilio aut tanta disciplina gubernatur aut tam modesta est quam nostra tota provincia. Haec non nulli amici Appii ridicule interpretantur, qui me idcirco putent bene audire velle, ut ille male audiat, et recte facere non meae laudis, sed illius contumeliae causa. Sin Appius, ut Bruti litterae, quas ad te misit, significabant, gratias nobis agit, non moleste fero: sed tamen eo ipso die, quo haec ante lucem scribebam, cogitabam eius multa inique constituta et acta tollere. 3. Nunc venio ad Brutum, quem ego omni studio te auctore sum complexus, quem etiam amare coeperam, sed illico revocavi me, ne te offenderem. Noli enim putare me quidquam maluisse quam, ut mandatis satis facerem, nec ulla de re plus laborasse. Mandatorum autem mihi libellum dedit, iisdemque de rebus tu mecum egeras. Omnia sum diligentissime persecutus. Primum ab Ariobarzane sic contendi, ut talenta, quae mihi pollicebatur, illi daret. Quoad mecum rex fuit, perbono loco res

Ac putaram secus; Appius ENIM, &c., is hard to understand, if the ordinary reading be retained.

ὑπομεμψιμοίρους] 'somewhat querulous,' 'showing a little *pique*.'

Nunc autem domus] 'but now, upon my word, no private household is directed with such judgment or such orderliness, or is so well-regulated as our whole province.'

ridicule interpretantur] 'put an absurd construction on.'

qui . . . putent] 'in supposing.'

3. *complexus*] 'took up'; not so strong a word as *amare*, as the passage shows; therefore we cannot adopt the expression of Polonius: 'grapple him to thy heart with hoops of steel.'

illico revocavi me] 'I pulled myself up at once, lest I should vex you': cp. § 5, *metui . . . ne tu ipse me amare desineres.*

talenta] 'talents promised me by him,' seems strange; perhaps we should read *talenta ea* or VI. (i. e. *sex*) *talenta.*

erat: post a Pompeii procuratoribus sescentis premi coeptus est. Pompeius autem cum ob ceteras causas plus potest unus quam ceteri omnes tum quod putatur ad bellum Parthicum esse venturus. Ei tamen sic nunc solvitur: tricesimo quoque die talenta Attica xxxiii., et hoc ex tributis: nec id satis efficit in usuram menstruam. Sed Gnaeus noster clementer id fert: sorte caret, usura nec ea solida contentus est. Alii neque solvit cuiquam nec potest solvere. Nullum enim aerarium, nullum vectigal habet. Appii instituto tributa imperat. Ea vix in fenus Pompeii quod satis sit efficiunt. Amici regis duo tresve perdivites sunt, sed ii suum tam diligenter tenent quam ego aut tu. Equidem non desino tamen per litteras rogare, suadere, accusare regem. 4. Deiotarus etiam mihi narravit se ad eum legatos misisse de re Bruti: eos sibi responsum rettulisse illum non habere. Et mehercule ego ita iudico, nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius. Itaque aut tutela cogito me abdicare aut, ut pro Glabrione Scaevola, fenus et impendium recusare. Ego tamen, quas per te Bruto promiseram praefecturas, M. Scaptio, L. Gavio, qui in regno rem Bruti procurabant, detuli. Nec enim in provincia mea negotiabantur. Tu autem meministi nos sic agere, ut quot vellet praefecturas sumeret, dum ne negotiatori. Itaque duas ei praeterea dederam. Sed ii, quibus petierat, de provincia decesserant. 5. Nunc cognosce de Salaminiis, quod video tibi etiam novum accidisse tamquam mihi. Numquam enim ex illo audivi

sescentis] 'innumerable,' the most idiomatic equivalent for μυρίοι as distinguished from μύριοι.

ex tributis] 'by tributes imposed on his subjects,' which, as he afterwards tells us, he raises 'on the method of Appius,' *Appii instituto*.

ego aut tu] Observe the order of the words: translate 'you or I.'

4. *illum non habere*] 'no assets.'

fenus et impendium] 'capital and interest.' Varro (L. L. v. 183) 'usura quod in sorte accedebat *impendium* appellatum.' This shows that we cannot here take *fenus* in its ordinary sense of 'interest'; but it is found occasionally in the sense of 'invested capital,' *i.e.* 'capital bearing interest,' or 'capital seeking investment,' *e.g.* Tac. Hist. i. 20: *cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo non agri aut fenus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent:* Ann. vi. 17, *senatus perscripserat, duas quisque fenoris partes in agris per Italiam collocaret.* Compare also the use of the word *fenerator* in the account Suetonius (Tib. 48) gives of this law, *cum per senatus consultum sanxisset ut feneratores* ('capitalists') *duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent.*

M. Scaptio] This is not the Scaptius who is mentioned above and in the following §§ in connexion with the Salaminians. Cicero refused him the *praefectura*. The *praefectura* which this Scaptius held was in Cappadocia, not in Cicero's province. Accordingly Cicero speaks of him as *Scaptio qui in Cappadocia fuit*, Att. vi. 3, 5, Ep. cclxiv.

sic agere ut] 'that my principle was that he might have as many *praefecturae* as he pleased, provided he did not appoint anyone engaged in business (banking).'

5. *ex illo*] Brutus.

illam pecuniam esse suam. Quin etiam libellum ipsius habeo, in quo est: 'Salaminii pecuniam debent M. Scaptio et P. Matinio, familiaribus meis.' Eos mihi commendat: ascribit etiam, et quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam. Confeceram ut solverent centesimis sexennii ductis cum renovatione singulorum annorum. At Scaptius quaternas postulabat. Metui, si impetrasset, ne tu ipse me amare desineres. Nam ab edicto meo recessissem et civitatem in Catonis et in ipsius Bruti fide locatam meisque beneficiis ornatam funditus perdidissem. 6. Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse, quod nec mihi umquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi; etiam ut praefecturam Scaptio deferrem. Id vero per te exceperamus, *ne* negotiatori: quod si cuiquam, huic tamen non. Fuerat enim praefectus Appio, et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur. Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati Ephesum ob viam venissent, litteras misi ut equites ex insula statim decederent. His de causis credo Scaptium iniquius de me aliquid ad Brutum scripsisse. Sed tamen hoc sum animo: si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, cum tota provincia singulas observarem itaque edixissem idque etiam acerbissimis feneratoribus probaretur, si praefecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato nostro in tuo Laenio, Pompeio ipsi in Sex. Statio negavi et iis probavi, si equites deductos moleste feret, accipiam equidem dolorem mihi illum irasci, sed multo maiorem non esse eum talem, qualem putassem. 7. Illud quidem fatebitur Scaptius, me ius dicente sibi omnem pecuniam ex edicto meo auferendi potestatem fuisse. Addo etiam illud, quod vereor tibi ipsi ut probem: consistere usura debuit [quae erat in edicto meo]. Deponere volebant;

libellum] 'a memorandum-book.'

intercessisse] 'that he has gone security for them for a large amount'; *et . . . admovet* is parenthetical.

cum renovatione] This has the same meaning as *cum anatocismo anniversario* in Att. v. 21, 11, Ep. ccl.

in Catonis . . . fide locatam] Cyprus was under the *patrocinium* of Cato: see Fam. xv. 4, 15, Ep. ccxxxviii.

6. *impingit*] 'thrusts a letter into my hands.'

suo periculo esse] Observe the difference between the use of the infinitive in *suo periculo esse* and the subjunctive *ut . . . deferrem*. They both describe the contents of the letter; but the infin. merely states a fact, the subj. conveys a request, '*stating* that he was himself the party concerned, and *asking* me to give the *praefectura* to Scaptius.'

itaque edixissem] 'and had fixed this rate in my edict.'

et iis probavi] 'without forfeiting their good opinion.'

7. *consistere*] 'cease to run' (Digest,

impetravi a Salaminiis, ut silerent. Veniam illi quidem mihi dederunt, sed quid iis fiet, si huc Paullus venerit? Sed totum hoc Bruto dedi, qui de me ad te humanissimas litteras scripsit, ad me autem etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, adroganter, ἀκοινονοήτως solet scribere. Tu autem velim ad eum scribas de his rebus, ut sciam quo modo haec accipiat. Facies enim me certiorem. Atque haec superioribus litteris ad te diligenter perscripseram, sed plane te intellegere volui mihi non excidisse illud, quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisses: si nihil aliud de hac provincia nisi illius benevolentiam deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis, sed tamen cum eo, credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat. Igitur meo decreto soluta res Scaptio stat: quam

xxii. 1, 7). The interest would have ceased to accrue at once if the Salaminians had deposited the money due in a temple. They were willing to do this, and so the interest should have ceased to run. The words which we have bracketed were, we think, added by some copyist who did not understand the meaning of *consistere*. The rate of interest fixed in the edict is irrelevant. Whatever the interest was, it should have ceased to run when the Salaminians professed themselves willing to make the deposit. They were willing; but Cicero persuaded them to say nothing about it. If the words enclosed in brackets are genuine, we must give a less natural and less relevant meaning to *consistere*: 'the rate of interest fixed in my edict ought to have been maintained,' in the transaction with Scaptius'; that is, the interest should have been *simple* according to my edict; now the Salaminians were ready to pay *compound* interest.

quid iis fiet] *iis* is abl.: cp. *quid illo fiet . . . quid me fiet*, § 14.

Paullus] M. Aemilius Paullus, consul this year, was the adoptive brother of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the brother-in-law of Brutus. He might succeed Cicero, and then what would become of the debtors of Brutus?

ἀκοινονοήτως] The reading universally adopted is the conjecture ἀκοινωνήτως. But it seems to us that ἀκοινονοήτως, the reading of M, is a much more appropriate word here. The adj. means *communi carens sensu* (see schol. on Juv. vii. 218, ap. Mayor). The quality which Brutus here showed himself so conspicuously to lack was just that *tact* and *knowledge of the world* on which Cicero especially prided himself. If ἀκοινωνήτως means, as it ought to mean, 'unsocially,' it is not a strong enough word; if it could mean 'uncivilly,' that expression would still involve an anti-climax or at best a mere repetition of *contumaciter* and *adroganter*. On ἀκοινωνήτως, see Mayor, Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 8. Gellius, xii. 12, tells a story about Cicero, in which he puts the adjective ἀκοινονόητος into Cicero's mouth. A Greek adverb following two Latin adverbs ought to convey a very pointed sense.

mihi non excidisse] 'that I had not forgotten.'

illius benevolentiam] 'the good will of Brutus.'

cum eo, credo, quod . . . fiat] 'with this proviso (I take it for granted), that my acquisition of his good will is consistent with a justifiable line of conduct on my part.' This phrase, *cum eo quod* = *hac lege ut*, is not found elsewhere in Cicero, but is not rare in Livy.

soluta res Scaptio stat] This is the reading of M, save that we read with Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii. 176) *stat* for *statim*. The meaning is, 'I have given judgment that the Salaminians have made a legal tender,' 'that their payment to Scaptius is good at law.' For *stare* in this sense see § 15, and L. S. ii., B. 1. Cicero adds, 'the equity of this course I will leave to your judgment; I will not even appeal to Cato,' that is, 'the equity is so clear that it is not necessary to appeal to such an expert in honour as Cato; it does not need a purist to see that this course is right.' It is clear from Att. vi. 2, 7, Ep. cclvi., and 3, 5, Ep. cclxiv., that the Salaminians were willing so far to make

id rectum sit tu iudicabis, ne ad Catonem quidem provocabo. 8. Sed noli me putare ἐγκελεύσματα illa tua abiecisse, quae mihi in visceribus haerent. Flens mihi meam famam commendasti. Quae epistola tua est, in qua mentionem *non* facias? Itaque irascatur qui volet, patiar: τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ, praesertim cum sex libris tamquam praedibus me ipsum obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo, e quibus unum ἱστορικὸν requiris de Cn. Flavio, Annii F. Ille vero ante decemviros non fuit, quippe qui aedilis curulis fuerit, qui magistratus multis annis post decemviros institutus est. Quid ergo profecit, quod protulit fastos? Occultatam putant quodam tempore istam tabulam, ut dies agendi peterentur a paucis. Nec vero pauci sunt auctores Cn. Flavium scribam fastos protulisse actionesque composuisse, ne me hoc vel potius Africanum—is enim loquitur—commentum putes. Οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε illud de gestu histrionis, tu scelesta suspicaris, ego ἀφελῶς scripsi. 9. De me imperatore scribis te ex Philotimi litteris cognosse. Sed

a concession of their rights to Scaptius as to offer him 12 per cent. with compound interest, though the edict of Cicero authorised only simple interest. Scaptius wanted his 48 per cent., and wished Cicero to leave the decision to his successor. This Cicero rightly refused to do. Still he allowed Scaptius to resort to tergiversation, and he allowed the interest to keep on running, though it ought to have ceased to run when the Salaminians made their offer to deposit the money—an offer which Cicero persuaded them to withdraw, or not to press.

8. *Sed noli*] 'but (though I am anxious to know how Brutus takes the attitude I have assumed) do not suppose I have let slip from me your exhortations: no, they are planted in my heart of hearts. With tears in your eyes you bade me think of my reputation. So, let who will be vexed, I will face it all; I have right on my side.'

τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ] Aristoph. Ach., 659, where the words seem to be a quotation from Eur.

sex libris] i.e. *De Rep.*; Cicero says this treatise has as it were 'given bail' for his conduct, and he would be breaking his bail if he proved false to its teaching.

unum ἱστ. requiris] 'you detect a mistake in history': lit. 'you miss historical accuracy in one point.' Atticus had supposed that when Cicero speaks in the De Rep. of Cn. Flavius as having published the *fasti* (that is, exposed in public a table of *dies fasti* and *nefasti*), he implies that Cn. Flavius lived before the Decemvirs. 'Of course he was subsequent to the Decemvirs,' writes Cicero, 'seeing that he held the curule aedileship, which was instituted long after the time of the Decemvirs. What good then, you will ask, did he effect by publishing the *fasti*? It is believed that at one period the table of the *dies fasti* was not exposed in public, so that a small body (the *pontifices*) might be the sole source of information on this subject; 'and indeed there is good authority that this Cn. Flavius was the first to secure the publication of this table, and to draw up a digest of the forms of legal procedure.'

de gestu] Cicero had written something about the gesture of some actor. Atticus thought it was a hit at Hortensius, of whom Cicero says (Brut. 303) that his gestures were too artificial for an orator. Cicero writes, 'you suspect a satirical meaning: I wrote in all *naïveté*.' The words οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε must be ironical: 'so you took my remark about the actor's mannerism as *verbum sap.*: no, I did not mean any sly allusion.'

9. *De me imper.*] 'about my having been saluted as *imperator*.'

credo te, iam in Epiro cum esses, binas meas de omnibus rebus accepisse, unas a Pindenisso capto, alteras a Laodicea, utrasque tuis pueris datas. Quibus de rebus propter casus navigandi per binos tabellarios misi Romam litteras publice. 10. De Tullia mea tibi adsentior, scripsique ad eam et ad Terentiam mihi placere, Tu enim ad me iam ante scripseras, 'ac vellem te in tuum veterem gregem rettulisses.' Correcta vero epistola Memmiana nihil negotii fuit. Multo enim malo hunc a Pontidia quam illum a Servilia. Qua re adiunges Saufeium nostrum, hominem semper amantem mei: nunc, credo, eo magis, quod debet etiam fratris Appii amorem erga me cum reliqua hereditate crevisse, qui declaravit quanti me faceret cum saepe tum in Bursa. Ne tu me sollicitudine magna liberaris. 11. Furnii exceptio mihi non placet. Nec enim ego ullum aliud tempus timeo, nisi quod ille solum excipit. Sed scriberem ad te de hoc plura, si Romae esses. In Pompeio te spem omnem otii ponere non miror: ita res est removendumque censeo illud 'dissimulantem.' Sed enim, οἰκονομία si perturbatior est, tibi adsignato: te enim sequor σχεδιάζοντα. 12. Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur, sed alter, uti dixit Isocrates in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus. Quinto togam puram Liberalibus cogitabam dare. Mandavit enim pater. Ea sic observabo, quasi intercalatum non

casus navigandi] 'the accidents that attend a sea voyage.' It seems necessary with Wes. to correct *casum* of MSS, as *casum navigandi* can hardly bear the meaning of 'uncertainty' or be taken (as it is by Boot) to mean *casus qui dominatur in navigatione*.

10. *ac vellem*] See on Att. v. 4, 1, Ep. clxxxvii.

a Pontidia] It seems clear from the other passages which refer to this topic that Pontidia favoured the suit of Dolabella, while Servilia exerted her influence for her son, Servius Sulpicius. We must suppose that there is here the ellipse of some such word as *commendatum*; we already have more than once met extremely harsh cases of ellipse in the letters.

adiunges] If this word is sound, the meaning must be, 'get Saufeius to help you in carrying out this business.' His cousin Appius, of whom we know nothing, had recently died and left Saufeius his heir. So Cicero writes, 'in succeeding to the estate of Appius he must have inherited his regard for me, which he showed especially on the occasion of Bursa's trial.' Cicero prosecuted T. Munatius Plancus Bursa: see Fam. vii. 2, 2, Ep. clxxxii. *Ne* is the interjection: 'Ah, that would be a great weight off my mind!' We should expect the preceding clause to have *si* or *cum*: cp. Tusc. i. 74; perhaps we should here read *si adiunges*.

11. *Furnii exceptio*] Furnius, a tribune of the people and a friend of Cicero, had passed a bill that the provincial governors should leave the provinces, 'unless the Parthians assumed a hostile attitude before the month of July.' This is the proviso (*exceptio*) which Cicero dislikes.

σχεδιάζοντα] 'in your *harum scarum* method,' that is his rapid transition from one subject to another wholly unconnected with it.

12. *Liberalibus*] March 17.

sit. Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci. Sed homo nec doctior nec sanctior fieri potest nec tui meique amantior. 13. Thermum, Silium vere audis laudari: valde honeste *se* gerunt. Adde M. Nonium, Bibulum, me, si voles. Iam Scrofa vellem haberet ubi posset. Est enim lautum negotium. Ceteri infirmant πολίτευμα Catonis. Hortensio quod causam meam commendas, valde gratum. De Amiano spei nihil putat esse Dionysius. Terentii nullum vestigium agnovi. Moeragenes certe periit. Feci iter per eius possessionem, in qua animal reliquum nullum est. Haec non noram tum, cum Democrito tuo *cum* locutus sum. Rhosica vasa mandavi. Sed heus tu, quid cogitas? in felicatis lancibus et splendidissimis canistris holusculis nos soles pascere, quid te in vasis fictilibus appositurum putem? Κέρας Phemio mandatum est: reperietur, modo aliquid illo dignum canat. 14. Parthicum bellum impendet. Cassius ineptas litteras misit: necdum Bibuli erant adlatae: quibus recitatis puto fore ut aliquando commoveatur senatus. Equidem sum in magna animi perturbatione. Si, ut opto, non prorogatur nostrum negotium, habeo Iunium et Quinctilem in metu. Esto, duos quidem menses sustinebit Bibulus. Quid illo fiet, quem reliquero, praesertim si fratrem? quid me autem, si non tam cito decedo? Magna turba est. Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit ut ille in meis castris esset cum suis copiis omnibus. Habet autem cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura xxx, equitum CIↃ CIↃ. Erit ad sustentandum quoad Pompeius veniat, qui litteris, quas ad me mittit, significat suum negotium illud fore. Hiemant in nostra provincia Parthi. Exspectatur ipse Orodes.

13. *Thermum*] These are provincial governors—Thermus of Asia, Silius of Bithynia, Nonius of Crete and Cyrene. Cicero says the report that they have won golden opinions in their provinces is true. 'I only wish Scrofa had a government in which he could earn men's praise. He is a fine fellow. The rest do little credit to Cato's platform.'

causam meam] The prevention of a renewed tenure of provincial government.

Terentii] See on Att. v. 15, 3, Ep. ccvii.

possessionem] 'holding'; property in land in the provinces vested in the Roman people.

Rhosica] Rhosian ware, made at Rhosus, a town of Syria. Athenaeus (vi. 229 A) says this ware was εὐανθέστατον. The word used by the Romans for a dinner service is *synthesis*.

felicatis] 'fern-pattern dishes.' Atticus is often rallied by Cicero on his parsimony: see I² p. 45.

14. *sustinebit*] 'Bibulus will be able to hold the Parthians in check for two months.'

quadringenarias] 'consisting of 400 men each.'

erit ad] See on Att. iii. 7, 2, Ep. lxiii.

nostra provincia] = *Romana*, as in Att. v. 21, 1, Ep. ccl.

Quid quaeris? Aliquantum est negotii. 15. De Bibuli edicto nihil novi praeter illam exceptionem, de qua tu ad me scripseras, 'nimis gravi praeiudicio in ordinem nostrum.' Ego tamen habeo ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν, sed tectiorem, ex Q. Mucii P. F. edicto Asiatico, EXTRA QUAM SI ITA NEGOTIUM GESTUM EST, UT EO STARI NON OPORTEAT EX FIDE BONA, multaque sum secutus Scaevolae, in iis illud, in quo sibi libertatem censent Graeci datam, ut Graeci inter se disceptent suis legibus. Breve autem edictum est propter hanc meam διαίρεσιν, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi: quorum unum est provinciale, in quo est de rationibus civitatum, de aere alieno, de usura, de syngraphis, in eodem omnia de publicanis, alterum, quod sine edicto satis commode transigi non potest, de hereditatum possessionibus, de bonis possidendis vendendis, magistris faciendis, quae ex edicto et postulari et fieri solent, tertium de reliquo iure dicundo ἄγραφον reliqui. Dixi me de eo genere mea decreta ad edicta urbana accommodaturum, itaque curo et satis facio adhuc omnibus. Graeci vero exsultant, quod peregrinis iudicibus utuntur. Nugatoribus quidem, inquies. Quid refert? Tamen se αὐτονομίαν adeptos putant. Vestri enim, credo, graves habent, Turpionem sutorium et Vettium mancipem. 16. De publicanis quid agam videris quaerere. Habeo in deliciis, obsequor, verbis laudo, orno: efficio ne cui molesti sint. Τὸ παραδοξότατον, usuras eorum, quas pactionibus ascripserant, servavit etiam Servilius.

15. *nihil . . . nostrum*] 'no new feature except that proviso of which you said in your letter that it was a severe reflection on our order, the knights.' The *exceptio* was *extra quam si quid vi aut dolo malo gestum erit*. Instead of this Cicero embodied in his edict another *exceptio* 'of equal weight, but more covertly put, that contracts should be binding unless containing some provision which cannot be maintained.' For *stari* see § 7. We have here an undesigned confession on the part of Atticus of the real character of the publicani in the provinces. Any allusion to *vis* or *dolus malus* would be regarded as a reflection on the *Equites*.

P. F.] = *Publii filio*.

διαίρεσιν] 'division'; *duobus generibus*, 'under two heads.'

magistris] 'salesmasters.'

peregrinis] = *Graecis*.

nugatoribus] 'mere nobodies': cp. *nugas maximas*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 4, Ep. liii.; *nugarum aliquid*, 'some nobody,' Att. vi. 3, 2, Ep. cclxiv.; *nugarum nihil*, 'nothing that did not mean business,' Mil. 55.

vestri] Probably 'you and your school,' the Epicureans, or perhaps 'you and your friends in Epirus have grave and reverend signiors in Turpio, the ex-shoemaker, and Vettius the broker.' Such is the explanation of Boot and others. But perhaps *vestri* here refers to the Athenians, who are often called the fellow-citizens of Atticus. Then *peregrinis* would seem to mean 'foreigners' (to the Greeks), that is, 'Romans.' Cicero would seem to be sneering at the Greeks for making a preposterous use of their coveted Home Rule, in electing to the magistracies Romans, and Romans of a very low type.

16. *in deliciis*] 'I make pets of them.'

Servilius] Isauricus, who conquered Cilicia, 678 (76).

Ego sic: diem statuo satis laxam, quam ante si solverint, dico me centesimas ducturum: si non solverint, ex pactione. Itaque et Graeci solvunt tolerabili fenore et publicanis res est gratissima, si illa iam habent pleno modio, verborum honorem, invitationem crebram. Quid plura? Sunt omnes ita mihi familiares, ut se quisque maxime putet. Sed tamen μηδὲν αὐτοῖς . . . scis reliqua. 17. De statua Africani—ὢ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων! sed me *id* ipsum delectavit in tuis litteris—ain tu? Scipio hic Metellus proavum suum nescit censorem non fuisse? Atqui nihil habuit aliud inscriptum nisi COS. ea statua, quae ad Opis †per te† posita in excelso est, in illa autem, quae est ad Πολυκλέους Herculem, inscriptum est CENS. quam esse eiusdem status, amictus, anulus. imago ipsa declarat. At mehercule ego cum in turma inauratarum equestrium, quas hic Metellus in Capitolio posuit, animadvertissem in Serapionis subscriptione Africani imaginem, erratum fabrile putavi, nunc video Metelli. O ἀνιστορησίαν turpem! 18. Nam illud de Flavio et fastis, si secus est, commune erratum est, et tu belle ἠπόρησας et nos publicam prope opinionem secuti sumus, ut multa apud Graecos. Quis enim non dixit Εὔπολιν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, ab Alcibiade navigante in Siciliam deiectum esse in mare? Redarguit Eratosthenes: adfert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. Num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, irridetur? Quis Zaleucum leges Locris scripsisse non dixit? Num igitur iacet

ex pactione] 'according to the bond.'

si illa] If the text is sound we must understand, 'if they enjoy (as they do) the following coveted privileges'; but for *si* we should probably read *sed* with Wes.; *illa* will then refer to what goes before, which the following words merely resume.

pleno modio] 'in full measure.'

μηδὲν αὐτοῖς] Some imperative or subjunctive must be understood, meaning, 'don't (or, let me not) humour them too far,' or 'don't trust them too much.'

17. *ὢ πραγμάτων*] 'O what a tangle of topics.'

nihil habuit aliud] We have given this passage as it stands in M, only transposing Cens. and Cos. The words *per te* can hardly be right, as it does not seem probable that Atticus would have set up a statue of a person in no way connected with him. It is possible, as Boot urges, that Atticus, who took on him the arranging of the statues in Pompey's theatre, might have erected a statue of Scipio Nasica on the Capitol; but it is far more likely that this should have been the work of a descendant of Scipio: see *Addenda*, where we have defended at some length the transposition which (as it seems to us) is clearly demanded by the logic of the passage.

ad Opis †per te†] Jordan (Eph. Epigr. iii. 65) proposes to read here *ad Opis Opiferae* (sc. *aedem*) at the temple of *Ops Opifera*.

in Serapionis subscriptione] 'with the name of Serapion under it.'

18. *illud de Flavio*] See § 8.

belle ἠπόρησας] 'that was a nice point you raised against me.'

τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας] sc. *κωμῳδίας*.

iacet] 'is Theophrastus therefore put out of court?' *Iacet* is a forensic term, as in *iacent suis testibus*, Mil. 47.

Theophrastus, si id a Timaeo, tuo familiari, reprehensum est? Sed nescire proavum suum censorem non fuisse turpe est, praesertim cum post eum consulem nemo Cornelius illo vivo censor fuerit. 19. Quod de Philotimo et de solutione HS XXDC. scribis, Philotimum circiter Kal. Ianuarias in Chersonesum audio venisse: at mihi ab eo nihil adhuc. Reliqua mea Camillus scribit se accepisse: ea quae sint nescio et aveo scire. Verum haec posterius et coram fortasse commodius. 20. Illud me, mi Attice, in extrema fere parte epistolae commovit: scribis enim sic, τί λοιπόν; deinde me obsecras amantissime, ne obliviscar vigilare et ut animadvertam quae fiant. Num quid de quo inaudisti? Etsi nihil eius modi est. Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Nec enim me fefellisset nec fallet. Sed ista admonitio tua tam accurata nescio quid mihi significare visa est. 21. De M. Octavio iterum iam tibi rescribo te illi probe respondisse, paullo vellem fidentius. Nam Caelius libertum ad me misit et litteras accurate scriptas et de pantheris et a civitatibus. Rescripsi alterum me moleste ferre, si ego in tenebris laterem nec

19. *HS XXDC*] We gather from various covert allusions to this transaction in this book, Epp. cclxviii. 3, cclxix. 2, cclxx. 1, that Philotimus, the steward of Terentia, had dealt in a questionable way with a sum of money arising out of the sale of the goods of Milo.

20. *mi Attice*] This is the first time that Cicero addresses his friend as *Attice;* therefore the heading *Cicero Attico Sal.* throughout is probably not genuine: see I[2], p. 48.

τί λοιπόν] 'what have I still to tell you.' This phrase would imply that what followed was not very important; yet Atticus beseeches him to look after his staff, and watch what goes on. Hence Cicero asks, 'Have you heard a whisper about any of them?' adding, 'yet it cannot be so; *pas de tout;* it could not have escaped my notice, and will not. But your earnest admonition perplexed me somewhat.' For *quid de quo* compare *quid ne quo*, in Att. iv. 17, 1, Ep. cxlix. *Inaudire* is properly to 'overhear,' and so often indicates eavesdropping: see on Plaut. Mil. Glor. ii. 2, 57 (212). *Etsi* is often used like ἀλλὰ γάρ, and refers to a sentence understood.

21. *De M. Octavio*] See Att. v. 21, 5, Ep. ccl.

et a civitatibus] The reading in the text may possibly be right, though the correction of *a* to *de* before *civitatibus* would make the passage easier. But it would be hard to account for the corruption. If *a civitatibus* is what Cicero wrote, the meaning is, 'I received a carefully written letter from Caelius, asking to be supplied with panthers for his show, and enclosing copies of letters from the different *civitates* in Cilicia offering contributions.' The first *alterum* refers to the *latter* point (as often: see on Fam. vii. 26, 1, Ep. xciv.; Fam. i. 7, 1, Ep. cxiv.), with which Cicero deals, by expressing his regret that the fame of the purity of his administration had not found its way to Rome, warning Caelius that he could not allow, nor Caelius accept, any subscription of money from the province; and impressing on Caelius the greater necessity for circumspection in his case, as he (Caelius) had signalised himself by the severity with which he had prosecuted provincial malfeasance. Then he turns to the first point, and says it would not be respectable to have a public panther-hunt in his province. Boot has clearly shown that the reference cannot be to Fam. viii. 9, Ep. ccxi., as Man. supposed. The offer made by the province to Caelius was a money vote for his games, such as we read of in Q. Fr. i. 1, 26, Ep. xxx.

audiretur Romae nullum in mea provincia nummum nisi in aes alienum erogari, docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere nec illi capere, monuique eum, quem plane diligo, ut, cum alios accusasset, cautius viveret, illud autem alterum alienum esse existimatione mea, Cibyratas imperio meo publice venari. 22. Lepta tua epistola gaudio exsultat. Etenim scripta belle est meque apud eum magna in gratia posuit. Filiola tua gratum mihi fecit, quod tibi diligenter mandavit ut mihi salutem ascriberes: gratum etiam Pilia, sed illa officiosius, quod mihi, quem [iam pridem] numquam vidit. Igitur tu quoque salutem utrique ascribito. Litterarum datarum dies pr. Kal. Ianuar. suavem habuit recordationem clarissimi iuris iurandi, quod ego non eram oblitus. Magnus enim praetextatus illo die fui. Habes ad omnia, non, ut postulasti, χρύσεα χαλκείων, sed paria paribus [respondimus]. 23. Ecce alia autem pusilla epistola, quam non relinquam ἀναντιφώνητον. Bene mehercule †potuit Lucceius Tusculanum, nisi forte—solet enim—cum suo tibicine, et velim scire qui sit status eius. Lentulum quidem nostrum *omnia* praeter Tusculanum proscripsisse audio. Cupio hos expeditos videre, cupio etiam Sestium, adde, sis, Caelium, in quibus omnibus est,

αἴδεσθεν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.

22. *Lepta*] Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*: see Att. v. 17, 2, Ep. ccix.

iam pridem] We agree with Boot, who brackets these words. Cicero distinctly says above, Att. v. 19, 2, Ep. ccxx., that he had never seen her: he now writes, 'your daughter's politeness in sending her love to me was the greater because she was sending it to one whom she had never seen.'

litt. datarum dies] 'the date of your letter pleasantly reminded me of the celebrated oath I took' (for which see Fam. v. 2, 7, Ep. xv.). *Pridie Kal. Ianuar.* is in apposition with *dies*; it would have been more normal if he had written *qui fuit*, as in Att. iv. 1, 5, Ep. xc., *postridie in senatu qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembrium*: see note on that passage.

Magnus praetextatus] 'A Pompeius in a *toga praetexta*.' Pompeius would be *Magnus paludatus*. Our friend and colleague, Rev. T. T. Gray, acutely suggests that in the well-known passage *stat magni nominis umbra* we should write *Magni*. Pompeius is called *Magnus* in the letters, very frequently, and elsewhere, *e.g.* in Catull. lv. 6, *in Magni simul ambulatione*; Mart. xi. 5, 11, *cum Caesare Magnus amabat*; so all through Lucan.

23. ἀναντιφώνητον] 'unanswered.'

Bene mehercule potuit] It is quite useless to put forward any of the theories made as to the meaning of this passage. We may, however, arrive at a negative result, that it is idle to supply *vendere* after *potuit*, or *se ibi oblectare* after *solet enim cum suo tibicine*.

αἴδεσθεν] These are the words applied to the chieftains of the Greeks on hearing the challenge of Hector to single combat, Il. vii. 93. The words do not seem very applicable to the present context, as it is usually understood, which seems to imply that these embarrassed Roman nobles were ashamed (why?) to refuse the aid of Caesar, and were afraid to accept it, lest it should compromise them in the approaching struggle. Perhaps they were ashamed

De Memmio restituendo ut Curio cogitet te audisse puto. De Egnatii Sidicini nomine nec nulla nec magna spe sumus. Pinarium, quem mihi commendas, diligentissime Deiotarus curat graviter aegrum. Respondi etiam minori. 24. Tu velim, dum ero Laodiceae, id est, ad Idus Maias, quam saepissime mecum per litteras colloquare, et cum Athenas veneris—iam enim sciemus de rebus urbanis, de provinciis, quae omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata—utique ad me tabellarios mittas. 25. Et heus tu, iamne vos a Caesare per Herodem talenta Attica L. extorsistis? in quo, ut audio, magnum odium Pompeii suscepistis. Putat enim suos nummos vos comedisse, Caesarem in Nemore aedificando diligentiorem fore. Haec ego ex P. Vedio, magno nebulone, sed Pompeii tamen familiari, audivi. Hic Vedius venit mihi ob viam cum duobus essedis et reda equis iuncta et lectica et familia magna pro qua, si Curio legem pertulerit, HS centenos pendat

to display that distrust of Caesar's offer which might be inferred from a refusal. Cicero's quotations from the poets often have only a very slight relevancy to the topic illustrated. In fact it is quite a modern law that a quotation should exactly suit the thing to which it is applied—should 'go on all fours,' as the saying is. The loose applicability of the quotations of Aristotle from Homer has often been noticed. Perhaps, however, the commentators have been hasty in postulating an allusion to Caesar in this passage. The verse might have been quoted by Cicero with the meaning, 'They are ashamed to repudiate (their debts), and are afraid to face them (take them on their shoulders).'

restituendo] Memmius was still at Athens, whither he had retired on being exiled in 700 (54).

24. *collata sunt*] 'have been assigned in a body to the month of March' to be then definitely arranged.

25. *suos nummos*] Pompeius must have lent Cicero a large sum of money, so that he might look on Caesar's money as his own. The following words present some difficulty. As they stand, we must suppose that Pompeius was opposed to the great expenditure which Caesar was making on the building of a house near the sacred grave of Diana, called *Nemus*, in the neighbourhood of Aricia. Suet. Jul. 46, tells us that when this villa had been completed at great expense, Caesar had it pulled down 'because it did not altogether suit his taste' (*quia non tota ad animum ei responderat*). The sentence would then mean: 'Pompeius thinks you have got into your clutches (gobbled up, *comedisse*) a large sum of money which was in effect his, and that it will not have the good effect of cooling Caesar's mania for building—in fact he will be all the more eager to carry his projects out.' A good sense would thus emerge, but the expression is not satisfactory: we should rather have expected some such words as *Caesarem tamen in Nemore aedificando nihilo indiligentiorem fore*. So unsatisfactory is the expression that we are strongly disposed to accept Boot's suggestion, and read *nec Caesarem . . . diligentiorem fore*. The word *diligens* would then bear the meaning 'economical,' not uncommon in Cicero, and the train of thought would run thus: If the parting with this large sum made Caesar more economical in his building projects, then Pompeius would be satisfied; but he feared that it would not have that effect. The theory adopted by Boot, and most commentators, that Pompeius, as son-in-law, looked on Caesar's money as being virtually his own, seems improbable, especially as Julia had been some years dead.

Curio legem] The *lex viaria* of Curio, referred to Fam. viii. 6, 5, Ep. ccxlii. is supposed from this passage to have imposed a heavy tax for keeping the roads in repair

necesse est. Erat praeterea cynocephalus in essedo nec deerant onagri. Numquam vidi hominem nequiorem. Sed extremum audi. Deversatus est Laodiceae apud Pompeium Vindullum: ibi sua deposuit, cum ad me profectus est. Moritur interim Vindullus, quae res ad Magnum [Pompeium] pertinere putabatur. C. Vennonius domum Vindulli venit: cum omnia obsignaret in Vedianas res incidit. In his inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum, in quibus una sororis amici tui, hominis 'bruti,' qui hoc utatur, et *uxoris* illius 'lepidi,' qui haec tam neglegenter ferat. Haec te volui παριστορῆσαι. Sumus enim ambo belle curiosi. 26. Unum etiam velim cogites. Audio Appium πρόπυλον Eleusine facere. Num inepti nos fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiae fecerimus? Puto, inquies. Ergo id ipsum scribes ad me. Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum *meum*. Odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum. Sed ut tibi

on such as kept equipages larger than ordinary. But as Boot remarks, Cicero would then have written *pro quibus* instead of *pro qua* (sc. *familia*). It is safer to suppose that Cicero refers to a sumptuary law of Curio, which levied a tax on the rich, proportioned to the extent of their establishment (*familia*).

ad Magnum] We think *Pompeium* is a gloss. Perhaps there is a similar gloss in Att. viii. 6, 3, *Hoc tamen spero Magnum* [*nomen imperatoris*] *fore magnum in adventu terrorem*.

C. Vennonius] It was supposed that the property of Vindullus, who died intestate and childless, would go to his patron Pompeius. C. Vennonius came to take an inventory of the goods of the deceased, and among the rest he found some property of Vedius, which he had left at the house of Vindullus on setting out to visit Cicero. Among these goods of Vedius, deposited for safe keeping with his friend the deceased Vindullus, were found portrait models of some Roman ladies. This compromised these ladies, for Vedius was a notorious *roué*. Among the models was one of Junia, sister of Brutus and wife of Lepidus. Neither Brutus nor Lepidus took any notice of the matter, and Brutus still kept up his intimacy with Vedius. Cicero, by a most delicate use of language (which has been noticed I[2], p. 65, among others), in telling the tale, introduces a play on each name merely by using the subjunctive instead of the indicative: 'among which was a portrait of the sister of your friend Brutus—a brute part indeed to keep up the man's acquaintance—and wife of Lepidus—*lepidus* indeed to take the matter so coolly.' We have followed Wesenberg in inserting *uxoris*, because though *Junia Lepidi* might well mean 'Junia the wife of Lepidus,' yet it is clear that the ellipse of *uxoris* would be impossible in the present passage. Perhaps, however, we should rather supply a Greek term, which would account better for the dropping out of the word; perhaps ἀλόχου *illius lepidi*. The Greek words used for 'wife' in Epp. cclxviii., cclxix., are δάμαρ and ξυνάορος; but in the latter passage, while C and M give συναόρου, other MSS have ἀλόχου; so that it seems far from improbable that Cicero here wrote ἀλόχου.

παριστορῆσαι] 'to ask *en passant*.'

belle curiosi] 'we both are nice gossips.'

26. πρόπυλον] An inscription discovered in 1860 (Corp. Inscr. Lat. I., p. 181), no doubt refers to this very porch. It is thus quoted by Boot: Ap. Claudius *Ap. F. Pulcher propylum Cereri* et Proser*pinae cos. vovit* imp*erat*or. coepit Pulcher. Claud*ius et Rex Mar*cius fec*erunt*.

ipsas Athenas] The material city: see on Att. v. 10, 5, Ep. cxcviii.

falsas inscriptiones] We learn from Plut. Ant. 60 that there were statues of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens which bore the inscription of *Antonius*. (Boot.)

placebit, faciesque me in quem diem Romana incidant mysteria certiorem et quo modo hiemaris. Cura ut valeas. Post Leuctricam pugnam die septingentesimo sexagesimo quinto.

CCLIII. CICERO TO QUINTUS MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. XIII. 54).

MARCH; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Q. Thermo pro pr. Asiae gratias agit, quod liberaliter tractasset M. Marcilium, ab eoque petit ut socrus eius rea ne fiat.

CICERO THERMO PRO PR. S.

Cum multa mihi grata sunt, quae tu adductus mea commendatione fecisti, tum in primis, quod M. Marcilium, amici atque interpretis mei filium, liberalissime tractavisti. Venit enim Laodiceam et tibi apud me mihique propter te gratias maximas egit. Qua re, quod reliquum est, a te peto, quoniam apud gratos homines beneficium ponis, ut eo libentius iis commodes operamque des, quoad fides tua patietur, ut socrus adolescentis rea ne fiat. Ego cum antea studiose commendabam Marcilium, tum multo nunc studiosius, quod in longa apparitione singularem et prope incredibilem patris Marcilii fidem, abstinentiam modestiamque cognovi.

mysteria] the festival of the Bona Dea, as in Att. v. 21, 14, Ep. ccl. This reminds Cicero of Clodius, and hence he dates his letter by the number of days since the fray in which he lost his life, which he sportively calls the battle of Leuctra, as he had already called it the battle of Bovillae (Att. v. 13, 1, Ep. cciii.). Clodius was slain on Jan. 18, 702 (52); the date of this letter therefore is Feb. 23, 704 (50), reckoning of course according to the pre-Julian calendar, and inclusively after the Roman fashion.

quo modo hiemaris] 'how you have passed the winter.'

THERMO] cp. Fam. xiii. 53, Ep. ccxxx.

M. Marcilium] Nothing further is known of this man.

apparitione] 'term of service.'

fidem . . . modestiamque] 'trustworthy, unselfish and unassuming character': *abstinentia* strictly means a disposition which is not grasping or rapacious.

CCLIV. CICERO TO QUINTUS MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. XIII. 57).

MARCH; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero a Q. Thermo pro pr. petit, ut M. Anneium legatum suum remittat, eiusdemque causam Sardianam commendat.

CICERO THERMO PRO PR. S.

1. Quo magis cotidie ex litteris nuntiisque bellum magnum esse in Syria cognosco, eo vehementius a te pro nostra necessitudine contendo, ut mihi M. Anneium legatum primo quoque tempore remittas. Nam eius opera, consilio, scientia rei militaris vel maxime intellego me et rem publicam adiuvari posse. Quod nisi tanta res eius ageretur, nec ipse adduci potuisset ut a me discederet neque ego ut eum a me dimitterem. Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito circiter Kal. Maias. Ante eam diem M. Anneius ad me redeat oportet. 2. Illud quod tecum et coram et per litteras diligentissime egi, id et nunc etiam atque etiam rogo, curae tibi sit, ut suum negotium, quod habet cum populo Sardiano, pro causae veritate et pro sua dignitate conficiat. Intellexi ex tua oratione, cum tecum Ephesi locutus sum, te ipsius M. Anneii causa omnia velle. Sed tamen sic velim existimes, te mihi nihil gratius facere posse, quam si intellexero per te illum suum negotium ex sententia confecisse, idque quam primum ut efficias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

1. *Quo magis cotidie*] For *cotidie* with comparatives, cp. on Att. v. 7, 1, Ep. cxc.

2. *pro causae veritate*] 'justice of the case.' For *veritas* cp. Fam. viii. 6, 1, Ep. ccxlii.

te ipsius . . . velle] 'that you take an interest in M. Anneius himself.'

suum] So we read with Wesenberg (*Em.* p. 104, note: cp. *Em. Alt.* 45) for *ipsum* of the MSS.

CCLV. CICERO TO CAELIUS, CURULE AEDILE (FAM. II. 11).

PRID. NON. APR.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De prorogatione provinciae sollicitus M. Caelio pantheras promittit in ludos aediles et de re publ. sibi perscribi vult. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

1. Putaresne umquam accidere posse ut mihi verba deessent, neque solum ista vestra oratoria, sed haec etiam levia nostratia? Desunt autem propter hanc causam, quod mirifice sum sollicitus quidnam de provinciis decernatur. Mirum me desiderium tenet urbis, incredibile meorum atque in primis tui, satietas autem provinciae, vel quia videmur eam famam consecuti, ut non tam accessio quaerenda quam fortuna metuenda sit, vel quia totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui maiora onera in re publica sustinere et possimus et soleamus, vel quia belli magni timor impendet, quod videmur effugere, si ad constitutam diem decedemus. 2. De pantheris per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandatu meo diligenter, sed mira paucitas est, et eas, quae sunt,

1. *Putaresne*] We have retained this reading of the MSS instead of adopting *putarasne*, though indeed much stress cannot be laid on its being found in the MSS to justify its retention; for as Wesenberg (*Em.* 26 ff.) has shown, the contracted form of the pluperfect of *puto* is often corrupted into the imperf. subj. or the imperf. indic. But there is a distinction in meaning between *putarasne* and *putaresne*. The former would mean, 'had you ever thought' (before something else happened, *e.g.* before you got this letter stating the fact); but the ellipse of this clause is very harsh. If the indicative be used, we should rather have, as Klotz (Introd. p. xlii.) has shown, *putavistine*, 'have you ever thought.' Whereas *putaresne* means, 'would you have ever thought' (if the matter had crossed your mind at all), a very common ellipse with such subjunctives as *putares*, *crederes*, &c.: cp. Roby, 1544. In all the cases where Wesenberg says *putarem* was rightly altered to *putaram* (viz. Fam. i. 9, 8, Ep. cxlviii.; vi. 4, 2; ix. 13, 1; Att. ii. 19, 2, Ep. xlv.: cp. Fam. xvi. 14, 1), the reference is to a thought which actually had occurred to Cicero's mind and had been entertained.

haec levia nostratia] 'this humble vernacular of ours.' Cicero acts the εἴρων to Caelius as regards the oratory of the latter: cp. Fam. ii. 14, 1, Ep. ccxlv., *Novi ego vos magnos patronos*.

possimus et soleamus] As the plural both goes before this clause (*videmur*, *nostris*), and follows (*videmur*, *decedemus*), Lambinus, Baiter, and Klotz suppose that we should read *possimus* and *soleamus* for *possim* and *soleam* of the MSS, the latter having arisen from *possim*ꝰ and *soleam*ꝰ Where this letter occurs in M in Book viii. (between Epp. 8 and 9) the reading is *possemus* and *soleamus*.

2. *mandatu*] The subst. *mandatus* only occurs in the abl.: cp. Sull. 65, Caec. 19.

et eas] 'and what panthers there are,

valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat, itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. Sed tamen sedulo fit et in primis a Patisco. Quidquid erit, tibi erit, sed quid esset plane nesciebamus. Mihi mehercule magnae curae est aedilitas tua: ipse dies me admonebat: scripsi enim haec ipsis Megalensibus. Tu velim ad me de omni rei publicae statu quam diligentissime perscribas: ea enim certissima putabo, quae ex te cognoro.

CCLVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VI. 2).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero ad Attici litteras respondet, et primum de Statii Q. fratris liberti sermone de rebus domesticis a Cincio cum Attico per litteras communicato. Dein scribit de auctoritate Dicaearchi, qui Peloponnesias civitates omnes maritimas esse dixerat, a Dionysio confirmata et de falsa analogia, quam in nomine Phliasiorum ipse secutus sit, de administratione provinciae, qua iam moderatione, continentia, iustitia sua civitates recreatae sint, de sperato reditu suo, de Bruti negotiis cum rege Ariobarzane itemque cum Salaminiis per Scaptium gestis, addit de Appio, pro quo se omnia ait in provincia facere: denique familiari aliarum rerum commemoratione, maxime domesticarum, absolvit epistolam. Scripsit Laodiceae inter Kalendas et Nonas Maias.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum Philogenes, libertus tuus, Laodiceam ad me salutandi causa venisset et se statim ad te navigaturum esse diceret, has ei litteras dedi: quibus ad eas rescripsi, quas acceperam a Bruti tabellario. Et respondebo primum postremae tuae paginae, quae mihi magnae molestiae fuit, quod ad te scriptum est a Cincio de Statii sermone, in quo hoc molestissimum est Statium dicere a me quoque id consilium probari. *Probari* autem? De isto hactenus

according to report, complain that they are the only creatures for whom snares are laid in my province,' a boast as regards the uprightness of Cicero's administration, and a delicate insinuation to Caelius that he and his panthers are a bore.

Megalensibus] The festival of the Magna Mater, held for seven days, April 4–10.

1. *quod ad te*] This sentence is in loose apposition to *quae* (*pagina*) *mihi magnae molestiae fuit*, 'I shall reply to the last page, which gave me great concern, I mean the account Cincius wrote you about his conversation with Statius.'

consilium] Q. Cicero's intention to divorce Pomponia, which he carried out five years after.

Probari autem] See on Att. v. 13, 3, Ep. cciii., and cp. § 8 of this letter. The rhe-

dixerim, me vel plurima vincla tecum summae coniunctionis optare, etsi sunt amoris artissima: tantum abest, ut ego ex eo, quo astricti sumus, laxari aliquid velim. 2. Illum autem multa de istis rebus asperius solere loqui saepe sum expertus, saepe etiam lenivi iratum —id scire te arbitror. In hac autem peregrinatione militiave nostra saepe incensum ira vidi, saepe placatum. Quid ad Statium scripserit nescio. Quidquid acturus de tali re fuit, scribendum tamen ad libertum non fuit. Mihi autem erit maximae curae, ne quid fiat secus quam volumus quamque oportet. Nec satis est in eius modi re se quemque praestare, ac maximae partes istius officii sunt pueri Ciceronis sive iam adolescentis, quod quidem illum soleo hortari. Ac mihi videtur matrem valde, ut debet, amare teque mirifice. Sed est magnum illud quidem, verum tamen multiplex pueri ingenium, *in* quo ego regendo habeo negotii satis. 3. Quoniam respondi postremae tuae paginae prima mea, nunc ad primam revertar tuam. Peloponnesias civitates omnes maritimas esse hominis non nequam, sed etiam tuo iudicio probati, Dicaearchi, tabulis credidi. Is multis nominibus in Trophoniana Chaeronis narratione Graecos in eo reprehendit, quod mare tantum secuti sunt,

torical question is usually followed by a clause beginning with *immo*, which is here superseded by *de isto hactenus dixerim*, 'about it I need only say thus much.'

2. *Illum*] Quintus.

peregrinatione militiave] 'tour, or shall I call it campaign.' The same kind of correction is expressed just below by *sive*, 'lad, or shall I say youth,' but *sive* implies that the word which it introduces is more appropriate, while *vel, ve*, leave the question quite open.

praestare] 'in a case like this it is not enough for each one to make himself responsible for his own conduct only'; we should try to influence others (to help in bringing about a reconciliation).

ac] 'indeed the principal share of the work belongs to the lad,' Jeans. This adversative use of *ac*, where a negative clause is followed by an affirmative connected with it, is illustrated by Roby 2200, Madv. 433, Obs. 2; though here, as the subject is altered, we are tempted to read *at*, or else, with Wesenberg, bracket *ac*.

multiplex] See Reid's note on Lael. 65: *multiplex* sometimes has a distinctly bad meaning, 'deceitful,' as in Lael. 65; sometimes also it is a word of praise, as in Acad. i. 17, where Plato is called *multiplex*, 'many-sided.' Here *verum tamen* seem to show that *multiplex* is a word of blame.

3. *tabulis*] 'maps,' with a play on its other meaning 'account-books' (Watson).

multis nominibus] 'he, in the account of the cave of Trophonius which he puts into the mouth of Chaeron, attacks the Greeks on many scores for always clinging to the sea; and says that there was not a single district in Pel. which had not a seaboard.' The cave and oracle of Trophonius near Lebadea in Boeotia are referred to. The reader will call to mind the passage in the Phaedo (109 B), where the Greeks are compared to frogs round a marsh. Cicero, in Rep. ii., 9, applies another striking figure to the same characteristic as displayed by the Greek colonies, *ita barbarorum agris quasi* attexta quaedam *videtur ora esse Graeciae*. This remarkable expression, 'a fringe on barbarism,' is not noticed by L.S. It is not of course to be found in any of the Dictt. prior to the discovery of the fragment *De Rep.*, but it is strange that such an expression could be missed by lexicographers of the present day.

nec ullum in Peloponneso locum excipit. Cum mihi auctor placeret—etenim erat ἱστορικώτατος et vixerat in Peloponneso—admirabar tamen et vix adcredens communicavi cum Dionysio. Atque is primo est commotus: deinde, quod tum de isto Dicaearcho non minus bene existimabat quam tu de C. Vestorio, ego de M. Cluvio, non dubitabat quin ei crederemus. Arcadiae censebat esse Lepreon quoddam maritimum, Tenea autem et Aliphera et Tritia νεόκτιστα ei videbantur, idque τῷ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγῳ confirmabat, ubi mentio non fit istorum. Itaque istum ego locum totidem verbis a Dicaearcho transtuli. Phliasios autem dici sciebam et ita fac ut habeas: nos quidem sic habemus. Sed primo me ἀναλογία deceperat, Φλιοῦς, Ὀποῦς, Σιποῦς, quod Ὀπούντιοι, Σιπούντιοι. Sed hoc continuo correximus. 4. Laetari te nostra moderatione et continentia video: tum id magis faceres, si adesses. Atque hoc foro, quod egi ex Idibus Febr. Laodiceae ad Kal Maias omnium dioecesium praeter Ciliciae, mirabilia quaedam effeci-

adcredens] A rather rare word, but found in Plaut. Lucr. Hor.; *adcredere* means 'to take one's word for' a statement without looking for proofs.

Vestorio] Boot was the first, I think, to point out that there is a play on words in this passage. Puteoli was called Dicaearchia in old times. Cicero therefore says 'my Dicaearchus commanded my confidence (in geography) as completely as your Dicaearchians do in business matters.' Vestorius and Cluvius were business men in Puteoli. Notice the play on the technical terms of banking business all through *tabulis, credidi, multis nominibus, adcredens, crederemus.* For another pun on Dicaearchus, see on Att. ii. 12, 4, Ep. xxxvii.

Lepreon] The meaning of the passage appears to be this:—Atticus found fault with a statement in the *De Rep.* that *all* the early Peloponnesian districts (*loca*) had sea-boards. Cicero replied, 'I followed Dicaearchus; but was surprised myself at first, the man seemed to me such a sound and sober historian; accordingly I consulted Dionysius, who has also a high opinion of Dicaearchus. "What," said I to Dionysius, "about Arcadia? and about such districts as Tenea, Aliphera, Tritia? None of these have sea-boards." Dionysius, too, was perplexed at first; but on reflection saw the statement was not so extravagant at all, but quite true. Arcadia *had* a sea-port., viz. Lepreon (Plin. H. N. iv. 20; Scylax. p. 16); and as to the other town-districts, it is plain that the towns were not founded till post-Homeric times, as is proved by their omission from the catalogue of the ships. This explanation, says Cicero, satisfied me, so I copied the passage of Dicaearchus verbatim. Tenea will be found marked in the maps in the district of Corinth, Aliphera in western Arcadia, and Tritia or Tritaia in southern Achaia. For the way in which Cicero composed his theoretical works, cp. what he says himself, Att. xii. 52, 3, *ἀπόγραφα sunt; minore labore fiunt: verba tantum affero quibus abundo.*

hoc continuo correximus] Unfortunately it was an uncorrected copy which was the archetype of the MS found by Cardinal Mai in a Vatican palimpsest, and first published by him in 1822; on this alone our knowledge of the whole fragment except the dream of Scipio depends. The dream of Scipio has been preserved through Macrobius' commentary on it. Cicero at first wrote *Phliuntios*, misled by the analogy of Σιπούντιοι from Σιποῦς, Ὀπούντιοι from Ὀποῦς. *Phliasios* should of course be now read for *Phliuntios* in De Rep. ii. 8.

4. *foro*] *forum agere* is 'to hold a session or assize,' 'to go on circuit.'

mus: ita multae civitates omni aere alieno liberatae, multae valde levatae sunt: omnes suis legibus et iudiciis usae, αὐτονομίαν adeptae, revixerunt. His ego duobus generibus facultatem ad se aere alieno liberandas aut levandas dedi, uno, quod omnino nullus in imperio meo sumptus factus est—nullum cum dico, non loquor ὑπερβολικῶς—nullus, inquam, ne teruncius quidem. Hac autem re incredibile est quantum civitates emerserint. 5. Accessit altera. Mira erant in civitatibus ipsorum furta Graecorum, quae magistratus sui fecerant. Quaesivi ipse de iis, qui annis decem proximis magistratum gesserant. Aperte fatebantur. Itaque sine ulla ignominia suis umeris pecunias populis rettulerunt. Populi autem nullo gemitu publicanis, quibus hoc ipso lustro nihil solverant, etiam superioris lustri *reliqua* reddiderunt. Itaque publicanis in oculis sumus. Gratis, inquis, viris! Sensimus. Iam cetera iuris dictio nec imperita et clemens cum admirabili facilitate. Aditus autem ad me minime provinciales: nihil per cubicularium: ante lucem inambulabam domi, ut olim candidatus. Grata haec et magna mihique nondum laboriosa ex illa vetere militia. 6. Nonis Maiis in Ciliciam cogitabam: ibi cum Iunium mensem consumpsissem—atque utinam in pace! magnum enim bellum impendet a Parthis—Quinctilem in reditu ponere. Annuae enim mihi operae a. d. III. Kal. Sextil. emerentur. Magna autem in spe sum mihi nihil temporis prorogatum iri. Habebam acta urbana usque ad Nonas Martias, e quibus intellegebam Curionis nostri constantia omnia potius actum iri quam de provinciis. Ergo,

duobus generibus] 'two ways'; just the same, though hardly to be Englished by the same word, is *duobus generibus edicendum putavi*, Att. vi. 1, 15, Ep. cclii.

in imperio meo] Boot strikes out the *in*, holding that the dat., or accus. with *in*, is required, and evidently construing 'not a farthing was spent on my government.' If this was the real meaning of the words the *in* could not stand. But *in imperio meo* means *me obtinente provinciam*.

5. *magistratus*] This is explanatory of the foregoing clause, 'peculations of the Greeks themselves: I mean committed by their own magistrates.'

ignominia] 'exposure,' Watson.

suis umeris] 'they took on their own shoulders the repayment of the whole debt.'

reliqua] 'arrears.'

in oculis sumus] 'I am the apple of their eye.'

gratis . . . sensimus] ironical. Cicero had felt the ingratitude of the *Equites* when persecuted by Clodius.

nec imperita . . . facilitate] 'enlightened, yet mild and courteous to a marvel.'

militia] sc. *forensi*, 'my old discipline.'

6. *in reditu ponere*] 'to spend on my return.'

emerentur] 'on July 30 I have served my time.' *Emerere* is active in Cicero: see Att. vi. 5, 3, Ep. cclxix.

Curionis] Who insisted that if the Gallic governorships were to be filled up, Pompeius should also resign his Italo-Spanish command. Curio announced that he would prevent one-sided proceedings against Caesar by the veto which belonged to him of right: Momm. *R. H.* iv. 354.

ut spero, propediem te videbo. 7. Venio ad Brutum tuum, immo nostrum: sic enim mavis. Equidem omnia feci, quae potui aut in mea provincia perficere aut in regno experiri. Omni igitur modo egi cum rege et ago cotidie, per litteras scilicet. Ipsum enim triduum quadriduumve mecum habui turbulentis in rebus, quibus eum liberavi. Sed et tum praesens et postea creberrimis litteris non destiti rogare et petere mea causa, suadere et hortari sua. Multum profeci, sed quantum, non plane, quia longe absum, scio. Salaminios autem—hos enim poteram coërcere—adduxi, ut totum nomen Scaptio vellent solvere, sed centesimis ductis a proxima quidem syngrapha, nec perpetuis, sed renovatis quotannis. Numerabantur nummi: noluit Scaptius. Tu *quis* qui ais Brutum cupere aliquid perdere? Quaternas habebat in syngrapha. Fieri non poterat, nec, si posset, ego pati possem. Audio omnino Scaptium paenitere. Nam quod senatus consultum esse dicebat, ut ius ex syngrapha diceretur, eo consilio factum est, quod pecuniam Salaminii contra legem Gabiniam sumpserant. Vetabat autem Auli lex ius dici de ita sumpta pecunia. Decrevit igitur senatus, ut ius diceretur *ex* ista syngrapha. Nunc ista habet iuris idem quod ceterae, nihil praecipui. 8. Haec a me ordine facta puto me Bruto probaturum, tibi nescio, Catoni certe probabo. Sed iam ad te ipsum revertor. Ain tandem, Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiae nostrae:

Ausus es hoc ex ore tuo . . . .,

inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, si mecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum, quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere, si vellem? Non amplius, inquis, quinquaginta. Cum Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt.

7. *regno*] Cappadocia.

per litteras scilicet] 'by letter, I mean; for I have had him with me only three or four days.'

ductis . . . quotannis] 'at 12 per cent. calculated from the date of the last contract, and not at simple but compound interest.' There had, no doubt, been more than one *syngrapha* in reference to the transaction: see on Att. v. 21, 11, 12, Ep. ccl.; and vi. 1, 5, Ep. cclii.

tu quis qui ais] We have restored *quis* from Att. vii. 17, 2. There it is followed by subj., and means 'who are you to say'? here, followed by indic., it means 'what kind of figure do you now cut, you who say that Brutus is anxious to make a sacrifice? He had 48 per cent. in his bond.' The same meaning is more usually conveyed by *ubi*, and Boot would read *ubi tu qui ais;* but *quis* would more naturally fall out, unless, indeed, we read *Tu ubi qui ais*.

nihil praecipui] On this whole transaction, see on Att. v. 21, 12, Ep. ccl.

elegantiae] 'moral purism, punctiliousness.'

8. *amplius quinquaginta*] See on Att. v. 1, 1, Ep. clxxxiv.

Quid tandem isti mali in tam tenera insula non fecissent? Non fecissent autem? Immo quid ante adventum meum non fecerunt? Inclusum in curia senatum habuerunt Salaminium ita multos dies, ut interierint non nulli fame. Erat enim praefectus Appii Scaptius et habebat turmas ab Appio. Id me igitur tu, cuius mehercule os mihi ante oculos solet versari, cum de aliquo officio ac laude cogito, tu me, inquam, rogas, praefectus ut Scaptius sit? Alias hoc statueramus, ut negotiatorem neminem, idque Bruto probaveramus. Habeat is turmas? Cur potius quam cohortes? 9. Sumptu iam nepos evadit Scaptius. Volunt, inquit, principes. Scio. Nam ad me Ephesum usque venerunt flentesque equitum scelera et miserias suas detulerunt. Itaque statim dedi litteras, ut ex Cypro equites ante certam diem decederent, ob eamque causam, tum ob ceteras Salaminii nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt. Sed iam quid opus equitatu? Solvunt enim Salaminii: nisi forte id volumus armis efficere, ut fenus quaternis centesimis ducant. Et ego audebo legere umquam aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero? Nimis, *nimis*, inquam, in isto Brutum amasti, dulcissime Attice: nos vereor ne parum. Atque haec scripsi ego ad Brutum scripsisse te ad me. 10. Cognosce nunc cetera. Pro Appio nos hic omnia facimus, honeste tamen, sed plane libenter: nec enim ipsum odimus et Brutum amamus et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit, quem mehercule plus plusque in dies diligo. C. Caelium quaestorem huc venire audisti. Nescio quid sit: sed Pammenia illa mihi non placent. Ego me spero Athenis fore mense Septembri. Tuorum itinerum tempora scire sane velim. Εὐήθειαν C. Sempronii Rufi cognovi ex epistola *tua* Corcyraea. Quid quaeris? Invideo potentiae Vestorii. Cupiebam etiam nunc plura garrire, sed lucet: urget turba, festinat Philo-

non fecissent autem] See on § 1.

de aliquo officio et laude] 'any act of duty or heroism.'

Cur potius] 'why does he incur the greater expense of keeping a troop of horse instead of a company of foot? Scaptius is beginning to cut a dash! The nobles of Salamis, he would say, will have it so. Of course! That is why they came to me, and with tears in their eyes told me the atrocities of this troop.' *Volunt* sometimes has this sense, it is their fault,' 'they have themselves to thank.'

9. *eos libros*] sc. De Rep.

10. *Pro Appio*] Who was prosecuted for extortion by Dolabella. Brutus was the son-in-law of Appius, whose daughter was married to a son of Pompeius, Fam. iii. 4, 2, Ep. cxciv.

Pammenia] See Att. v. 20, 10, Ep. ccxxviii.

εὐήθειαν] See on Att. v. 2, 2, Ep. clxxxv.

turba] Of clients and visitors: see § 5.

genes. Valebis igitur et valere Piliam et Caeciliam nostram iubebis litteris et salvebis a meo Cicerone.

CCLVII. CICERO TO CAELIUS (FAM. II. 13).

MAY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Respondet ad epistolam Caelii, quae legitur lib. VIII. ep. 6, Ep. ccxlii. Appium laudat. Otio rei publicae gaudet. C. Curionis inconstantiam se praevidisse ait et se iuris dictione Laodiceae confecta in Ciliciam proficisci scribit. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Raras tuas quidem—fortasse enim non perferuntur—sed suaves accipio litteras: vel quas proxime acceperam, quam prudentes! quam multi et officii et consilii! Etsi omnia sic constitueram mihi agenda, ut tu admonebas, tamen confirmantur nostra consilia, cum sentimus prudentibus fideliterque suadentibus idem videri. 2. Ego Appium, ut saepe tecum locutus sum, valde diligo meque ab eo diligi statim coeptum esse, ut simultatem deposuimus, sensi. Nam et honorificus in me consul fuit et suavis amicus et studiosus studiorum etiam meorum. Mea vero officia ei non defuisse tu es testis, cui iam κωμικὸς μάρτυς, ut opinor, accedit

valebis] The future is used as a polite imper., 'pray, take care of yourself'; so *dices*, 'kindly tell,' Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. cclxxxii.; an idiom often found in comedy, see on Plaut. Mil. ii. 4, 42 (395).

Caeciliam] Daughter of Atticus, generally called Attica.

1. *vel . . . prudentes*] 'for instance, the letter I received last, how sensible it was! what kindness and judgment it displayed.' For this use of *vel*, implying that other examples might be added at will *or* this one, see L. and S. The usage is frequent in the comic drama.

2. *ut simultatem deposuimus*] We have no certain clue as to what was the cause of Cicero's prior estrangement from Appius. Watson supposes it was owing to the part taken by Appius in some disturbances in 697 (57): cp. Att. iv., 3, 4, Ep. xcii. The reconciliation was effected by Pompeius (Quintil. ix. 3, 41).

κωμικὸς μάρτυς] This certainly means 'a witness in a comedy,' like *comicos stultos senes* in Cic. Sen. 36. But what exactly that characteristic of a witness in a comedy is, which is here alluded to, is not very certain. We incline to the view of Manutius, that it is one who turns up just in the nick of time (cp. Shakespeare, *Lear*, i. 2, 146; 'Pat! here he comes like the catastrophe in the old comedy'), a witness who testifies to the parentage of a child or something of the kind. This is better than the view that would make a 'comic witness' be a proverb for a liar. The sense is—You can testify how I have worked for the interests of Appius: and how just in the nick of time, like the witness in the old comedy, Phania, I

Phania, et mehercule etiam pluris eum feci, quod te amari ab eo sensi. Iam me Pompeii totum esse scis: Brutum a me amari intellegis. Quid est causae cur mihi non in optatis sit complecti hominem florentem aetate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis: collegam meum praesertim et in ipsa collegii laude et scientia studiosum mei? Haec eo pluribus scripsi, quod *non* nihil significabant tuae litterae subdubitare *te* qua essem erga illum voluntate. Credo te audisse aliquid: falsum est, mihi crede, si quid audisti. Genus institutorum et rationum mearum dissimilitudinem non nullam habet cum illius administratione provinciae. Ex eo quidam suspicati fortasse sunt animorum contentione, non opinionum dissensione, me ab eo discrepare. Nihil autem feci umquam neque dixi quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem. Post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellae deprecatorem me pro illius periculo praebeo. 3. Erat in eadem epistola 'veternus civitatis.' Gaudebam sane et congelasse nostrum amicum laetabar otio. Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Caesarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putarat?—praeter me: nam, ita vivam, putavi. Di immortales! quam ego risum nostrum desidero! 4. Mihi erat

believe, comes on the stage to testify to my feelings towards Appius. This Phania was on very good terms with Cicero, and in one place Cicero says (Fam. iii. 1, 1, Ep. clxxx.) that Phania will inform Appius of all the services done to the latter by him (Cicero).

in optatis sit] cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 1, *Hoc erat in votis.*

honoribus] He was consul in 700 (54).

liberis] Appius had three daughters: one of them married the eldest son of Pompeius, the second married Brutus, and the third married Cornelius Lentulus. Appius adopted the two sons of his brother C. Clodius.

in ipsa collegii laude et scientia] 'in the learned work which has conferred such distinction on our college.' For the work cp. Fam. iii. 4, 1, Ep. cxciv.

Genus . . . discrepare] 'the whole character of my enactments and principles bears a certain dissimilarity to his provincial administration: hence, some have had an idea that the difference between us was an estrangement of feeling, not a mere diversity of opinion.'

Post hoc negotium et temeritatem] 'after this annoyance, which the hastiness of our Dolabella has caused him,' *i.e.* his prosecution by Dolabella for *maiestas*, cp. Fam. viii. 6, 1, Ep. ccxlii.

3. *amicum*] sc. Curio.

Extrema pagella] Manutius considers that the diminutive shows that pages used for letters were sometimes very large, as the letter from Caelius, which is referred to (Fam. viii. 6, Ep. ccxlii.), was rather a long one. But *extrema pagella* can mean a little page on which the last words (§ 5) of that letter were written, as well as 'the end of the page'; and the diminutive points to this interpretation: cp. also Fam. xi. 25, fin., where a very short letter appears to take up more than one *pagella.*

tuo chirographo] 'in your own handwriting.'

putarat] This is what Wesenberg and Baiter read; no doubt rightly. Cicero implies that *he* had a very good idea that Curio was intending to go over to Caesar. For *putarat* corrupted into *putaret*, cp. Fam. ii. 11, 1, Ep. cclv.

4. *Mihi erat*] The tenses in this sentence are epistolary.

in animo, quoniam iuris dictionem confeceram, civitates locupletaram, publicanis etiam superioris lustri reliqua sine sociorum ulla querella conservaram, privatis summis infimis fueram iucundus, proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maiis et, cum primum aestiva attigissem militemque collocassem, decedere ex s. c. Cupio te aedilem videre miroque desiderio me urbs adficit et omnes mei tuque in primis.

CCLVIII. CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR OF ASIA (FAM. II. 18).

MAY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Q. Thermo Asiae propr. suadet, ut decedens quaestorem potius quam legatum provinciae praeficiat. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. Q. THERMO PROPRAET.

1. Officium meum erga Rhodonem ceteraque mea studia, quae tibi ac tuis praestiti, tibi homini gratissimo grata esse vehementer gaudeo, mihique scito in dies maiori curae esse dignitatem tuam, quae quidem a te ipso integritate et clementia tua sic amplificata est, ut nihil addi posse videatur. 2. Sed mihi magis magisque cotidie de rationibus tuis cogitanti placet illud meum consilium, quod initio Aristoni nostro, ut ad me venit, ostendi, graves te suscepturum inimicitias, si adolescens potens et nobilis a te ignominia adfectus esset. Et hercule sine dubio erit ignominia: habes enim neminem honoris gradu superiorem. Ille autem, ut omittam nobilitatem, hoc ipso vincit viros optimos hominesque innocentissi-

primum aestiva] 'as soon as I had visited the summer quarters.' The MSS give *prima*, which has been altered into *primum* by Man. and Wesenberg. Retaining the reading of the MSS, could we translate: 'after I had taken in hand the first duties of the summer campaign'?

militemque] 'and got the soldiers properly posted.' So Orelli conjectured for *militaremque* of M. The reading in the text is that of H, and is rightly adopted by Streicher (p. 146).

1. *officium*] 'service': *studia*, 'kindness.'

2. *adolescens*] This was C. Antonius, the most insignificant of the brothers of the triumvir (Cic. Phil. vii. 16). He wished, along with his brother Marcus, to accuse Gabinius in 700 (54). He was now quaestor of Thermus. It was usual if a governor left his province to entrust it to his quaestor; thus, Cicero left his quaestor, Caelius Caldus, in charge (Fam. ii. 15, 4, Ep. cclxxiii.).

mos, legatos tuos, quod et quaestor est et quaestor tuus. Nocere tibi iratum neminem posse perspicio, sed tamen tres fratres summo loco natos, promptos, non indisertos te nolo habere iratos, iure praesertim: quos video deinceps tribunos pl. per triennium fore. 3. Tempora autem rei publicae qualia futura sint quis scit? Mihi quidem turbulenta videntur fore. Cur ego te velim incidere in terrores tribunicios praesertim cum sine cuiusquam reprehensione quaestoriis legatis quaestorem possis anteferre? Qui si *se* dignum maioribus suis praebuerit, ut spero et opto, tua laus ex aliqua parte fuerit: sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit. Quae mihi veniebant in mentem, quae ad te pertinere arbitrabar, quod in Ciliciam proficiscebar, existimavi me ad te oportere scribere. Tu quod egeris, id velim di approbent. Sed si me audies, vitabis inimicitias et posteritatis otio consules.

CCLIX. CICERO TO GAIUS MEMMIUS (FAM. XIII. 2).

LAODICEA (?); A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero a C. Memmio petit, ut Euandro statuario aliquid de sacrarii habitatione accommodet.

CICERO MEMMIO S.

C. Avianio Euandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, et ipso multum utor et patrono eius M. Aemilio familiarissime. Peto igitur

deinceps . . . fore] 'will be tribunes of the plebs, in succession, for three years.'

3. *terrores tribunicios*] 'become subject to constant intimidation from the tribunes.'

ut spero et opto] The usual distinction between *sperare*, to hope for what is attainable in the ordinary course of things, *optare*, for what is attainable only by extraordinary good fortune, is virtually expressed here. Translate: 'as I hope and pray.'

posteritatis otio] 'take thought for the peace of your after life.' *Posteritas* means subsequent time, not necessarily time after one's death: cp. Cat. i. 22; Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 13, 1, quoted by Hofmann.

MEMMIO] This is the same Memmius to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem, and to whom Cicero wrote the famous letter Fam. xiii. 1, Ep. cxcix.

C. Avianio Euandro] He was a freedman of M. Aemilius Avianius (Fam. xiii. 27), who belonged to a well-to-do Campanian family. He was a distinguished sculptor, and Cicero had dealings with him (Fam. vii. 23, 1, Ep. cxxvi.). Antonius brought him to Alexandria, whence he was brought back to Rome as a prisoner after the battle of Actium. Afterwards he worked at his art in Rome, and we hear of his having put a new head on a statue of Artemis, by Timotheus, in the Temple of the Palatine Apollo: cp. Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 32.

sacrario] Memmius allowed Avianius to

a te in maiorem modum, quod sine tua molestia fiat, ut ei de habitatione accommodes. Nam propter opera instituta multa multorum subitum est ei remigrare Kal Quinctilibus. Impedior verecundia ne te pluribus verbis rogem, neque] tamen dubito quin, si tua nihil aut non multum intersit, eo sis animo, quo ego essem, si quid tu me rogares : mihi certe gratissimum feceris.

CCLX. CICERO TO GAIUS MEMMIUS (Fam. xiii. 3).

LAODICEA (?) ; A. U. C. 704 ; B. C. 50 ; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Memmio A. Fufium commendat.

CICERO MEMMIO S.

A. Fufium, unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem et summa humanitate tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes, ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris.

work in the shrine in which the Memmii celebrated their *sacra gentilicia;* perhaps, as Schütz says, because he made statues of the gods, and in so doing was not subjecting the place to profanation; perhaps because Memmius, like Gallio, cared for none of these things.

subitum est] 'it would hurry him greatly to have to move by the Kalends of Quinctilis'; cp. *longum est,* 'it would be tedious.' Generally *subitum est* means, 'it is, an urgent matter,' *e.g.* Plaut. Trin. v. 2, 51, *Lesbonicum foras evocate : ita subitum est, propere eum conventum volo.*

observantissimum . . . nostri] 'who shows the greatest respect and devotion to me.'

coram] Schmieder supposes that this letter must have been written on Cicero's return to Rome, and that the meeting referred to here took place on Cicero's journey home, for we know he did not meet Memmius on his journey out (Fam. xiii. 1, Ep. cxcix.). It is quite possible, however, that the promise was made by Memmius before his exile.

summo officio et summa observantia] 'by the strongest bonds of obligation and respect.'

CCLXI. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, (Fam. iii. 10).

MAY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Appium, cum revertisset e provincia, Dolabella accusaverat, qui Tulliam M. Ciceronis filiam in matrimonio habebat. Id se insciente M. Cicero ait esse factum. Praeterea suspitionem a se impeditae legationis, quae ad laudandum Appium decreta fuisset, infirmare studet proconsul. Quae autem de rebus in provincia gestis in hac epistola addiderat, ea videntur casu intercidisse. Denique auguratur Cicero censuram Appio iri delatum. Scripta epistola est Laodiceae.

M. CICERO AP. PULCRO S.

1. Cum est ad nos adlatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent, etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam praeter opinionem meam accidere potuit, tamen, ut me collegi, cetera mihi facillima videbantur, quod et in te ipso maximam spem et in tuis magnam habebam multaque mihi veniebant in mentem, quam ob rem istum laborem tibi etiam honori putarem fore. Illud plane moleste tuli, quod certissimum et iustissimum triumphum hoc invidorum consilio esse tibi ereptum videbam. Quod tu si tanti facies, quanti ego semper iudicavi faciendum esse, facies sapienter et ages victor ex inimicorum dolore triumphum iustissimum. Ego enim plane video fore nervis, opibus, sapientia tua, vehementer ut inimicos tuos paeniteat intemperantiae suae. De me tibi sic contestans omnes deos promitto atque confirmo, me pro tua dignitate—malo enim *ita* dicere quam pro

1. *Quod tu si*] 'But if you value it as I always thought it deserved (*i.e.* if you think little of it), you will act wisely, and as a victor you will celebrate a triumph, most sure and well-deserved, over the chagrin of your enemies.' *Ex* as well as *de* is used for triumphing *over*: cp. Holden on Off. ii. 28. Cicero did not really think so little of a triumph as he chooses to affect here.

fore nervis opibus sapientia tua] This reading will make fair sense, 'that it will come to pass by your strenuous action, resources, and wisdom, &c.' But perhaps we might read, as suggested, on Q. Fr. iii. 9, 2, Ep. clx. *fore nervis* opus et *sapientia tua*.

intemperantiae] 'recklessness.'

ita dicere] Wesenberg (*Em.* 51) adds *ita*, comparing Att. xiii. 42, 1, *cur pateris? inquam: malo enim ita dicere quam cur committis?* Translate—'I promise and maintain that, in support of your dignity (the word I prefer using to 'your safety'), I shall undertake this part and duty—in this province, which you governed, I shall be in asking favours an intercessor, in working (for your interests as eager as) a kinsman, in influence one popular (I hope) with the states, and in dignity the general-in-chief.'

salute—in hac provincia, cui tu praefuisti, rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis, ut spero, apud civitates, gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partes. Omnia volo a me et postules et exspectes: vincam meis officiis cogitationes tuas. 2. Q. Servilius perbreves mihi a te litteras reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt: iniuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, cum rogabar. Nollem accidisset tempus in quo perspicere posses quanti te, quanti Pompeium, quem unum ex omnibus facio, ut debeo, plurimi, quanti Brutum facerem: quamquam in consuetudine cotidiana perspexisses, sicuti perspicies: sed quoniam accidit, si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor. 3. Pomptinus, qui a te tractatus est praestanti ac singulari fide, cuius tui beneficii sum ego testis, praestat tibi memoriam benevolentiamque quam debet: qui cum maximis suis rebus coactus a me invitissimo decessisset, tamen, ut vidit interesse tua, conscendens iam navem Epheso Laodiceam revertit. Talia te cum studia videam habiturum esse innumerabilia, plane dubitare non possum quin tibi amplitudo ista sollicitudo futura sit. Si vero efficis, ut censores creentur, et si ita gesseris censuram, ut et debes et potes, non tibi solum, sed tuis omnibus video in perpetuum summo te praesidio futurum. Illud pugna et enitere, ne quid nobis temporis prorogetur, ut, cum hic tibi satis fecerimus, istic quoque nostram in te benevolentiam navare possimus. 4. Quae de hominum atque ordinum omnium erga te studiis scribis ad me, minime mihi miranda et maxime iucunda acciderunt, eademque ad me perscripta sunt a familiaribus meis. Itaque capio magnam voluptatem, cum tibi, cuius mihi

2. *Q. Servilius*] cp. Fam. iii. 11, 1, Ep. cclxii.

perspexisses] 'you might have seen,' (*i.e.* if you had taken the pains).

facinus . . . dedecus] 'a wrong has been done, and a disgrace incurred.' L. and S. rightly notice that *admittere* expresses the moral liability incurred freely, while *committere* expresses the overt act punishable by civil law.

3. *qui a te . . . fide*] 'in the treatment of whom you have redeemed your word most fully and signally.'

memoriam benevolentiamque] 'remembers and bears towards you that good will.'

studia] 'instances of support.'

quin . . . futura sit] 'that this troublesome affair of yours will redound to your dignity.'

ut censores creentur] So all the MSS. It contains a compliment by implying that Appius is sure of his election. It was the Senate which decided the suitable moment for electing censors (Liv. xxiv. 10, 2; xxxvii. 50, 7). Lambinus wishes to read *ut censor creeris:* this Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 6) follows, except that he reads *creere.* He accounts for the corruption by supposing that the archetype had *cens. creere*, whence easily came *censs. creere;* subsequently *-re* was altered into *n* (cp. Fam. ii. 16, 1, *haberet* for *habent*), then to *t* was added *-ur.* But this multiplies hypotheses.

amicitia non solum ampla, sed etiam iucunda est, ea tribui, quae debeantur, tum vero remanere etiam nunc in civitate nostra studia prope omnium consensu erga fortes et industrios viros: quae mihi ipsi una semper tributa merces est laborum et vigiliarum mearum. 5. Illud vero mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente, cuius ego salutem *in* duobus capitis iudiciis summa contentione defendi, ut tuis inimicitiis suscipiendis oblivisceretur patroni omnium fortunarum ac rationum suarum, praesertim cum tu omnibus vel ornamentis vel praesidiis redundares, ipsi, ut levissime dicam, multa deessent. Cuius sermo stultus et puerilis erat iam ante ad me a M. Caelio, familiari nostro, perscriptus: de quo item sermone multa scripta sunt abs te. Ego autem citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem coniunctionem diremissem quam novam conciliassem: neque enim de meo erga te studio dubitare debes, neque id est obscurum cuiquam in provincia nec Romae fuit. 6. Sed tamen significatur in tuis litteris suspicio quaedam et dubitatio tua, de qua alienum tempus est mihi tecum expostulandi, purgandi autem mei necessarium. Ubi enim ego cuiquam legationi fui impedimento quo minus Romam ad laudem tuam mitteretur? aut in quo potui, si te palam odissem, minus quod tibi obesset facere, si clam, magis aperte inimicus esse? Quod si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt, tamen ea stultitia certe non fuissem, ut aut in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, aut, in quo tibi nihil nocerem, summam ostenderem voluntatem nocendi. Ad me adire quosdam memini, nimirum ex Epicteto, qui dicerent nimis magnos sumptus legatis decerni:

4. *non solum ampla sed etiam iucunda est*] 'is not only an honour, but also a pleasure.'

5. *in duobus capitis iudiciis*] cp. Fam. vi. 11, 1, *non defueram eius periculis*. What these trials were for is not known. We have added *in* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 6), to avoid two ablatives coming together without any preposition.

ut levissime dicam] 'to say the least of it.' Most editors read *lenissime*.

sermo] Dolabella was very talkative, and doubtless boasted about the marriage connexion he was forming with Cicero's family (Fam. viii. 6, 2, Ep. ccxlii.).

6. *cuiquam legationi*] *quisquam* is used adjectively in Cicero when it is coupled with a substantive, which expresses a person either directly or virtually.

tamen ea stultitia] 'yet I was not of that excessive stupidity as (in a case where I wished to keep my hatred dark) to exhibit patent signs of hostility,' parallel to *si clam* above.

Epicteto] Phrygia Epictetus, or Minor, or Secunda, or Salutaris, was the northern part of Phrygia, bordering on Bithynia. This was the part of Phrygia concerning which Eumenes I. and Prusias disputed, and which, after the decision of the Romans, was added to Pergamus, hence getting the name of the 'newly acquired' (ἐπίκτητος: see Abel in Pauly, v. 1580). Manutius supposed these words to be a gloss. Though they appear in most mss, Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 6, 7) is inclined to agree with Manutius, because *Epictetus* without *Phrygia* is unheard of. He

quibus ego non tam imperavi quam censui sumptus legatis quam maxime ad legem Corneliam decernendos. Atque in eo ipso me non perseverasse testes sunt rationes civitatum, in quibus, quantum quaeque voluit, legatis tuis datum induxit. 7. Te autem quibus mendaciis homines levissimi onerarunt! non modo sublatos sumptus, sed etiam a procuratoribus eorum, qui iam profecti essent, repetitos et ablatos, eamque causam multis omnino non eundi fuisse. Quererer tecum atque expostularem, ni, ut supra scripsi, purgare me tibi hoc tuo tempore quam accusare te mallem idque putarem esse rectius. Itaque nihil de te quod credideris: de me quam ob rem non debueris credere pauca dicam. Nam si me virum bonum, si dignum iis studiis eaque doctrina, cui me a pueritia dedi, si satis magni animi, non minimi consilii in maximis rebus perspectum habes, nihil in me non modo perfidiosum et insidiosum et fallax in amicitia, sed ne humile quidem aut ieiunum debes agnoscere. 8. Sin autem me astutum et occultum libet fingere, quid est quod minus cadere in eius modi naturam possit quam aut florentissimi hominis aspernari benevolentiam aut eius existimationem oppugnare in provincia, cuius laudem domi defenderis, aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum, in qua nihil obsis, aut id eligere ad perfidiam, quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum? Quid erat autem cur ego in te tam implacabilis essem, cum te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem, cum tibi prope necesse esset eas agere partes, inimicum mihi fuisse cognossem? Cum vero reditum nostrum in gratiam uterque expetisset, quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti quod me aut facere aut sentire voluisses?

supposed the words arose from a marginal gloss on the preceding sentence ('sc. ex. Epicteto philosopho petitum'). But he gives in reluctantly to the consensus of the MSS.

quibus ego non tam . . . censui] 'to whom what I said was not so much an order as an expression of opinion.'

induxit] A book-keeping word for 'entering' in an account: see note to Att. iv. 17, 2, Ep. clix. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* p. 7) is perhaps right in suggesting *in quas*: cp. 2 Verr. i. 106.

7. *levissimi*] 'of no weight at all.'

non modo sublatos sumptus] 'not only the sums voted were cancelled, but even demanded back and exacted from the agents of those who had already set out.'

quod credideris] 'because you believed.'

nihil . . . fingere] 'so far from recognizing anything treacherous, or underhand, or deceitful in friendship, you have no right to pretend to recognize anything low or paltry. But if you *are* pleased to imagine me an artful and dark man,' &c.

8. *cum tibi prope necesse esset*] sc. when Appius' brother, P. Clodius, was assailing me: cp. Att. ii. 22, 2, Ep. xlix.

quid in consulatu . . . voluisses] 'what assistance or vote did you ever ask me for in vain during your consulship.' *Sentire* is here to deliver a *sententia*: cp. Fam. iii. 8, 9, Ep. ccxxii., *si unquam mea causa quidquam aut sensit aut fecit.* Cicero means that Appius never asked him

CCLXII. CICERO TO CAELIUS CALDUS, HIS QUAESTOR (FAM. II. 19).

END OF MAY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

C. Caelium, quaestorem sibi sorte datum, hortatur ut ad se veniat ante, quam ipse decedat. Scripta epistola est in Cilicia.

M. TULLIUS M. F. M. N. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. CAELIO L. F. C. N. CALDO QUAEST.

1. Cum optatissimum nuntium accepissem te mihi quaestorem obtigisse, eo iucundiorem mihi eam sortem sperabam fore, quo diutius in provincia mecum fuisses. Magni enim videbatur interesse ad eam necessitudinem, quam nobis sors tribuisset, consuetudinem quoque accedere. Postea cum mihi nihil neque a te ipso neque ab ullo alio de adventu tuo scriberetur, verebar ne id ita caderet—quod etiam nunc vereor—ne ante, quam tu in provinciam venisses, ego provincia decederem. Accepi autem a te missas litteras in Cilicia, cum essem in castris, a. d. x. Kal. Quinctiles, scriptas humanissime, quibus facile et officium et ingenium tuum perspici posset: sed neque unde nec quo die datae essent aut quo tempore te exspectarem significabant, nec is, qui attulerat, a te acceperat, ut ex eo scirem quo ex loco aut quo tempore essent datae. 2. Quae cum essent incerta, existimavi tamen faciundum esse ut ad te statores meos et lictores cum litteris mitterem: quas si satis opportuno tempore accepisti, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me in Ciliciam quam primum veneris. Nam, quod ad me Curius, consobrinus

Cicero had two quaestors in Cilicia, L. Mescinius Rufus (Fam. v. 19, 20, 21), and Cn. Volusius (Att. v. 11, 4, Ep. cc.). Volusius left towards the end of Cicero's year of office, and C. Caelius Caldus came in his place. Cicero afterwards left him in charge of the province when he went back to Rome.

1. *necessitudinem*] 'besides the relationship the lot has established between us, there should be intimacy too.' The relationship of the quaestor to the governor was looked on as that of father to son. Fam. xiii. 10, 1; 26, 1; Planc. 28: cp. Marquardt, St. V. i. 528. Thus it was considered almost impiety for a quaestor to give evidence against the consul or praetor under whom he served (Div. in Caecil. 61).

2. *statores*] We have retained this reading of all the MSS. Mommsen (St. R. ii. 253, note) wishes to draw a distinction between *strator*, the equerry, orderly, and letter-carrier of the commander, and *stator*, the jailer. This distinction he observes himself in the Digest (1, 14, 6, 1 and 4, 6, 10); but Krüger in the Code (9, 4, 1, 4) reads *strator* for a jailer. Heumann gives both significations to *strator*. The military official is certainly *stator* in Inscrip-

tuus, mihi, ut scis, maxime necessarius, quod item C. Vergilius, propinquus tuus, familiarissimus noster, de te accuratissime scripsit, valet id quidem apud me multum, sicuti debet hominum amicissimorum diligens commendatio, sed tuae litterae de tua praesertim dignitate et de nostra coniunctione maximi sunt apud me ponderis. Mihi quaestor optatior obtingere nemo potuit. Quam ob rem quaecumque a me ornamenta in te *proficisci poterunt*, proficiscentur, ut omnes intellegant a me habitam esse rationem tuae maiorumque tuorum dignitatis. Sed id facilius consequar, si ad me in Ciliciam veneris, quod ego et mea et rei publicae et maxime tua interesse arbitror.

CCLXIII. CICERO TO CAELIUS (FAM. II. 12).

JUNE; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Decedens de provincia deplorat quod ab urbe afuerit, litteras sibi ob viam mitti postulat. Scripta epistola est in Cilicia.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Sollicitus equidem eram de rebus urbanis: ita tumultuosae contiones, ita molestae Quinquatrus adferebantur: nam citeriora nondum audiebamus. Sed tamen nihil me magis sollicitabat quam in his molestiis non me, si quae ridenda essent, ridere tecum: sunt enim multa, sed ea non audeo scribere. Illud moleste fero, nihil me adhuc his de rebus habere tuarum litterarum.

tions: see Wilmanns 1497, 1513, 1598, &c.: cp. his index, p. 589.

C. Vergilius] Was appointed aedile in 689 (55) and praetor in 694 (60), in both cases with Q. Cicero as his colleague. He was governor of Sicily in 695 (59); but, though on intimate terms with M. Cicero, Q. Fr. i. 2, 7, Ep. liii., would not allow him, when exiled, to take refuge in his province. Planc. 95, 96.

proficisci poterunt] We have ventured to add these words, accounting for the corruption *ex homoeoteleuto*. Victorius takes *quaecumque* in the sense of 'all'; but Cicero and the best authors always use the word in a strictly relative sense with its own verb, except in the abl. sing. in such phrases as *quacunque ratione*, *de quacunque causa*: cp. Madv. § 87, obs. 1. Cicero, however, uses *qualiscunque* quite indefinitely without a verb, Fam. iv. 8, 2. For this use of *proficisci*, cp. Fam. iii., 1, 1, Ep. clxxx.; iii. 10, 11, Ep. cclxi.

1. *Quinquatrus*] This festival was held from March 19th to 23rd. These Easter holidays were quite spoiled by Curio, who, having turned demagogue, held a series of seditious meetings during them.

ridere] Caelius was a cynic, intercourse with whom would largely consist in laughing at the mad world. Fam. viii., 3, 1, Ep. cxcvii.; ii., 13, 3, Ep. cclvii.: cp. Quintil. x. 2, 25, *asperitatem Caelii*.

Qua re etsi, cum tu haec leges, ego iam annuum munus confecero, tamen obviae mihi velim sint tuae litterae, quae me erudiant de omni re publica, ne hospes plane veniam. Hoc melius quam tu facere nemo potest. 2. Diogenes tuus, homo modestus, a me cum Philone Pessinuntem discessit. Iter habebant ad Adiatorigem, qua omnia nec benigna nec copiosa cognorant. Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive. Omnis peregrinatio—quod ego ab adolescentia iudicavi—obscura et sordida est iis, quorum industria Romae potest illustris esse. Quod cum probe scirem, utinam in sententia permansissem! Cum una mehercule ambulatiuncula atque uno sermone nostro omnes fructus provinciae non confero. 3. Spero me integritatis laudem consecutum. Non erat minor ex contemnenda quam est ex conservata provincia. At spem triumphi? inquis. Satis gloriose triumpharam: non essem quidem tam diu in desiderio rerum mihi carissimarum. Sed, ut spero, prope diem te videbo. Tu mihi obviam mitte epistolas te dignas.

2. *Diogenes*] The eclectic reading, which we have adopted in this passage, is based on the following considerations. Cicero was not at Pessinus, in Galatia, but in Cilicia. Adiatorix was son of Domeneclius, tetrarch of Galatia (Strabo xii. 542–3), and was afterwards led in triumph and executed by Augustus; and though the son of Adiatorix was subsequently made, according to the romantic story in Strabo (xii. 558), high-priest of Comana, in Cappadocia, there is no evidence at all, rather the contrary, that before this time Adiatorix had any connexion with Comana. Accordingly we cannot accept Klotz's ingeniously argued (Introd. to his Ed. xliii., xliv.) correction of *omnia* into *Comana*, though it might obtain some justification from the *nec omnia* of H. It is most probable that Diogenes intended to go to Pessinus, perhaps to instruct Adiatorix, who was doubtless a young man at this time; though Diogenes knew that it was not a lucrative position, nor one in which he would meet with a great deal of kindness. The objection we have to *quamquam* is that a word signifying 'there' is certainly required in the sentence; hence we read *qua*. Diogenes was a friend of Caelius, and Philo was Caelius' freedman (Fam. viii. 8, 10, Ep. ccxxiii.).

Urbem, urbem] 'Oh! Rome, Rome, my dear Rufus, stay in *it*, and live in its full blaze.'

peregrinatio] 'foreign service': *sordida*, 'paltry': *illustris esse*, 'shine.'

3. *non erat minor*] The praise for *integritas*, which I obtained when I resigned the province after my consulship, was as great as I have now got from the just administration of Cilicia.

At spem triumphi?] We have added *At* with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 7), which might readily have dropped out after *provincia*. We must supply something like *consecutus es*, remembering that violent ellipses are common in the letters: cp. I², p. 70.

triumpharam] This is the reading of Schütz, Wesenberg, and Baiter, and is found in one MS. It is certainly right, referring to the virtual triumph Cicero had over his enemies in the enthusiasm which was evoked by his return from exile. The imperf. subj. which Klotz retains would mean 'I should be now having a sufficiently glorious triumph (*i.e.* if I had remained at Rome) in taking an active part in all the public business that was going on.' For the corruption of the contracted pluperf. indic. into the imperf. subj., cp. notes to Fam. ii., 11, 1, Ep. cclv.; ii. 13, 3, Ep. cclvii.

non essem] 'I ought not to have been for such a long time pining for what I love most.'

CCLXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 3).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero, cum adventante die profectionis sibi non succedi videat, ait se sollicitudine adfici, quemnam relinquat qui provinciae praesit, de reliqua provinciae admininistratione bono se esse animo, de rebus urbanis de quibus vult certior fieri prius quam ad urbem accedat. Tum de causa Bruti, pro quo omnia se ait fecisse, de Bruti eorumque hominum, quos ille sibi commendaverit, adrogantia, de Q. Cicerone puero conscio rixarum parentum suorum, de Hortensio filio, de oratione Q. Celeris et litteris Attici. Scripta epistola est in Cilicia mense Junio ante V. Kal. Quinct.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi nil sane habebam novi quod post accidisset quam dedissem ad te Philogeni, liberto tuo, litteras, tamen, cum Philotimum Romam remitterem, scribendum aliquid ad te fuit: ac primum illud, quod me maxime angebat, non quo me aliquid iuvare posses: quippe, res enim est in manibus, tu autem abes longe gentium:

πολλὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ
Νότος κυλίνδει κύματ' εὐρείης ἁλός,

obrepit dies, ut vides—mihi enim a. d. III. Kal. Sext. de provincia decedendum est—nec succeditur. Quem relinquam qui provinciae praesit? Ratio quidem et opinio hominum postulat fratrem: primum, quod videtur esse honos: nemo igitur potior: deinde, quod solum habeo praetorium. Pomptinus enim ex pacto et convento—nam ea lege exierat—iam a me discesserat. Quaestorem nemo

1. *aliquid iuvare*] See I[2], p. 62 *i*. This use of the accus. is characteristic of the comic drama.

πολλὰ δ'] The last ed. of Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 693, places these verses among the *Fragmenta adespota*, 20 A, with the note 'Archilochi videntur versus, quo poeta saepius utitur Cicero.' We have had a remarkable quotation from Archilochus in Att. v. 12, 1, Ep. ccii. He might here have well quoted from his favourite, Homer (Il. i. 167), ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα. It is strange, too, that in his letters to Trebatius he does not quote Il. ii. 298, αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι He rarely misses an apposite quotation from Homer.

solum . . . praetorium] 'he is the only man of praetorian standing whom I have with me.' We should expect *illum* after *solum*.

pacto et convento] A technical term for a formal agreement: see Caec. 51.

Quaestorem] Mescinius Rufus: cp. also Att. vi. 4, 1, Ep. cclxviii.

dignum putat. Etenim est levis, libidinosus, tagax. 2. De fratre autem primum illud est: persuaderi ei non posse arbitror: odit enim provinciam. Et hercule nihil odiosius, nihil molestius. Deinde, ut mihi nolit negare, quidnam mei sit officii? Cum bellum esse in Syria magnum putetur, id videatur in hanc provinciam erupturum, hic praesidii nihil sit, sumptus annuus decretus sit, videaturne aut pietatis esse meae fratrem relinquere aut diligentiae nugarum aliquid relinquere? Magna igitur, ut vides, sollicitudine adficior, magna inopia consilii. Quid quaeris? Toto negotio nobis opus non fuit. Quanto tua provincia melior! Decedes, cum voles, nisi forte iam decessisti: quem videbitur, praeficies Thesprotiae et Chaoniae. Necdum tamen ego Quintum conveneram, ut iam, si id placeret, scirem, possetne ab eo impetrari, nec tamen, si posset, quid vellem habebam. 3. Hoc est igitur eius modi. Reliqua plena adhuc et laudis et gratiae, digna iis libris, quos tu dilaudas. Conservatae civitates, cumulate publicanis satis factum, offensus contumelia nemo, decreto iusto et severo perpauci, nec tamen quisquam, ut queri audeat, res gestae dignae triumpho, de quo ipso nihil cupide agemus, sine tuo quidem consilio certe nihil. Clausula est difficilis in tradenda provincia. Sed haec deus aliquis gubernabit. 4. De urbanis rebus scilicet plura tu scis, saepius et certiora audis: equidem doleo non me tuis litteris certiorem fieri. Huc enim odiosa adferebantur de Curione, de Paullo, non quo ullum periculum videam stante Pompeio vel etiam sedente: valeat modo: sed mehercule Curionis et Paulli, meorum familiarium, vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius

tagax] 'light-fingered,' fr. *tago*, old Lat. for *tango*. Pl. Mil. iv. 2. 102 (1092); *tangere* often means 'to lay hands on for the purpose of pilfering,' *e. g.* Mil. iii. 2, 10 (823).

2. *sumptus annuus*] 'only the ordinary supplies for the year,' just as in Att. vi. 2, 7, Ep. ccliv., *triduum quatriduumve* means '*only* three or four days': see also on Att. v. 15, 3, Ep. ccvii.

nugarum aliquid] 'some mere nobody': see on Att. vi. 1, 15, Ep. cclii.

provincia] Used with a slight *paronomasia* in a sense which *provincia* often bears in Plautus, 'charge,' 'department,' 'sphere.' The 'sphere' of Atticus was a life of cultivated leisure free from political anxieties.

3. *clausula*] 'the conclusion,' 'the wind up.' He uses *κατακλείς* in the same sense: Att. ii. 3, 3, Ep. xxix., where see note. Perhaps we should read *κατακλείς* here, and regard *clausula* as a gloss: see on Att. i. 13, 1, Ep. xix.

4. *Curione, Paullo*] Who were playing Caesar's game in Rome.

stante Pompeio vel etiam sedente] 'if Pompeius preserves his influence or even his inactivity,' 'keeps firm or even keeps quiet': cp. for *stare*, 'to hold one's own,' *ut πτῶσις Curiana stare videatur*, Att. ii. 17, 2, Ep. xliv.; and *stamus animis*, Att. v. 18, 2, Ep. cviii.

vicem] 'for the sake of,' sometimes 'like,' as Att. x. 8, 7, *Sardanapali vicem*.

formam] 'a sketch, that I may mould

reipublicae, si iam es Romae aut cum eris, velim mittas, quae mihi ob viam veniat, ex qua me fingere possim et praemeditari quo animo accedam ad urbem. Est enim quiddam advenientem non esse peregrinum atque hospitem. 5. Et, quod paene praeterii: Bruti tui causa, ut saepe ad te scripsi, feci omnia. Cyprii numerabant. Sed Scaptius centesimis, renovato in singulos annos fenore, contentus non fuit. Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium prolixior per ipsum quam per me in Brutum. Quem tamen ego praestare non poteram, erat enim rex perpauper aberamque ab eo ita longe, ut nihil possem nisi litteris, quibus pugnare non destiti. Summa haec est: pro ratione pecuniae liberalius est Brutus tractatus quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c., Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa cc. Iam in Appii negotio quantum tribuerim Bruto dici vix potest. Quid est igitur quod laborem? Amicos habet meras nugas, Matinium, Scaptium, qui, quia non habuit a me turmas equitum, quibus Cyprum vexaret, ut ante me fecerat, fortasse suscenset, aut quia praefectus non est, quod ego nemini tribui negotiatori, non C. Vennonio, meo familiari, non tuo, M. Laenio; et quod tibi Romae ostenderam me servaturum, in eo perseveravi. Sed quid poterit queri is, qui, auferre pecuniam cum posset, noluit? Scaptio, qui in Cappadocia fuit, puto esse satis factum. Is a me tribunatum cum accepisset, quem ego ex Bruti litteris ei detulissem, postea scripsit ad me se uti nolle eo tribunatu. 6. Gavius est quidam, cui cum praefecturam detulis-

my conduct according to it, and practise the mental attitude in which to approach Rome.'

hospitem] cp. *ego sum hic hospita*, Att. v. 1, 3, Ep. clxxxiv.

5. *Et quod paene*] 'and here is something which I had nearly forgotten to tell you.' As ordinarily punctuated, with a comma only after *praeterii*, the sentence reads very strangely. Why should Cicero introduce a quite new topic in the middle of a letter by such a closely connecting conjunction? Hence Boot would read *eu! quod paene praeteriit*, connecting the words with the foregoing clause, 'thank heaven, it's nearly over,' that is, his provincial government. Punctuated, however, as above, the text is defensible.

prolixior] 'Ariobarzanes is not more accommodating to Pompeius for his own sake than to Brutus for mine.'

praestare] This must refer to Ariobarzanes. Cicero says, 'I could not go bail for him,' that is, 'I could not guarantee that he would pay Brutus his whole debt.' As generally punctuated, comma at *Brutum* and full point at *poteram*, the verb *praestare* would seem to refer to *Brutum;* but *praestare Brutum* could not mean to 'ensure the repayment of the debt to Brutus.'

pro ratione pecuniae] 'in proportion to the sum lent.'

Appii] Att. vi. 2, 10, Ep. cclvi.

quod laborem] See on § 1.

meras nugas] See on § 2.

Scaptio, qui in Cap. fuit] This Scaptius is a different person from the Scaptius who was the creditor of the Salaminians, or rather the agent of Brutus, but apparently nearly as atrocious a ruffian.

tribunatum] sc. *militum*.

sem Bruti rogatu, multa et dixit et fecit cum quadam mea contumelia, P. Clodii canis. Is me nec proficiscentem Apamea prosecutus est nec, cum postea in castra venisset atque inde discederet, 'numquid vellem' rogavit, et fuit aperte mihi nescio qua re non amicus. Hunc ego si in praefectis habuissem, quem tu me hominem putares? Qui, ut scis, potentissimorum hominum contumaciam numquam tulerim, ferrem huius adseculae? Etsi hoc plus est quam ferre, tribuere etiam beneficii aliquid et honoris. Is igitur Gavius, cum Apameae me nuper vidisset Romam proficiscens, me ita appellavit *ut* Culleolum vix auderem:—Unde, inquit, me iubes petere cibaria praefecti? Respondi lenius quam putabant oportuisse qui aderant, me non instituisse iis dare cibaria, quorum opera non essem usus. Abiit iratus. 7. Huius nebulonis oratione si Brutus moveri potest, licebit eum solus ames, me aemulum non habebis. Sed illum eum futurum esse puto, qui esse debet. Tibi tamen causam notam esse volui, et ad ipsum haec perscripsi diligentissime. Omnino—soli enim sumus—nullas umquam ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non inesset adrogans, ἀκοινονόητον aliquid. Tibi autem valde solet in ore esse:

Granius autem
Non contemnere se et reges odisse superbos:

in quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere solet, sed plane parum cogitat quid scribat aut ad quem. 8. Q. Cicero puer legit, ut opinor, et certe, epistolam inscriptam patri suo. Solet enim aperire, idque de meo consilio, si quid forte sit quod opus sit sciri. In ea autem epistola erat illud idem de sorore, quod ad me. Mirifice conturbatum vide puerum. Lacrimans

6. *canis*] 'a mere spaniel of Clodius,' one who follows Clodius as if he were his dog; hence *adseculae* below. Cicero often speaks of the *canes* of Verres.

numquid vellem] See Att. v. 2, 2, Ep. cclxxxv.

ita ut] 'addressed me in a tone I should hardly have used to Culleolus.'

non instituisse] 'that it was not my habit to make allowances to those whose services I did not require.' With these words he dismissed Gavius.

7. *soli enim sumus*] 'between ourselves,' αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμέν, Aristoph. Ach. 504: cp. Ter. Ad. iii.1, 4.

ἀκοινονόητον] See on Att. vi. 1, 7, Ep. cclii.

Granius autem] These verses of Lucilius in praise of the honest *praeco*, whose catechism was to have a good conceit of himself and eschew all proud oppressors, is often quoted by Cicero, who sometimes uses only the two first words, *Granius autem*, to indicate the whole passage.

8. *et certe*] sc. *legit*, 'and indeed I am sure of it.' The ellipse is not *scio*, with which Cicero uses *certo*.

quod ad me] For the matter referred to see Att. vi. 2, 1, Ep. cclvi. The ellipse is *scripsisti*.

mecum est questus. Quid quaeris? Miram in eo pietatem, suavitatem humanitatemque perspexi, quo maiorem spem habeo nihil fore aliter ac deceat. Id te igitur scire volui. 9. Ne illud quidem praetermittam: Hortensius filius fuit Laodiceae, gladiatoribus, flagitiose et turpiter. Hunc ego patris causa vocavi ad cenam, quo die venit, et eiusdem patris causa nihil amplius. Is mihi dixit se Athenis me exspectaturum, ut mecum decederet. 'Recte,' inquam: quid enim dicerem? Omnino puto nihil esse quod dixit. Nolo quidem, ne offendam patrem, quem mehercule multum diligo. Sin fuerit meus comes, moderabor ita, ne quid eum offendam, quem minime volo. 10. Haec sunt, etiam illud: orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas contra M. Servilium. Litteras mitte quam primum: si nihil, *nihil* fieri vel per tuum tabellarium. Piliae et filiae salutem. Cura ut valeas.

9. *glad.*] 'during the gladiatorial show.'

fuit . . . flagitiose] *Esse*, with adverbs, is a characteristic feature in the style of the letters: see I², p. 71.

nihil amplius] This is usually explained, 'I asked him to dinner as a mark of respect for his father, and then dropped him—for the same father's sake,' because he knew that the father was on bad terms with the son, whose dissolute life gave him great offence. But it is strange that in these circumstances Cicero should have thought it necessary to invite the young man at all. Perhaps he may have disgraced himself at Cicero's table. Lehmann (p. 29) interprets *nihil amplius* as meaning 'nothing could be more splendid than the entertainment I gave him.' *Nihil* with comparatives as a substitute for the superlative is very common; Lehmann, p. 30, fills a page with exx., of which a good type is *nihil quietius nihil alsius nihil amoenius*, Att. iv. 8*a* 1 Ep. cxii. However, it must be owned that the ellipse of *esse potuit* is very harsh. But he has applied the same treatment, with complete success, to Fam. xii. 1, 2, *amplius aliquid per vos non accepit*, 'this was the finest service that the State received at your hands': where 'the State received nothing further from you' is against the context.

'Recte'] Like our 'thanks' and the French 'merci,' often politely declines an offer. Here, however, and frequently, it accepts in a half-evasive manner. 'Very good,' said I; 'what else could I do? But I don't think at all he means what he said.' Cicero thought he might safely accept the young man's offer, as he knew he did not mean to carry it out.

10. *Q. Celeris*] Q. Pilius Celer, a kinsman of Atticus, had prosecuted M. Servilius on a charge of *repetundae*: Fam. viii. 8, 2, Ep. ccxxiii.

si nihil] 'if there is no news, write to say so, or even send a verbal message': cp. Att. iv. 8*b*, 4, Ep. cxviii., *ubi nihil erit quod scribas, id ipsum scribito*.

CCLXV. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (Fam. iii. 11).

JUNE; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Appii litteris binis respondet, et primum quidem maiestatis crimine liberato gratulatur. Ad alteram epistolam hoc respondet, gratias agit, quod de statu rei publ. ad se scripserit Appius, orationes eius cupit ad se mitti, purgat se de litteris antea missis. Scripta epistola est in castris ad Pyramum.

M. CICERO AP. PULCRO, UT SPERO, CENSORI S. D.

1. Cum essem in castris ad fluvium Pyramum, redditae mihi sunt uno tempore a te epistolae duae, quas ad me Q. Servilius Tarso miserat. Earum in altera dies erat ascripta Nonarum Aprilium: in altera, quae mihi recentior videbatur, dies non erat. Respondebo igitur superiori prius, in qua scribis ad me de absolutione maiestatis. De qua etsi permultum ante certior factus eram litteris, nuntiis, fama denique ipsa—nihil enim fuit clarius, non quo quisquam aliter putasset, sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet—tamen eadem illa laetiora fecerunt mihi tuae litterae, non solum quia planius loquebantur et uberius quam vulgi sermo, sed etiam quia magis videbar tibi gratulari, cum de te ex te ipso audiebam. 2. Complexus igitur sum cogitatione te absentem: epistolam vero osculatus etiam ipse mihi gratulatus sum. Quae enim *a* cuncto populo, a senatu, a iudicibus ingenio, industriae, virtuti tribuuntur, quia mihi ipse adsentor fortasse, cum ea esse in me fingo, mihi quoque ipsi tribui puto. Nec tam gloriosum exitum tui iudicii exstitisse, sed tam pravam inimicorum tuorum mentem fuisse mirabar. De ambitu vero quid

1. *Pyramum*] A river in Cilicia between Adana and Issus.

Q. Servilius] See on Fam. iii. 10, 2, Ep. cclxi.

permultum] For *permulto*, cp. Liv. iii. 15, 2, *quantum magis*; v. 21, 14, *quantum maior*.

clarius] 'more talked about'; *obscure*, 'without exciting notice.'

insignibus ad laudem] 'conspicuous in merit.' For *ad* 'with regard to,' cp. Verr. iv. 117, *situ praeclaro ad aspectum*; v 68, *nihil tam clausum ad exitus, nihil tam saeptum undique, nihil tam tutum ad custodias nec fieri nec cogitari potest* (sc. than Syracuse).

2. *quia . . . fingo*] A slightly illogical sentence. It ought to be 'because I imagine I have these qualities, though thereby I possibly flatter myself.'

interest, inquies, an de maiestate? Ad rem nihil: alterum enim non attigisti: alteram auxisti: verumtamen *ea* est maiestas (etsi Sulla noluit), ut in quemvis impune declamari liceret: ambitus vero ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur improbe aut defendatur. Qui enim facta necne facta largitio ignorari potest? Tuorum autem honorum cursus cui suspectus umquam fuit? Me miserum qui non adfuerim! quos ego risus excitassem! 3. Sed de maiestatis iudicio duo mihi illa ex tuis litteris iucundissima fuerunt: unum, quod te ab ipsa re publica defensum scribis, quae quidem etiam in summa bonorum et fortium civium copia tueri tales viros deberet, nunc vero eo magis, quod tanta penuria est in omni vel honoris vel aetatis gradu, ut tam orba civitas tales tutores complecti debeat: alterum, quod Pompeii et Bruti fidem benevolentiamque mirifice laudas. Laetor virtute et officio cum tuorum necessariorum, meorum amicissimorum, tum alterius omnium saeculorum et gentium principis, alterius iam pridem iuventutis, celeriter, ut spero, civitatis. De mercennariis testibus a suis civitatibus notandis, nisi iam factum aliquid est per Flaccum, fiet a me, cum per Asiam decedam. 4. Nunc ad alteram epistolam

verumtamen] For the reading of the MSS see Adn. Crit. The sense of the passage appears to be this: Cicero says he wonders at the wicked conduct of the prosecutors of Appius in that they did not accuse him of a specific charge, such as *ambitus* was, wherein truth could be *definitely* arrived at, and accuser or accused be proved a scoundrel; but they accused him of *maiestas*, a charge which was so vague that a case could be made under it against anyone, no matter how innocent. We read *noluit* for *voluit*, as Cicero would hardly say it was the express intention of the legislator to make a vague law. For the indefinite and wide nature of the idea of *maiestas minuta* cp. Cic. De Invent. ii. 53, *maiestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit aliquid derogare.*

Qui enim facta necne facta] The MSS read *Quod* for *Qui*, which according to Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 7) points to *Quomodo* as the true reading. Instead of *necne*, as H reads, M has *et non*, which has arisen either from a gloss *aut non* on *necne*, or perhaps from *stncn* (= *sit necne*): see Streicher, p. 147.

3. *Sed*] Resumptive, after a digression.

cum tuorum] 'as well because they are relations of yours and dear friends of mine, as also because one of them is the first man of any age or country, and the other is for this long time chief of the youth, soon as I hope to be chief of the state.' During the Republic the chief of the equites was the *princeps iuventutis*. It was just as much and just as little a definite title and position as *princeps senatus*. Under the Empire the sons of the Emperor were usually styled *principes iuventutis* (= *principes equitum Romanorum*) from the time they assumed the *toga virilis* till they took their seats in the Senate: cp. Mommsen, St. R. ii³, 800, Res gestae d. Aug. pp. 55–8.

De mercennariis . . . notandis] 'as to getting a censure passed on the bribed witnesses by their several states, if something in that respect has not been done already by Flaccus,' &c. This C. Valerius Flaccus was on the staff of Appius Claudius in Cilicia (Fam. iii. 4, 1, Ep. cxciv.), possibly one of his *legati*. Billerbeck says he was son of the Flaccus whom Cicero defended in 695(59), and that he was one of Cicero's subordinates.

venio. Quod ad me quasi formam communium temporum et totius rei publicae misisti expressam, prudentia litterarum tuarum valde mihi est grata. Video enim et pericula leviora, quam timebam, et maiora praesidia, si quidem, ut scribis, omnes vires civitatis se ad Pompeii ductum applicaverunt, tuumque simul promptum animum et alacrem perspexi ad defendendam rem publicam, mirificamque cepi voluptatem ex hac tua diligentia, quod in summis tuis occupationibus mihi tamen rei publicae statum per te notum esse voluisti. Nam augurales libros ad commune utriusque nostrum otium serva: ego enim, a te cum tua promissa per litteras flagitabam, ad urbem te otiosissimum esse arbitrabar. Nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro auguralibus libris orationes tuas confectas omnes exspectabo. 5. D. Tullius, cui mandata ad me dedisti, non convenerat me, nec erat iam quisquam mecum tuorum praeter omnes meos, qui sunt omnes tui. Stomachosiores meas litteras quas dicas esse non intellego. Bis ad te scripsi, me purgans diligenter, te leviter accusans in eo, quod de me cito credidisses: quod genus querellae mihi quidem videbatur esse amici: sin tibi displicet, non utar eo posthac. Sed si, ut scribis, eae litterae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim Aristarchus Homeri versum negat, quem non probat, sic tu—libet enim mihi iocari—quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum. Vale et in censura, si iam es censor, ut spero, de proavo multum cogitato tuo.

4. *quasi formam*] 'what I might call a plan of the crisis we are in, and of the whole state of politics clearly sketched out.' Cicero often uses *tempus meum* in speaking of his banishment, *e.g.* Sest. 123: also *tempus* generally for 'hour of peril,' Arch. 12. *Quasi* is used with metaphors, the metaphor in *forma* being that of an architect's sketch: cp. Fam. ii. 8, 1, Ep. cci.

ad urbem] cp. Fam. iii. 8, 1, Ep. ccxxii.

5. *D. Tullius*] So we read with H for *dicit Tullium* of M. It had been already conjectured by Orelli, and read by Baiter and Klotz. There is a very similar corruption in M at Fam. iii. 6, 5, Ep. ccxiii., where it reads *dedit Antonium*, and Baiter conjectures *D. Antonium*.

quas dicas] 'I cannot think which these letters of mine can be which you call somewhat angry,' 'what letters you mean by *my angry ones*'; such is the force of the subject.

disertae] 'well-expressed,' somewhat less than *eloquens*: cp. Quintil. viii. proem. 13, *diserto satis dicere quae oporteat: ornate autem dicere proprium est eloquentissimi.*

proavo] Generally 'ancestor': cp. Hor. A. P. 270. Appius Claudius Caecus, the Censor, was really *tritavus* of Cicero's correspondent.

CCLXVI. CATO TO CICERO (Fam. xv. 5).

JUNE; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cato rationem reddit, quam ob rem ipse supplicationem Ciceroni non decreverit, decretam gaudet, se autem scribit honorificentius de Cicerone sensisse quam eos, qui decrevissent supplicationem.

M. CATO S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

1. Quod et res publica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam cognitam in maximis rebus domi togati, armati foris pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. 2. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito, sed summa tua ratione et continentia rei publicae provisum est, dis immortalibus gratulari nos quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem et idcirco casum potius quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur

Cato had voted against the appointment of a supplication in honour of Cicero (Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvii.), but had made a speech highly complimenting him. This letter has the air of a very careful and highly elaborated composition. The stiff, architectural arrangement of the periods is to be noticed; observe, too, that every sentence ends with a verb.

1. *Quod*] *Hortari* takes an acc. of the thing if it is a neuter pronoun or an adjective.

togati] Agrees with *tui* expressed in *tuam*: cp. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 23, *mea scripta timentis.*

pari industria administrari] 'is practised with equal solicitude by you as a general on foreign service.' The expression *administrare virtutem* is certainly peculiar. Baiter, Klotz, and Watson read against the MSS *administrare*, taking this word intransitively, 'carry on its work,' and they compare Sall. Jug. 92, *milites neque pro opere consistere neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare poterant.*

pro meo iudicio] 'conscientiously.'

ut . . . laudarem] 'namely, to praise.'

revocatam] 'the hearts of the allies have been won back to a cheerful acquiescence in our rule' (Watson).

sententia mea et decreto] 'in the expression of my opinion and vote. These are practically synonymous words here.

2. *Supplicationem*] 'I am very glad that a supplication was decreed, if you, in a matter wherein the interests of the state were maintained without any aid from chance but by your own consummate skill and uprightness, prefer that we should thank the gods rather than credit you with it.' With *provisum* in the second clause supply *omne* taken out of *nihil*.

praerogativam] 'sure token,' 'earnest': cp. 1 Verr. 26, and Wunder's note on Planc. 49, quoted by Holden.

neque supplicationem] Before these words we must supply something like 'I must tell you,' as often, *e.g.* Muren.

semper triumphus et triumpho multo clarius est senatum iudicare potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea sententia censebam. 3. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua maiestate quod amplissimum sum arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti factum esse gaudere. Vale et nos dilige et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et rei publicae praesta.

CCLXVII. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 11).

JUNE; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Caelius, supplicationibus Ciceroni post magnam contentionem a senatu decretis, eum hortatur, ut decreti auctoribus pro eo, ut quisque meritus sit, gratias agat. Addit de successore Caesaris quid actum sit et rerum urbanarum commentarium mittit Sittianumque negotium commendat.

CAELIUS CICERONIS.

1. Non diu sed acriter nos tuae supplicationes torserunt: incideramus enim in difficilem nodum. Nam Curio tui cupidissimus, quoi omnibus rationibus comitiales *dies* eripiebantur, negabat se ullo modo pati posse decerni supplicationes, ne quod furore Paulli adeptus esset boni, sua culpa videretur amisisse et praevaricator

15 *et proavus*, 20 *tamen testata sunt omnia*.

3. *voluisse*] 'expressed my approval of.' Mr. Watson acutely remarks that this is the *velle* used in laws *Velitis iubeatis Quirites*.

quod tu maluisti] 'what you no doubt preferred.'

instituto itinere] abl. modi.

1. *Non diu sed acriter*] 'in the matter of your supplications we have had not a long but a sharp attack.' The metaphor is from the pains of a severe illness.

incideramus enim] 'for we had got into a perplexing tangle.'

quoi] So we read for *qui* of the MSS: cp. note to Fam. viii. 1, 1, Ep. cxci.

comitiales dies] We have added *dies* with Wesenberg and Klotz. The former (*Em.* 110) supposes that the corruption arose from the fact that *dies* was written *d*, as is so frequent in inscriptions. The method employed for wresting the *dies comitiales* from Curio took the form of appeals to the State religion, such as 'observing the heavens,' renewing the Latin festivals, &c. (see Q. Fr. ii. 4, 4, Ep. cv.

ne quod . . . adeptus esset] The factious and scandalous manner in which Paullus abused the State religion, in order to deprive Curio of the power to hold the comitia, justified the latter in using obstruction in the Senate and hindering all decrees in which the majority were interested. Now if he tamely submitted to the Senate and showed no fight, it would be thought that he purposely gave up his rights and

causae publicae existimaretur. Itaque ad pactionem descendimus, et confirmarunt consules se his supplicationibus in hunc annum non usuros. Plane quod utrisque consulibus gratias agas est; Paullo magis certe. Nam Marcellus sic respondit ei, spem in istis supplicationibus non habere, Paullus se omnino in hunc annum non edicturum. 2. Renuntiatum nobis erat Hirrum diutius dicturum: prendimus eum: non modo non fecit, sed cum de hostibus ageretur

was the betrayer of his party, by playing, like a corrupt advocate, into the hands of the opposing counsel. *Boni* is, then, the 'advantage' of being able to obstruct in the Senate with considerable show of justice. If Curio quietly allowed the Government motion to pass, he would be thought to have deliberately, from dishonest motives, surrendered the position he held, which was so advantageous to his party, of not being the aggressor, but the retaliator. If *ademptus esset* is read, the *bonum* which he lost will be the *dies comitiales* which Paullus deprived him of; and Curio now professes to fear that these supplications will be used to deprive him of more *dies comitiales*.

pactionem] 'compromise.' Curio was not to veto the supplications, and the consuls agreed not to hold them that year. All parties were in favour of Cicero; but Curio would not surrender his point unless the consuls yielded something too—and all this at poor Cicero's expense, for the which he is to thank everybody.

spem . . . habere] 'had very little hopes that those supplications of yours would pass.' Baiter following Lambinus, adds *se* before *spem*, but wrongly: for, as Becher (p. 19) has shown, the omission of the subject to the infinitive is both characteristic of the comic drama, and is found in another passage of Caelius, viz. Fam. viii. 3, 1, Ep. cxcvii. The sense is: you have obviously reason for being very much obliged to the two consuls—to Paullus most certainly; for while Marcellus showed himself a not very warm supporter by saying that he had no great hopes that the supplications would ever be held, Paullus said he would not proclaim the supplications that year. By this very decided statement, Paullus enabled the compromise to be effected, and got the supplications granted, on the terms of slightly deferring them.

2. *diutius dicturum*] 'was going to speak against time,' not 'for longer than usual.' The usual expressions for speaking against time are, *diem dicendo eximere, consumere, tollere.*

prendimus] 'we took him aside' (to give him advice): cp. Ter. Phorm. iv. 3, 15; Andr. ii. 2, 16; Cic. Att. xii. 13, 2.

de hostibus] We read this (not *de hostiis*) instead of *hostis* of the MSS. It has been already adopted by Lambinus, Graevius, Ernesti, and Schütz. For there is no evidence that there was any debate in the Senate on the number of victims to be offered in a supplication. In Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2, Ep. cl., whatever the right reading may be, it is certainly not that of the MSS *hostiarum*. For the general who demanded a triumph would never be the person who fixed the number of victims; and, even supposing he was, what would be the meaning of connecting *militum* with the victims? In the passage from Valerius Max. (ii. 8, 1), quoted in the note on that letter to Quintus, it is shown that a general demanding a triumph, or any lesser species of it, was required, by a plebiscite brought forward by Cato and P. Marcius in 692 (62) to lay before the Senate, within ten days after presenting himself before the gates, a statement of the number of the enemy killed (that number had to be 5000 to entitle to a triumph), of his own loss, and, probably, to give other proof that the enemy had been a real (*iustus*) one, and that the victory had not been trifling in any way (Gell. v. 6, 21). Again, fixing the number of victims was surely a mere matter of detail *after* the triumph or supplication was decreed, and, we conjecture, was a matter for the aedile and his *consilium* (cp. Festus, p. 186; Mommsen St. R. ii. 498): while the question at issue about which Caelius is writing, was whether the supplication was to be granted at all. Perhaps the corruption may have been facilitated if *hostibus* was written *hostivus* (*v* and *b* interchanged, as often).

et posset rem impedire, si ut numeraretur postularet, tacuit. Tantum Catoni adsensus est, qui de te locutus honorifice, non decrerat supplicationes. Tertius ad hos Favonius accessit. Qua re pro cuiusque natura et instituto gratiae sunt agendae: his quod tantum voluntatem ostenderunt, pro sententia, cum impedire possent non pugnarunt, Curioni vero, quod de suarum actionum cursu tua causa deflexit. Nam Furnius et Lentulus, ut debuerunt, quasi eorum res esset, una nobiscum circumierunt et laborarunt. Balbi quoque Cornelii operam et sedulitatem laudare possum. Nam cum Curione vehementer locutus est et eum, si aliter fecisset, iniuriam Caesari facturum dixit: tum eius fidem in suspicionem adduxit. Decrerant quidem, qui inique transigi volebant, Domitii, Scipiones: quibus hac re ad intercessionem evocandam interpellantibus venustissime Curio respondit se eo libentius non intercedere, quod quosdam, qui decernerent, videret confici nolle. 3. Quod ad rem publicam attinet, in unam causam omnis contentio coniecta

ut numeraretur] cp. note to Att. v. 4, 2, Ep. clxxxvii.

tantum Catoni assensus est] So far from making an unusually long speech to his opinion, he simply said, 'Marco Catoni assentior.' This was called *verbo assentiri*, 'to assent in a word,' opposed to *sententiam dicere*, 'to speak to his opinion': cp. Att. vii. 3, 5, Ep. ccxciv.

Favonius] Cato's Sancho: cp. note to Att. i. 14, 6, Ep. xx.

deflexit] Curio, in coming to a compromise, had yielded somewhat from the vigorous course of obstruction which he had intended to pursue.

Furnius] cp. Att. v. 18, 3, Ep. ccxiv. *Lentulus* is the friend of Cicero to whom the letters of Fam. i. are addressed.

Balbi Cornelii] cp. Fam. viii. 9, 5, Ep. ccxi. Note the *cognomen* placed before the *nomen*, an order Cicero always adopts when he omits the *praenomen*. Caesar, in a similar case, does not alter the usual order: see Marquardt, *Privatleben* 9, note 2.

si aliter fecisset] Otherwise, *i.e.* than he had done in coming to a compromise. Caesar would not desire that he should obstruct the motion for Cicero's supplication.

tum eius fidem] 'then he created a certain disbelief in Curio's honesty,' *i.e.* towards Cicero. If Caesar would take it as a personal injury that Cicero's supplication should be rejected, Curio could not be quite honest in letting it be understood that his opposition to the supplication was merely a political opposition to the senatorial party, not to Cicero individually (*tui cupidissimus*, § 1). Man. and Graev. interpret the words as meaning that Curio would be thought not quite honest in his allegiance to Caesar if he opposed Cicero's supplication, inasmuch as Caesar had a strong affection for Cicero.

Decrerant quidem] 'they indeed voted for the motion who wanted a conclusion to the matter very unfair to you.' So we venture to translate the MSS reading, which we should never tolerate in a letter of Cicero's and hardly tolerate in one from Caelius. All these senators wanted was, by their interruptions and clamour, to irritate Curio into putting his veto on the measure, and so raise a prejudice against his obstructive tactics; and it was very unfair to Cicero to cause him to lose his distinction in order to further such party manœuvres. There is a great difficulty about the reading. Graevius and Lambinus leave out *quidem*, for which Orelli conjectured *quidam*. Ernesti and Schütz read: *Decrerant quidem qui neque transigi volebant*: 'they voted for it, indeed, who did not, however, wish the motion to be carried.' Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 21) suggests that a lacuna should be marked, *Decrerant quidam qui . . . neque transigi volebant*. M gives *quinique*.

venustissime] 'most happily.'

est, de provinciis: in qua adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur ut Caesar Id. Novembr. decedat. Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati: ceteras suas abiecit actiones. Nostri porro, quos tu bene nosti, ad extremum certamen rem deducere non audebant. Scena rei totius haec: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed quod illi aequum putet constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias. Valde autem non vult et plane timet Caesarem consulem designari prius, quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit. Accipitur satis male a Curione et totus eius secundus consulatus exagitatur. Hoc tibi dico: si omnibus rebus prement Curionem, Caesar defendet intercessorem: si—quod videntur—reformidabunt, Caesar quoad volet manebit. 4. Quam quisque sententiam dixerit, in commentario est rerum urbanarum: ex quo tu, quae digna sunt, selige: multa transi, in primis †ludorum explosiones et funerum et ineptiarum ceterarum: plura habet utilia:

3. *in qua*] So we read for *in quam* with Baiter, Klotz, and Wesenberg. The latter shows (*Em. Alt.* 22) that Baiter, in putting a full stop at *adhuc est*, introduces a needless tautology, for either *contentio* or *causa* must be supplied; and that it is absolutely necessary to take *adhuc* with *incubuisse*, for if *incubuisse* was not thus qualified, we should have *decederet*. Further, he shows that *est* of the MSS is due to the *est* after *coniecta*.

Scena] 'the scene on our public stage is this: Pompeius, just as if he were not attacking Caesar, but laying down what he thinks will be fair to him (sc. Caesar), says that Curio is seeking to create disunion.' We prefer to take *scena* in this sense, rather than in that of 'outward appearance.'

provinciam] We retain this reading of the MSS here and in Fam. viii. 9, 5, Ep. ccxi., as the reference in both places is mainly to the general constitutional question, whether it was allowable to hold a provincial governorship and stand for consulship at the same time; and there is no necessity to insist on the fact that, in this special case, Caesar held *two* provinces. Wesenberg, however (*Em. Alt.* 22), decides for *provincias* in both cases; and there is no doubt that Caelius generally uses the plural.

secundus consulatus] sc. in 699 (55) when he supported the bill of Trebonius prolonging Caesar's command for five years. That bill was carried in a very disorderly manner. Pompeius also was *suarum legum subversor* (Tac. Ann. iii. 28), in that he did not go to his own province, but governed it by his *legati*. So there was plenty of material for Curio's attack.

defendet intercessorem] Most of the MSS give *defenderet;* many editors with M *defendetur: intercessorem si*. The latter might mean that if the aristocracy go on persecuting Curio to excess, the latter will exercise his veto; or perhaps that many of the less violent aristocrats will be found to defend Caesar. But in the next sentence we should have to alter the order to *si intercessorem;* for *si* (= *sin*) must be the first word in the clause unless the most emphatic word is put there, and in this sentence the most emphatic word is *reformidabunt*, for it is the antithesis to *prement*. We read, accordingly, *defendet intercessorem*. Caelius shrewdly divined the line politics were taking. If the tribune was violently overruled and browbeaten, Caesar would come with his army and defend him. This did actually happen next year. If the aristocrats shrank from suppressing Curio, then Caesar might remain in his provinces as long as he liked; for Curio would veto any measure which would entail their surrender while Pompeius continued to hold his military command.

4. † *ludorum explosiones*] 'who were hissed at the games,' or 'what games were hissed.' We can hardly join the two

denique malo in hanc partem errare, ut quae non desideres audias quam quidquam quod opus sit praetermittatur. Tibi curae fuisse de Sittiano negotio gaudeo. Sed, quoniam suspicaris, minus certa fide eos *esse quos* tibi misi, *tu*, tamquam procurator, sic agas rogo.

CCLXVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 4).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se Tarsum venisse et cum de aliis rebus tum de eo sollicitum esse, quem provinciae praeficiat in decessu suo, ei omnia sua, quando Romam venerit, commendat, de re sua familiari, quam sequenti epistola uberius explicat, *μυστικώτερον* Graecis verbis scribit. Data epistola est Tarso.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tarsum venimus Nonis Iuniis. Ibi me multa moverunt: magnum in Syria bellum, magna in Cilicia latrocinia, mihi difficilis ratio administrandi, quod paucos dies habebam reliquos annui muneris, illud autem difficillimum: relinquendus erat ex senatus consulto qui praeesset. Nihil minus probari poterat quam quaestor Mescinius. Nam de Caelio nihil audiebamus. Rectissimum videbatur Q. fratrem cum imperio relinquere: in quo multa molesta, discessus noster, belli periculum, militum improbitas, sescenta praeterea. O rem totam odiosam! Sed haec fortuna viderit, quoniam consilio non multum uti licet. 2. Tu, quando Romam

following genitives with *explosiones*, nor supply a word by zeugma. Klotz, in his first edition, suggested *ludorum explosiones: et funerum et ineptiarum ceterarum plura habet inutilia*. But in his second edition he reads, as in the text, saying that the passage needs correction. Perhaps it is just possible that the *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον explosiones* is wrong, and that originally there stood something like *ludorum explosorum expositiones* ('long accounts') *et funerum et ineptiarum ceterarum: plura habe tamen utilia* ('the greater part of the news in the document, however, you must consider useful'). We think these last four words to be as near to the MSS *plura habet ut illa* as Schütz's *plura habet futilia*.

Sittiano negotio] cp. Fam. viii. 2, 2, Ep. ccii.

sed, quoniam . . . rogo] If we give up the MSS reading *eos tibi visos* (which must be taken as = *esse*), as being too careless even for Caelius, we must have recourse to the corrections either of Wesenberg (*Em.* 112) *suspicaris . . . eos esse quos tibi misi*, or Klotz (Ed. 1), *suspicaris . . . eos quos tibi misi, usos*. We have adopted the former. We should also add *tu* before *tanquam* to get an opposition to *eos*.

1. *Mescinium*] Att. vi. 3, 1, Ep. cclxiv. For Caelius see vi. 2, 10, Ep. cclvi.

discessus] 'separation,' as in Tusc. i. 71; 'departure' is the far more usual meaning.

salvus, ut spero, venisti, videbis, ut soles, omnia, quae intelleges nostra interesse, in primis de Tullia mea, cuius de condicione quid mihi placeret scripsi ad Terentiam, cum tu in Graecia esses: deinde de honore nostro: quod enim tu afuisti, vereor ut satis diligenter actum in senatu sit de litteris meis. 3. Illud praeterea *μυστικώτερον* ad te scribam, tu sagacius odorabere: *τῆς δάμαρτός μου ὁ ἀπελεύθερος—οἶσθα ὃν λέγω—ἔδοξέ μοι πρώην, ἐξ ὧν ἀλογευόμενος παρεφθέγγετο, πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου τυραννοκτόνου· δέδοικα δή, μή τι νοήσῃς· εἷς δήπου τοῦτο δὴ περισκεψάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξασφάλισαι.* Non queo tantum, quantum vereor, scribere. Tu autem fac ut mihi tuae litterae volent obviae. Haec festinans scripsi in itinere atque agmine. Piliae et puellae Caeciliae bellissimae salutem dices.

CCLXIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 5).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De exspectato Attici adventu in urbem, ab eo cupit sibi litteras obvias mitti, in primis de rationibus turbatis in re sua familiari per libertum uxoris suae, quam rem Graece *ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς* exponit et maximae curae Attico esse vult: se in ipso decessu suo sollicitudine provinciae maxime urgeri, de Bibulo sibi non molesto, de brevitate huius ipsius epistolae. Scripsit Tarsi V. Kal. Quinctil.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nunc quidem profecto Romae es: quo te, si ita est, salvum venisse gaudeo: unde quidem quam diu afuisti, magis a me

2. *honore*] The *supplicatio* which he expected to be voted in his honour.

3. *τῆς δάμαρτός . . . ἐξασφάλισαι*] 'my wife's freedman (Philotimus) seemed to me the other day, from some remark which he casually dropped, to have cooked his accounts in the matter of the sale of the goods of the Crotoniate tyrannicide. I am afraid you may not have observed what has been going in; take the matter into *your own hands only* and secure the residue.' The Crotoniate tyrannicide is Milo, who slew Clodius, and bore the same name as the celebrated athlete of Crotona. For *εἷς δήπου* has been suggested *Οἰδίπου*; but see Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. cclxxxii., where exactly the same meaning is conveyed by the curious adverbial superlative *αὐτότατα*. Terentia seems to have availed herself of the relation in which she stood to Philotimus to appropriate some of the money raised from the sale of Milo's effects.

volent obviae] 'fly to meet me': cp. *tum vero omnis aetas currere obvii*, Liv. xxvii. 51, 1; the nom. as secondary predicate is rare; we have accus. in Att. v. 20, 1, Ep. ccxxviii., *num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam reddere;* abl. in Att. i. 14, 6, Ep. xx., *utimur . . . Cornuto . . . pseudocatone;* the dat. is common after *licet, necesse est*, &c.

abesse videbare, quam si domi esses: minus enim mihi meae notae res erant, minus etiam publicae. Qua re velim, etsi, ut spero, te haec legente aliquantum iam viae processero, tamen obvias mihi litteras quam argutissimas de omnibus rebus crebro mittas, in primis de quo scripsi ad te antea: *τῆς ξυναόρου τῆς ἐμῆς οὐξελεύθερος ἔδοξέ μοι θαμὰ βατταρίζων καὶ ἀλύων ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καὶ ταῖς λέσχαις ὑπό τι πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι τοῖς τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου.* 2. Hoc tu indaga, ut soles; ast hoc magis: *ἐξ ἄστεως ἑπταλόφου στείχων παρέδωκεν μνῶν κδ´. μη´. ὀφείλημα τῷ Καμίλλῳ· ἑαυτόν τε ὀφείλοντα μνᾶς κδ´. ἐκ τῶν Κροτωνιατικῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Χερρονησιτικῶν μη´. καὶ μνᾶς κληρονομήσας χμ´. χμ´. τούτων δὲ μηδὲ ὀβολὸν διευλυτῶσθαι, πάντων ὀφειληθέντων τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τῇ νουμηνίᾳ· τὸν δὲ ἀπελεύθερον αὐτοῦ, ὄντα ὁμώνυμον τῷ Κόνωνος πατρί, μηδὲν ὁλοσχερῶς πεφροντικέναι. ταῦτα οὖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα πάντα σώζηται, δεύτερον δὲ ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν τόκων ὀλιγωρήσῃς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προεκκειμένης. ἡμέρας ὅσας αὐτὸν ἠνέγκαμεν σφόδρα δέδοικα. καὶ γὰρ παρῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατασκεψόμενος καί τι σχεδὸν ἐλπίσας· ἀπογνοὺς δ' ἀλόγως ἀπέστη, ἐπειπών, εἴκω· αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν·* meque obiurgavit vetere proverbio *τὰ μὲν διδόμενα.*

1. *domi*] 'at Rome.' This is an excellent example of the fact first pointed out by Lehmann, pp. 73, 74, that in the letters *domus* often means Rome: cp. *ego me . . . exiturum puto aut in Tusculanum aut domum*, Att. xii. 42, 3; *domum et ad me in Formianum*, 'the packet was brought first to Rome, then forwarded to me at Formiae,' Att. ii. 13, 1, Ep. xl.: *Dolabellam spero domi esse*, 'at Rome,' Att. xv. i[a], 2; and see vol. ii. p. 20. In this sense we supply *domi* in Att. vi. 8, 5, Ep. cclxxxi. Cicero here means that though Atticus would actually be nearer to him if he were in Greece than in Rome, yet his friend seems further parted from him when absent from the *Urbs*.

quam argutissimas] 'long, long letters.'

τῆς ξυναόρου] 'my spouse's freedman seemed to me, by ever and anon stammering and showing confusion in his interviews and talks, to have done a bit of cooking of the accounts *in re* the sale of the Crotoniate's assets.'

2. *ἐξ ἄστεως*] 'on leaving the city of the seven hills he delivered an account of two debts to Camillus, amounting to 24 and 48 minae, and he set himself down as accountable for 24 minae from the sale of the Crotoniate's estate, and 48 from the property in the Chersonese; that he had come in for 640 + 640 minae in legacies, and that not a penny had been paid up, all being due on the 1st of the 2nd month; that Milo's freedman, the namesake of Conon's father (Timotheus), had been utterly negligent. Now (addressing Atticus) I want you, best of all, to see that the whole sum is secured; next, not even to overlook the interest calculated from the aforesaid (day). During the days I had to put up with his presence I was greatly alarmed; for he came to me to reconnoitre, and with some little hope; when he saw it was all up he went away without any explanation, adding, 'I yield

'twere shame to tarry long,'

and he reproached me with the hackneyed saw "needs must."'

We have printed *ἀπὸ τῆς προεκκειμένης. ἡμέρας ὅσας* for *ἀπὸ τῆς προεκκειμένης ἡμέρας. ὅσας.* We must either do this or repeat *ἡμέρας*, for the ellipse of *ἡμέρας* with *ὅσας* would be intolerable, while the ellipse of *ἡμέρας* with *προεκκ.* is quite normal, as in *ἡ προθεσμία* and many such expressions. The Homeric verse (Il. ii. 298) is of course the familiar *αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι.* The

3. Reliqua vide et quantum fieri potest prospice. Nos etsi annuum tempus prope iam emeritum habebamus—dies enim XXXIII. erant reliqui—sollicitudine provinciae tamen vel maxime urgebamur. Cum enim arderet Syria bello et Bibulus in tanto maerore suo maximam curam belli sustineret ad meque legati eius et quaestor et amici eius litteras mitterent ut subsidio venirem, etsi exercitum infirmum habebam, auxilia sane bona, sed ea Galatarum, Pisidarum, Lyciorum—haec enim sunt nostra robora—tamen esse officium meum putavi exercitum habere quam proxime hostem, quoad mihi praeesse provinciae per senatus consultum liceret. Sed, quo ego maxime delectabar, Bibulus molestus mihi non erat: de omnibus rebus scribebat ad me potius, et mihi decessionis dies λεληθότως obrepebat: qui cum advenerit, ἄλλο πρόβλημα, quem praeficiam, nisi Caldus quaestor venerit, de quo adhuc nihil certi habebamus. 4. Cupiebam mehercule longiorem epistolam facere, sed nec erat res de qua scriberem nec iocari prae cura poteram. Valebis igitur et puellae salutem Atticulae dices nostraeque Piliae.

proverb *τὰ μὲν διδόμενα* is found in Plat. Gorg. 499 C (thus embedded in the text), *καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν ἀνάγκη μοι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον τὸ παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦτο δέχεσθαι τὸ διδόμενον παρὰ σοῦ*. Olympiodorus gives the proverb as *τὰ ἐκ τῆς τύχης διδόμενα κόσμει* ('make the best of'), and tells us it is said *τῶν κυβευόντων*. The proverb would then mean 'make the best of a bad business.' We have *κοσμεῖν* 'to make the best of' in the proverb already more than once quoted by Cicero, *Σπάρταν ἔλαχες ταύταν κόσμει*.

3. *emeritum*] See Att. vi. 2, 6, Ep. cclvi.

maerore suo] Two of his sons were slain in a mutiny of the soldiers of Gabinius in Egypt: cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 10, 6. Bibulus, with rare magnanimity, refused to take any vengeance for their deaths.

nostra robora] 'the main strength of Cicero's army in Cilicia was its non-Roman element; but in the main the practice of using provincial troops almost to the exclusion of Italian did not establish itself before the Empire': Arnold, Rom. Prov. Admin. p. 27.

Caldus] C. Caelius Caldus: see Att. vi. 2, 10, Ep. cclvi.

4. *iocari*] See on Att. v. 5, 1, Ep. clxxxviii.

CCLXX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 7).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De Q. fratre uxori per Q. filium reconciliato, de re sua familiari, de qua ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς antea scripserat, de rationibus apud duas civitates relinquendis, se Rhodum, inde Athenas cogitare proficisci, tum quaerit num quid rei publicae nomine sibi tardandum in reditu sit, de Tirone aegro. Scripsit Tarsi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quintus filius pie sane, me quidem certe multum hortante, sed currentem, animum patris sui sorori tuae reconciliavit. Eum valde *et* me tuae litterae excitarunt. Quid quaeris? confido rem ut volumus esse. Bis ad te antea scripsi de re mea familiari, si modo tibi redditae litterae sunt, Graece, ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς. Scilicet nihil est movendum. Sed tamen ἀφελῶς percontando *de* nominibus Milonis et, ut expediat, ut mihi recepit, hortando, aliquid tu proficies. 2. Ego Laodiceae quaestorem Mescinium exspectare iussi, ut confectas rationes lege Iulia apud duas civitates possim relinquere. Rhodum volo puerorum causa, inde quam primum Athenas, etsi Etesiae valde reflant. Sed volo his magistratibus, quorum voluntatem in supplicatione sum expertus. Tu tamen mitte mihi, quaeso, ob viam litteras, num quid putes rei publicae nomine tardandum esse nobis. Tiro ad te dedisset litteras, nisi eum graviter aegrum Issi reliquissem. Sed nuntiant melius esse. Ego tamen angor. Nihil enim illo adolescente castius, nihil diligentius.

1. *sed currentem*] 'nothing loth': see Att. v. 9, 1, Ep. cxcv.

nihil est movendum] 'don't take any decided step.' *Movere* is used in the same sense as *movebis*, Att. v. 15, 1, Ep. clxxxviii., and *commoveto*, Att. v. 14 1, Ep. cciv., where see note. We should say 'let sleeping dogs lie.'

ἀφελῶς percontando] 'by questioning him simply (*sans façon*) about Milo's accounts, and urging him to settle the matter as he promised me, you will be able to do some good.'

2. *lege Julia*] See note on these words: Att. v. 10, 2, Ep. cxcvi.

his magistratibus] 'while those magistrates hold office whose good will I experienced in the matter of the supplication.'

tardandum] *Tardare* is not found intrans. except in ad Brut. i. 18, 1, where the word is used to disprove the genuineness of the correspondence with Brutus. Meyer, however, *ad loc.* p. 134, vindicates *tardare* intrans. by *durare* intrans. in Plautus: see I[2] p. 61. We think *tardare* intrans. might well be a colloquialism. However, can we not here take *tardandum* as governing *quid?* the words would then mean 'whether you think I should, on public grounds, delay my journey at all.'

graviter aegrum] cp. *se non graviter habere*, Att. vii. 2, 3, Ep. ccxciii.; so *leviter aegrotans*, Off. i. 83.

CCLXXI. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 13).

JUNE; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Gratulatur M. Caelius M. Ciceroni de adfinitate Dolabellae, qui filiam eius in matrimonium duxerat, narrat de intercessione Curionis et de provinciis quid actum sit et de Q. Hortensio animam agente.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Gratulor tibi adfinitatem viri me dius fidius optimi: nam hoc ego de illo existimo. Cetera porro, quibus adhuc ille sibi parum utilis fuit, et aetate iam sunt decussa et consuetudine atque auctoritate tua, pudore Tulliae, si qua restabunt, confido celeriter sublatum iri. Non est enim pugnax in vitiis neque hebes ad id, quod melius est, intellegendum. Deinde, quod maximum est, ego illum valde amo. 2. Voles, Cicero, Curionem nostrum lautum intercessionis de provinciis exitum habuisse. Nam cum *de* intercessione referretur, quae relatio fiebat ex senatus consulto, primaque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset, qui agendum cum tribunis pl. censebat, frequens senatus in alia omnia iit. Stomacho est [scilicet Pompeius] Magnus nunc ita languenti, ut vix id, quod sibi placeat, reperiat. Transierant illuc, rationem *esse* eius haben-

1. *viri*] Dolabella, who had married Tullia.

sibi parum utilis fuit] 'somewhat damaged his character.'

decussa] see Adn. Crit., 'have already dropped away from progress of time,' like withered leaves.

pudore] 'pure example': *pugnax in vitiis*, 'obstinately set on a course of vice.'

melius est] The ordinary reading, *melius sit*, probably arose from *meliust*: no account can be given of the subjunctive.

2. *Voles . . . habuisse*] 'You will be anxious to learn that our friend Curio has had such a brilliant finale to his veto about the provinces.' *Voles* is constructed, as *spero* often is, with a past tense, *e.g.* Q. Fr. ii. 4, 2, Ep. cv., *spero cum Crassipede confecisse*, 'I hope that I shall learn that we have settled the matter with Crassipes.' We must suppose that Caelius considered that Cicero had the same opinions as the majority of the Senate, viz., that in order to avert war a compromise should be effected with Caesar, and that Curio's proposal was very fair.

in alia omnia iit] 'voted directly against this.'

Stomacho est] 'So flaccid has our Magnus become in temperament that he can scarcely discover what he wants.' This sentence would come in better after *scribam*. Pompeius' illness seems to have considerably enfeebled him, and he was not yet quite recovered (νοσηλευόμενος, App. Bell. Civ. ii. 28).

Transierant] At the beginning of March Curio had vetoed the proposal that Caesar should be required to lay down his command, and declared that if Caesar were asked to do so Pompeius should do the same (App. Bell. Civ. 27). The matter dragged on for some months. Now the Consul moved that Curio should be treated with to withdraw his veto; and in negativing that motion the Senate, Caelius says,

dam, qui *neque* exercitum neque provincias traderet. Quem ad modum hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoro, scribam: quidnam rei publicae futurum sit si *aut armis resistat* aut non curet, vos senes divites videritis. Q. Hortensius, cum has litteras scripsi, animam agebat.

CCLXXII. CICERO TO CNEIUS SALLUSTIUS, PROQUAESTOR OF SYRIA (FAM. II. 17).

JULY; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Cn. Sallustii, qui M. Bibulo procos. Syriae pro quaestore erat, binis litteris respondet, et prioribus quidem ad singula eo quo ille rogaverat ordine, alterius, ita, ut rationem reddat cur eum M. Bibulo commendare non debeat, sed tamen se dicit litteras scripsisse.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. SALLUSTIO PROQUAEST.

1. Litteras a te mihi stator tuus reddidit Tarsi a. d. XVI. Kalend. Sextiles. His ego ordine, ut videris velle, respondebo.

signified that the veto was reasonable, and it virtually assented to the view that Caesar should be allowed to sue for the consulship in his absence, and without surrendering his military command. This was really the opinion to which the majority of the Senate had come round (*transierant*), as may be seen from the important division subsequently when Curio's proposal was definitely brought to the vote, and the Senate agreed to it by 370 to 22 (App. *op. cit.* 30; Momms. *R. H.* iv. 355). The conjecture of Orelli, *ut ratio esset eius habenda* for *ut ratione eius habenda*, besides being far from the MSS, is faulty, because Caelius would have said *haberetur* (Wesenberg, *Em. Alt.* 23).

cum cognoro, scribam] So Wesenberg (*Em.* 45, *Em. Alt.* 24) for *cognoscam* of M. For the ellipse of *scribam* would be too harsh, especially with *vos videritis* in the next clause; and written in abbreviations the corruption into *cognoscam* might have easily come about. Wesenberg supplies in the lacuna *aut armis resistat*—for war was the recognized alternative to letting Caesar's party carry politics all their own way, *e. g.* Att. vii. 5, 5, Ep. ccxcvi; 6, 2, Ep. ccxcvii.

videritis] 'you rich old men will of course see to': cp. for the future perfect Roby, § 1485. The confiscations which were feared in case Caesar got the mastery, or in any case the expenses entailed by the war, would most affect the rich. It was their interests which would suffer most either way.

scripsi . . . agebat] Epistolary tenses.

SALLUSTIO] Nothing is known of this Sallustius except what is related in this letter. The MSS give *Canini Sallustio*, which is impossible, as two gentile names cannot occur together. In the absence of any definite information about him, we may acquiesce in Orelli's reading, *Cn. Sallustio*. He was the quaestor of Bibulus. Why he is called *proquaestor* is explained on Fam. v. 6, 1, Ep. XVI. There were only twelve quaestors available for fifteen provinces, so there must have been proquaestors in three provinces at least.

1. *Litteras*] *Binas litteras* is read by some editors: cp. § 5, *Uni epistolae respondi; venio ad alteram*; but it is not necessary.

stator] At this time the principal provincial officials had these orderlies: cp. Fam. ii. 19, 2, Ep. cclxii.

De successore meo nihil audivi *neque* quemquam fore arbitror. Quin ad diem decedam nulla causa est, praesertim sublato metu Parthico. Commoraturum me nusquam sane arbitror: Rhodum Ciceronum causa puerorum accessurum puto, neque id tamen certum. Ad urbem volo quam primum venire, sed tamen iter meum rei publicae et rerum urbanarum ratio gubernabit. Successor tuus non potest ita maturare, ullo modo ut tu me in Asia possis convenire. 2. De rationibus referendis non erat incommodum te nullam referre, quam tibi scribis a Bibulo fieri potestatem: sed id vix mihi videris per legem Iuliam facere posse, quam Bibulus certa quadam ratione non servat, tibi magno opere servandam censeo. 3. Quod scribis Apamea praesidium deduci non oportuisse, videbam item ceteros existimare, molesteque ferebam de ea re minus commodos sermones malevolorum fuisse. Parthi transierint necne praeter te video dubitare neminem. Itaque omnia praesidia, quae magna et firma paraveram, commotus hominum non dubio sermone dimisi. 4. Rationes mei quaestoris nec verum fuit me tibi mittere nec tum erant confectae: eas nos Apameae deponere cogitabamus. De praeda mea praeter quaestores urbanos, id est populum Romanum, teruncium nec attigit nec tacturus est quisquam. Laodiceae me praedes accepturum arbitror omnis pecuniae publicae, ut et mihi et populo cautum sit sine vecturae periculo. Quod scribis ad me de drachmum CCCIↃↃↃ, nihil est quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare. Omnis enim pecunia ita tractatur, ut praeda a prae-

Ciceronum . . . puerorum] cp. Att. vi. 1, 12, Ep. cclii., *Cicerones pueri amant inter se.*

ratio] 'state.'

ita maturare, ullo modo ut] This is the punctuation approved by Wesenberg (*Em. Att.*, p. 4): if the comma were placed after *modo* we should require *nullo modo*, instead of *non . . . ullo modo*. The successor to Sallustius was L. Marius, § 5.

2. *rationibus referendis*] By the Julian law passed by Caesar in his consulship it was required that the governor and his quaestor should, before their departure from their province, leave copies of their accounts in two of the principal provincial towns. Cicero says their neglect of this statute was no inconvenience to himself, but that Sallustius ought to have obeyed the law, even if Bibulus thought fit to disregard it for a definite reason of his own. Bibulus, of course, considered that it was no law, as all the enactments of Caesar in 695 (59) had been passed in defiance of his *obnuntiatio*.

3. *minus commodos*] 'unseasonable talk of ill-wishers.'

transierint] sc. *Euphratem*.

4. *verum*] 'reasonable': cp. Muren, 74, *Negat Cato verum esse allici benevolentiam cibo;* also Hor. Epist. i. 7, 98, and Kühner on Tusc. iii. 73.

Apameae] It is very questionable if we should not read *Apameae et Laodiceae;* for Cicero, as a matter of fact, did leave copies in both towns (Fam. v. 20, 2).

tacturus] As Cicero generally, in cases like this, uses the same verb in both clauses, Wesenberg (*Em. Att.* 4) wishes to read *attacturus;* and *at* might readily have fallen out before *ta*.

drachmum] genit. plur. For the form cp. Varro L. L. ix. 85. Bücheler reads the Plautine form *drachumum*. The

fectis, quae autem mihi attributa est, a quaestore curetur. 5. Quod quaeris quid existimem de legionibus, quae decretae sunt in Syriam, antea dubitabam venturaene essent: nunc mihi non est dubium quin, si antea auditum erit otium esse in Syria, venturae non sint. Marium quidem successorem tarde video esse venturum, propterea quod senatus ita decrevit, ut cum legionibus iret. Uni epistolae respondi: venio ad alteram. 6. Petis a me, ut Bibulo te quam diligentissime commendem: in quo mihi voluntas non deest, sed locus esse videtur tecum expostulandi: solus enim tu ex omnibus, qui cum Bibulo sunt, certiorem me numquam fecisti quam valde Bibuli voluntas a me sine causa abhorreret. Permulti enim ad me detulerunt, cum magnus Antiochiae metus esset et magna spes in me atque in exercitu meo, solitum dicere quidvis se perpeti malle quam videri eguisse auxilio meo: quod ego officio quaestorio te adductum reticere de praetore tuo non moleste ferebam: quamquam quem ad modum tractarere audiebam. Ille autem, cum ad Thermum de Parthico bello scriberet, ad me litteram numquam misit, ad quem intellegebat eius belli periculum pertinere. Tantum de auguratu filii sui scripsit ad me: in quo ego misericordia commotus et quod semper amicissimus Bibulo fui, dedi operam ut ei quam humanissime scriberem. 7. Ille si *in* omnes est malevolus—quod numquam existimavi—minus offendor in me: sin autem a me est alienior, nihil tibi meae litterae proderunt. Nam ad senatum quas Bibulus litteras misit, in iis quod mihi cum illo erat commune, sibi soli attribuit: se ait curasse ut

drachma was considered almost equal to the *denarius:* cp. Marq. St. V. ii² 38. The money of which Cicero speaks is probably that derived from the sale of the booty captured at Pindenissus.

praefectis] These are the *praefecti sociorum*, who were three Roman officers appointed to command the *ala* or contingent of allies allotted to each legion. Cicero gave most of the booty to the soldiers, Att. v. 20, 5, Ep. ccxxviii.; which passage, together with *ut praeda*, shows that the *praefecti* here referred to are the regular military *praefecti*, and not the provincial *praefecti*, like Scaptius, who had quasi-judicial functions.

quae autem mihi attributa est] The strict meaning of *manubiae* is the money got from the sale of *praeda* (Gell. xiii. 25, 29). But in the later years of the republic a certain portion of the booty was given to the commander, and the *manubiae imperatoris* must be distinguished from *manubiae* generally, though Asconius, p. 199, says, *manubiae autem sunt praeda imperatoris pro portione ab hostibus capta:* cp. Marq. St. V. ii² 287. To this Cicero alludes.

5. *Marium*] This was the L. Marius who joined with Triarius in prosecuting Scaurus: cp. Ascon. p. 19.

6. *officio quaestorio te adductum*] 'that you from feelings of your duty as a quaestor.' The quaestors were considered to stand almost in the relation of sons to the provincial governor: cp. Ep. cclxii., § 1.

Thermum] propraetor of Asia. He was therefore much further off from Bibulus in Syria than Cicero in Cilicia was.

litteram] 'not a line,' lit. 'letter' of alphabet.

cum quaestu populi pecunia permutaretur: quod autem meum erat proprium, ut alariis Transpadanis uti negarem, id etiam se populo remisisse scribit: quod vero illius erat solius, id mecum communicat: 'Equitibus auxiliariis,' inquit, 'cum amplius frumenti postularemus.' Illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentia ieiuni atque inanis, quod Ariobarzanem, quia senatus per me regem appellavit mihique commendavit, iste in litteris non regem, sed regis Ariobarzanis filium appellat. Hoc animo qui sunt, deteriores fiunt rogati. Sed tibi morem gessi: litteras ad eum scripsi, quas cum acceperis, facies quod voles.

CCLXXIII. CICERO TO CAELIUS (FAM. II. 15).

AUGUST; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Rescribit ad aliquot Caelii epistolas, lib. viii. ep. 11 et 13, de supplicatione, de filiae et Dolabellae nuptiis, de quaestore Caelio provinciae praefecto, de Ocella.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

1. Non potuit accuratius agi nec prudentius quam est actum a te cum Curione de supplicatione, et hercule confecta res ex sen-

misericordia] cp. note to Att. vi. 5, 3, Ep. cclxix.

7. *quas . . . in iis*] For this kind of inverse attraction, which is common in the comic drama, see on Plaut. Mil. iv. 2, 124 (1114).

pecunia permutaretur] *i.e.* the taxes collected and spoils won in Syria and Cilicia which had come into the Roman coffers in Asiatic coinage were exchanged into Roman money to the advantage of the Treasury.

alariis] As *ala* was a general term for the allied contingent (generally of 10 cohorts) attached to the legion, *alarii* were opposed to *legionarii*, and may be translated simply 'allies': cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 73, 3, *crebras stationes disponunt equitum et cohortium alariarum, legionariasque interiiciunt cohortes;* also Bell. Gall. i. 57, 1.

id etiam se populo] 'that he too (as well as I) have not required that from the people.' This transposition is due to Wesenberg (*Em.* 34) where he enumerates many errors of M due to transposition. The usual order is *populo se*. If that order is adopted *etiam* must refer to *id*, and signify the further benefit he had conferred on the State, viz. in having made no requisition for transpadane auxiliaries, in addition to the favourable bill of exchange which he said he had succeeded in drawing.

postularemus] The emphasis is on the plural in this word.

Illud vero] 'this further, indeed, is the sign of a little mind, and one that in its very ill-will is paltry and petty.'

per me] *Me* is emphatic. The Senate commissioned Cicero to address Ariobarzanes with the title of king (Fam. xv. 2, 4, Ep. ccxix.) It was because they gave this commission to Cicero that Bibulus showed his little bit of weak spite.

Hoc . . . rogati] a wise reflection.

gessi . . . scripsi] epistolary perfects, 'I am doing what I can for you,' 'I am writing to him.'

This letter is in answer to both Ep. cclxxvii. and Ep. cclxxi.

1. *supplicatione*] This was the second time Cicero obtained a supplicatio; the

tentia mea est cum celeritate tum quod is, qui erat iratus, competitor tuus et idem meus, adsensus est ei, qui ornavit res nostras divinis laudibus. Qua re scito me sperare ea, quae sequuntur: ad quae tu te para. 2. Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea, quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia temperari posse, scio cui tuae epistolae respondeant. Quid, si meam legas, quam ego tum ex tuis litteris misi ad Appium? Sed quid agas? Sic vivitur. Quod actum est, di approbent! Spero fore iucundum generum nobis, multumque in eo tua nos humanitas audiuvabit. 3. Res publica me valde sollicitat. Faveo Curioni, Caesarem honestum esse cupio, pro Pompeio emori possum: sed tamen ipsa re publica nihil mihi est carius: in qua tu non valde te iactas: districtus enim mihi videris esse, quod et bonus civis et bonus amicus es. 4. Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Caelium praeposui provinciae 'Puerum?' inquis. At quaestorem, at nobilem adolescentem, at omnium fere exemplo: neque erat superiore honore usus quem praeficerem. Pomptinus multo ante discesserat: a Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen si

former one had been decreed in his honour for his having put down the Catilinarian conspiracy: Phil. ii. 13; Cat. iii. 15.

competitor] Hirrus, who competed against Cicero for the augurate, and against Caelius for the curule aedileship.

ei] Cato; *ea quae sequuntur*, i. e. a triumph: cp. Fam. xv. 5, 1, Ep. cclxvi.

2. *cui tuae . . . respondeant*] 'I know the letter of yours to which they refer,' lit. 'form a reproduction or counterpart of.' The reference appears to be to Fam. viii. 6, 2, Ep. ccxlii., where allusion is made to the fact that Dolabella's wife had left him, and to his foolish love of talking. But Tullia would rather be powerful in winning Dolabella from his dissolute life, Cicero in making him behave more like a man of the world and inducing him to be less reckless in his talk. When we refer to Fam. viii. 13, 1, Ep. cclxxi., *et consuetudine et auctoritate tua et pudore Tulliae*, and remember that Cicero would not be likely to ignore his own influence, we feel inclined to read *Tulliae meae pudore et mea prudentia*. But Cicero saw all perfections in Tullia, and it is perhaps natural that he should attribute to her a capacity to amend her husband in all his ways.

quam . . . misi] The commentators say that the letter alluded to is Fam. iii. 10, 1, Ep. cclxi., where Cicero talks of the *temeritas* and *intemperantia* of Dolabella: but surely the letter to which Cicero refers is Fam. iii. 12, Ep. cclxiii., which is wonderfully elaborate and artful in the apologetic tone assumed with regard to the marriage of Tullia. *misi* is then the epistolary perfect.

sic vivitur] 'such is life.'

3. *Faveo . . . carius*] These words admirably summarise Cicero's feelings with regard to the crisis.

non valde te iactas] 'you do not take a prominent position.'

amicus] Caelius was a close friend of Curio, of M. Antonius, and of Dolabella: cp. Fam. viii. 13, 2, Ep. cclxxi.; and 14, 4, Ep. cclxxx.

4. *at omnium fere exemplo*] 'but it is what almost all do.'

neque erat . . . praeficerem] 'nor was there anyone who had held a higher office for me to put in command.'

Pomptinus] He had been propraetor in Transalpine Gaul in 692 (62), and in 693 (61) fought against the Allobroges with such success that he obtained a triumph: Att. iv. 18, 4, Ep. cliv.

reliquissem, dicerent iniqui non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquissem; fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos voluisse provinciis praeesse, qui antea non praefuissent: fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. Denique nunc sollicitus non sum: si fratrem reliquissem, omnia timerem. Postremo non tam mea sponte quam potentissimorum duorum exemplo, qui omnes Cassios Antoniosque complexi sunt, hominem adolescentem non tam adlicere volui quam alienare nolui. Hoc tu meum consilium laudes necesse est: mutari enim non potest. 5. De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras et in actis non erat. Tuae res gestae ita notae sunt, ut trans montem Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum. Ego, nisi quid me etesiae morabuntur, celeriter, ut spero, vos videbo.

CCLXXIV. CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, THE CONSUL (FAM. XV. 11).

JULY OR AUGUST; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero C. Marcello cos. gratias de supplicatione sibi decreta agit et propediem ad urbem se fore significat.

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. C. MARCELLO COS.

1. Quantae curae tibi meus honos fuerit et quam idem exstiteris consul in me ornando et amplificando, qui fueras semper cum

omnes Cassios Antoniosque complexi sunt] 'have bound to their interests all the Cassii and Antonii.' Pompeius had *chosen* Q. Cassius as his quaestor, and had not had recourse to lot; similarly Caesar had chosen Antonius (Att. vi. 6, 4, Ep. cclxxvi.; Phil. ii. 60). That properly the quaestor was chosen by lot may be seen from Q. Fr. i. 1, 11, Ep. xxx.: cp. Fam. ii. 19. 1, Ep. cclxii. If Caesar and Pompeius acted so illegally to get such obvious advantages, what great harm, Cicero asks, was there in my setting over the province a young man whom I obtained as my quaestor by lot, and whom I merely want not to have as an enemy? For *homo adolescens*, a most frequent collocation, cp. Ter. Phorm. v. 8, 52; Sall. Cat. 38; Jug. 6. Ern. reads *nobilem* for *hominem*. For *nolui*, H gives *non potui*, 'I could not bring myself to.'

5. *in actis*] 'in the gazette,' i. e. *in actis diurnis*: cp. Suet. Jul. 20. Divorces were put in the gazette (Suet. Cal. 36). But perhaps it may refer to the budget of city news (*commentarius rerum urbanarum*) which Caelius used to send: cp. Fam. viii. 11, 4, Ep. cclxvii. For Ocella, cp. Fam. viii. 7, 2, Ep. ccxliii.

Matrinio] We cannot decide whether this is the same Matrinius who appears in Clu. 126 as a *scriba aedilicius*. The event alluded to here is too slightly touched on to enable us to understand its nature.

etesiae] This is the name given to the *aquilones* at midsummer: Seneca Quaest. Nat. v. 10.

1. *honos*] sc. the supplication decreed in his honour.

in me ornando et amplificando] 'in conferring honour and distinction upon me.'

parentibus tuis et cum tota domo, etsi res ipsa loquebatur, cognovi tamen ex meorum omnium litteris. Itaque nihil est tantum quod ego non tua causa debeam facturusque sim studiose ac libenter. 2. Nam magni interest cui debeas: debere autem nemini malui quam tibi, cui me cum studia communia beneficia paterna tuaque iam ante coniunxerant, tum accedit mea quidem sententia maximum vinculum, quod ita rem publicam geris atque gessisti, qua mihi carius nihil est, ut, quantum tibi omnes boni debeant, quo minus tantumdem ego unus debeam, non recusem. Quam ob rem tibi velim ii sint exitus, quos mereris et quos fore confido. Ego, si me navigatio non morabitur, quae incurrebat in ipsos etesias, propediem te, ut spero, videbo.

CCLXXV. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (FAM. III. 12).

III. NON. SEXT.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Gratulatur M. Cicero Appio ambitus absoluto: excusat nuptias Tulliae cum P. Dolabella factas: Appio se iam plane reconciliatum scribit. Scripta epistola est Sidae.

M. CICERO AP. PULCRO S.

1. Gratulabor tibi prius—ita enim rerum ordo postulat: deinde ad me convertar. Ego vero vehementer gratulor de iudicio ambi-

Itaque nihil est tantum] 'accordingly you cannot over-estimate the debt I owe you, and what I am ready to do for you earnestly and gladly; for who the debtor is makes a great difference.'

2. *quod ita . . . recusem*] 'because your direction of the State—and the State is the object of my deepest concern—is and has been such that I do not refuse to take on myself alone the full amount of the debt all respectable men owe you.'

1. *Ego vero*] See on Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (Ep. lxii.). Here the *ego vero* points, not to a question answered, but to a resumption of the topic just introduced: 'I will begin by congratulating you, for that rightly comes first, then I will turn to my own affairs. Yes, I do congratulate you heartily, not only on your acquittal, which everyone reckoned on, but on this —which is all the more marvellous the more worthy you are as a citizen, the more illustrious as a man, the more staunch as a friend, the more brilliant examples you show of high principle, intellect, and energy—on this, I say, I congratulate you that not even in the secretness of the ballot lurked the ill-will which ventured to attack you—a circumstance one does not often see in the present age, or with the present men and manners. It is a long time since I was more astonished at anything.' Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 7) adds *ingenii*, comparing Ep. cclxv. § 2, *ingenio*, *industriae*, *virtuti*.

tus, neque id, quod nemini dubium fuit, absolutum esse te, sed illud, quod, quo melior civis, quo vir clarior, quo fortior amicus es quoque plura virtutis, *ingenii*, industriae ornamenta in te sunt, eo mirandum est magis, nullam ne in tabellae quidem latebra fuisse absconditam malevolentiam, quae te impugnare auderet—non horum temporum, non horum hominum atque morum negotium. Nihil iam sum pridem admiratus magis. 2. De me autem, suscipe paullisper meas partes et eum te esse finge, qui sum ego: si facile inveneris quid dicas, noli ignoscere haesitationi meae. Ego vero velim mihi Tulliaeque meae, sicut tu amicissime et suavissime optas, prospere evenire ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis, sed ita cecidisse, ut agerentur eo tempore, spero omnino cum aliqua felicitate et opto, verum tamen plus me in hac spe tua sapientia et humanitas consolatur quam opportunitas temporis. Itaque quem ad modum expediam exitum huius institutae orationis non reperio; neque enim tristius dicere quidquam debeo ea de re, quam tu ipse ominibus optimis prosequeris, neque non me tamen mordet aliquid. In quo unum non vereor, ne tu parum perspicias ea, quae gesta sunt, ab aliis esse gesta, quibus ego ita mandaram, ut, cum tam longe afuturus essem, ad me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent. 3. In hoc autem mihi illud occurrit: 'Quid tu igitur, si adfuisses?' Rem probassem: de tempore, nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo. Vides sudare me iam dudum laborantem quo

He also notices that *non . . . negotium* should not have a note of exclamation after it, but should be constructed as in apposition to the whole of the previous sentence: he compares Lael. 67, 71, 79, on which passages see Reid's notes.

2. *haesitationi*] 'faltering': sc. in trying to excuse the marriage of Tullia with Appius' accuser, and that at the very time when the accusation was being made. This faltering is admirably affected all through §§ 2 and 3.

sed ita cecidisse] 'but the circumstance that the marriage took place just at the time it did—I certainly hope it may be attended with some good fortune, and pray that it may be so; but in that hope your wisdom and kindliness gives me more comfort than any favourableness of the time (sc. of the marriage). Placed as I am in this dilemma, I cannot discover how I am to bring this statement I have begun clear to the end.' Cicero says he cannot plead any urgent reason why the marriage should have taken place just when it did; he must take another line of defence for his conduct, and appeal to Appius' kind feeling and good sense.

tristius . . . prosequeris] 'I do not wish to introduce a jarring note into a theme which you treat so auspiciously.'

neque non me tamen mordet aliquid] 'yet I cannot say that there is not a sting behind.'

gesta sunt] The MSS give *sint*, which must be regarded as a mistake. No explanation can be given of the subjunctive.

quibus . . . probassent] 'to whom I had given instructions to act on their own judgment, to save them the trouble of consulting me, as I was so far away.'

3. *de tempore*] 'as regards the *time* of the marriage I should have done nothing against your will,' *i. e.* I should not have allowed the marriage to take place just at the time when Dolabella was bringing an action against you.

sudare me iam dudum laborantem] 'that

modo ea tuear, quae mihi tuenda sunt, ut te non offendam. Leva me igitur hoc onere: numquam enim mihi videor tractasse causam difficiliorem. Sic habeto tamen: nisi iam tunc omnia negotia cum summa tua dignitate diligentissime confecissem, tametsi nihil videbatur ad meum erga te pristinum studium addi posse, tamen hac mihi adfinitate nuntiata, non maiore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem. 4. Decedenti mihi et iam imperio annuo terminato ante diem III. Nonas Sextiles, cum ad Sidam navi accederem et mecum Q. Servilius esset, litterae a meis sunt redditae. Dixi statim Servilio—etenim videbatur esse commotus—ut omnia a me maiora exspectaret. Quid multa? benevolentior tibi quam fui nihilo sum factus, diligentior ad declarandam benevolentiam multo. Nam, ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui suspicionem ficte reconciliatae gratiae darem, sic adfinitas nova nunc curam mihi adfert cavendi ne quid de summo meo erga te amore detractum esse videatur.

CCLXXVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VI. 6).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De filia P. Dolabellae desponsa, de προπύλῳ Academiae, de Hortensii morte, de causis quam ob rem Caelium provinciae praefecerit, de spe sua in decessu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego, dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris eius socer. Id quidem, inquis, di approbent!

I am very hard put to it this long time in my efforts to protect those whom I am bound to protect, without offending you.'

iam tunc] 'at that very time,' Arch. 11.

non maiore] 'not indeed with greater interest, but more energetically, openly, and markedly.'

defendissem] Cicero means that if he had not already settled everything relating to Appius' government of Cilicia in such a manner that Appius' dignity was enhanced, he would have made much more obvious exertions in that direction when Tullia's marriage was announced.

4. *Dixi . . . ut . . . expectaret*] 'I at once told Servilius—for he seemed to be rather put out—that he might reckon on any aid I could give in larger measure' (sc. than was wont to be given) Servilius was an agent of Appius, Fam. iii. 10, 2, Ep. cclxi. For *dixi . . . ut*, cp. Plaut. Asin. v. 2, 88, *dicebam pater tibi ne matri consuleres male:* Ov. A. A. ii. 225; also Madv. § 352.

ut caverem ne cui] 'to guard against causing any suspicion that our restored friendliness was insincere.' *Summo*, 'warm.'

1. *accusatoris*] Dolabella.

Ita velim, teque ita cupere certo scio. Sed crede mihi, nihil minus putaram ego: quin de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romam venerunt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis. Cetera noli ἐξακανθίζειν. 2. Sed heus tu, πυροὺς εἰς δῆμον Athenis? placet hoc tibi? etsi non impediebant mei certe libri; non enim ista largitio fuit in cives, sed in hospites liberalitas. Me tamen de Academiae προπύλῳ iubes cogitare, cum iam Appius de Eleusine non cogitet? De Hortensio te certo scio dolere: equidem excrucior. Decreram enim cum eo valde familiariter vivere. 3. Nos provinciae praefecimus Caelium: puerum, inquies, et fortasse fatuum et non gravem et non continentem. Adsentior: fieri non potuit aliter. Nam quas multo ante tuas acceperam litteras, in quibus ἐπέχειν te scripseras quid esset mihi faciendum de relinquendo, eae me pungebant: videbam enim quae tibi essent ἐποχῆς causae, et erant eaedem mihi: puero tradere? fratri autem? illud non utile nobis: nam praeter fratrem

quin] 'nay, I had even sent trusty messengers to Terentia and Tullia about the suit of Ti. Nero, who had made proposals to me; but they arrived at Rome only when the betrothal was completed.' Ti. Nero was the father of the Emperor Tiberius. Had his suit prevailed over Dolabella's, Cicero might have been the grandfather of an emperor, as Atticus, whose daughter's daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was wife of Tiberius, was the grandfather of an empress.

ἐξακανθίζειν] 'to pick holes in him.'

2. *πυροὺς*] Atticus had made a distribution of corn to the people at Athens. Cicero asks him is this quite *en règle*, though of course nothing in the teaching of his *De Republica* condemns such an act, which was not a largess to fellow-citizens, but an act of hospitality towards kind hosts, 'yet'—here is another question in political ethics, 'do you encourage me in my design of erecting a porch [which might more rightly be called *largitio*], and that when Appius has abandoned his design of a porch at Eleusis?' Observe *non impediebant certe* compared with *certo scio* immediately after. Appius did not abandon his project: see on Att. vi. 1, 26 (Ep. cclii.).

De Hortensio] Cicero had just heard from Caelius (Fam. viii. 13, 2, Ep. cclxxi), that Hortensius, the great orator, was dying, *Q. Hortensius cum haec scripsi animum agebat.*

3. *fortasse*] 'one might say': cp. Fam. ii. 16, 2, quod tamen *fortasse* non nollem.

ἐπέχειν] *ἐπέχειν* and *ἐποχή* mean the holding oneself *balancé* (Jeans) between two opinions. 'Εποχή is a strictly philosophic term, and might perhaps be rendered 'philosophic doubt.' He explains the meaning of the word in Att. xiii. 21, 3.

puero tradere?] The whole train of thought is this:—'I was at first struck by your absolute *balancement* of mind on the question of my successor, for I saw its reasons, and the same way of looking at the question had occurred to me too: can I leave the province (I said to myself) to Caelius, a mere boy? If I do not, can I then leave it to my brother? The *latter* course (to leave Quintus as my successor) was prejudicial to my own interests—I could not prefer any one *except my brother* to the quaestor, especially as he is of noble family, without giving direct offence (and thus injuring myself personally). However, as long as the Parthians threatened I had resolved to leave my brother over the province, or even to remain myself in spite of the decree; but now that by an incredible stroke of luck the Parthians have taken themselves off, I no longer felt any doubt [about

nemo erat quem sine contumelia quaestori, nobili praesertim, anteferrem. Tamen, dum impendere Parthi videbantur, statueram fratrem relinquere aut etiam rei publicae causa contra senatus consultum ipse remanere. Qui postea quam incredibili felicitate discesserunt, sublata dubitatio est. Videbam sermones: 'Hui, fratrem reliquit! num est hoc non plus annum obtinere provinciam? Quid, quod senatus eos voluit praeesse provinciis qui non praefuissent? At hic triennium.' Ergo haec ad populum. 4. Quid, quae tecum? Numquam essem sine cura, si quid iracundius aut contumeliosius aut neglegentius, quae fert vita hominum. Quid, si quid filius puer et puer bene sibi fidens? qui esset dolor? Quem pater non dimittebat teque id censere moleste ferebat. At nunc Caelius, non dico equidem *non* quid egerit, sed tamen multo minus, laboro. Adde illud: Pompeius, eo robore vir, iis radicibus, Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium: ego sorte datum offenderem, ut etiam inquireret in eum, quem reliquissem? Hoc melius, et huius rei plura exempla, senectuti quidem nostrae profecto aptius. At te apud eum, di boni! quanta in gratia posui, eique legi litteras non tuas, sed librarii tui. Amicorum litterae me ad triumphum vocant, rem a nobis, ut ego

the undesirableness of leaving my brother in command]; I foresaw what would be the comments. "So he has left his brother in command," people would say: "is this holding a province for only one year? and what about the decree of the Senate that ex-governors should not be eligible? Why, he was governor (of Asia) for three years." These then are the reasons I will give the public for not appointing Quintus. But still more cogent are the reasons which I reserve for your private ear. I should be in constant anxiety if he showed any violence of temper or language or any negligence—and such things will happen. Then again his son—a mere lad and a headstrong lad—if he did anything wrong, how distressed I should be! And you know his father would not part with him, and was annoyed with you for saying that he should. Whereas, in taking the course I have now resolved on, and appointing Caelius, his antecedents give me—I will not say no concern, but at all events—much less concern. Then for this course I have the authority of Pompeius (and think of his power and his past) and Caesar, who chose their successors, and did not obtain them by lot. Was I to put an affront on Caelius who has been assigned me by lot and thus make him a spy on the acts of my representative? No, the step I have taken (in appointing Caelius and avoiding public criticism) is better, and more according to precedent, and certainly better suited to my time of life (which aims at peace).' For *illud*, referring to the logically more remote alternative, cp. Liv. xxx. 30, 19, melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria; *haec* (pax) in tua, *illa* (victoria) in deorum potestate est.

non dico . . . non] We have inserted *non*, which might easily have fallen out, coming so soon after another *non*. Watson and Boot take *quid egerit* as depending on *dico*, 'I do not discuss his antecedents'—a remark which seems to us without point, and questionable as regards latinity. According to our reading *egerit* depends on *laboro*, and the whole sentence means, 'I do not say I am indifferent to his antecedents, but I am much less concerned about them.'

non tuas sed librarii tui] see I², p. 43.

arbitror, propter hanc παλιγγενεσίαν nostram non neglegendam. Qua re tu quoque, mi Attice, incipe id cupere, quo nos minus inepti videamur.

CCLXXVII. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER (Fam. III. 13).

SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Appio gratias agit, quod suos in supplicatione decernenda iuverit, officia sua pollicetur: Dolabellae eum reconciliatum iri et censorem futurum sperat. Scripta epistola est in Asia.

M. CICERO AP. PULCRO S.

1. Quasi divinarem tali in officio fore mihi aliquando expetendum studium tuum, sic, cum de tuis rebus gestis agebatur, inserviebam honori tuo. Dicam tamen vere: plus quam acceperas reddidisti. Quis enim ad me non perscripsit te non solum auctoritate orationis, sententia tua, quibus ego a tali viro contentus eram, sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis, nullum onus officii cuiquam reliquum fecisse? Haec mihi ampliora multo sunt quam illa ipsa, propter quae haec laborantur. Insignia enim virtutis multi etiam sine virtute adsecuti sunt: talium virorum tanta studia adsequi sola virtus potest. 2. Itaque mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam, qua nihil est uberius, praesertim in iis studiis, quibus uterque nostrum devinctus est. Nam tibi me profiteor et in re

παλιγγενεσίαν] 'my political regeneration, *renaissance*.' His return from exile was his second birth into political position.

minus inepti] Cicero thought his ambition for a triumph would seem less weak if his friends shared it.

1. *auctoritate orationis, sententia tua*] This asyndeton may be defended by the ordinary reading in several passages: Fam. iii. 12, 1, Ep. cclxxv.; iv. 7, 6; vii. 5, 1, &c.: see Reid's Academica, i. 16: though it must be confessed that *auctoritate, oratione, sententia tua*, which Schütz and Wesenberg, after Gronovius, read, would be more natural and more harmnoious with the extended enumeration in the next clause.

domum veniendo] 'by coming to my house,' *i. e.* taking such an interest in my affairs that you actually came to my house to talk over them with my family.

onus] *Munus* is the word Cicero generally uses with *officii*: cp. Fam. vi. 14, 1; Senect. 29, 35; but *onus* is also found: Rosc. Am. 10; Sull. 65. See Adn. Crit.

2. *uberius*] 'more fruitful.'

publica socium, de qua idem sentimus, et in cotidiana vita coniunctum, quam his artibus studiisque colimus. Vellem ita fortuna tulisset, ut, quanti ego omnes tuos facio, tanti tu meos facere posses: quod tamen ipsum, nescio qua permotus animi divinatione, non despero. Sed hoc nihil ad te: nostrum est onus. Illud velim sic habeas, quod intelleges, hac re novata additum potius aliquid ad meum erga te studium, quo nihil videbatur addi posse, quam quidquam esse detractum. Cum haec scribebam, censorem iam te esse sperabam. Eo brevior est epistola et, ut adversus magistrum morum, modestior.

CCLXXVIII. CICERO TO CATO (FAM. XV. 6).

SEPTEMBER (?); A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero magnam se ex M. Catonis laudatione voluptatem percepisse profitetur, petitque, si favere noluerit in adipiscendo triumpho, saltem ut, si adipiscatur, gaudeat. Scripta epistola est Sidae.

M. CICERO S. D. M. CATONI.

1. *Laetus sum laudari me* inquit Hector opinor apud Naevium *abs te, pater, a laudato viro.* Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum vel testimoniis sententiae dictae nihil est quod me non adsecutum putem; idque mihi cum amplissimum tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse quod

quam . . . colimus] 'which we pass in these studies and pursuits': cp. Lucret. v. 1150, *vi colere aevom*. He refers to their common studies in augural law, alluded to above in *iis studiis*.

permotus animi divinatione] 'inspired by a feeling of prophecy.'

quod int.] 'and this you will see.'

hac re novata] 'this domestic revolution having occurred': sc. the marriage of Tullia. There seems a play on the political sense of *novare res*.

quo] 'to which,' lit. 'whither.'

This letter is in answer to Fam. xv. 5, Ep. cclxvi.

1. *Laetus sum*] A trochaic tetrameter from the Hector Proficiscens of Naevius.

Hector opinor] See on Att. i. 19, 10, Ep. xxv.

Ego vero] 'I can assure you'—a very emphatic expression: cp. Madv. 454, and note on Fam iii. 12, 2, Ep. cclxxv.

litterarum] sc. Fam. xv. 5, Ep. cclxvi.

amplissimum] 'complimentary'; *liquido*, 'clearly': cp. Fam. x. 10, 1; xi. 21, 7. Watson rightly notices that the sentence contains a slight expression of discontent: 'you praised me no more than the facts constrained you to do.' In Att. vii. 2, 7, Ep. ccxciii., Cicero says of Cato that he was *in me ingratissimus*.

liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius quam ea tua oratio, quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. 2. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus litteris: quae etiam si parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem pro meis ob rem publicam susceptis laboribus me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio quod amplissimum esse arbitraris mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero, acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te et sensisse et scripsisse video, resque ipsa declarat tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti: haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis eius, cuius *de* honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo, atque utinam re publica meliore quam timeo!

currum, lauream] Insignia of a triumph.

et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium] 'in accordance with that ideally conscientious and rigorous judgment of yours': *illud* (for which we might have expected *istud*) implies that it was peculiar and grand. On Academ. ii. 23, *ille vir bonus*, Reid notices that it means, 'the ideal good man,' 'the typical good man,' and compares Tusc. v. 36, hic est *ille* moderatus; *iste* is used in the same sense in Fin. iii. 29.

laudabilius] 'redound to my praise.'

2. *hanc tamen habet rationem*] 'is however of this nature.'

usitato] Triumphs were given at this time for very insignificant exploits. We have seen that Pomptinus got one for trifling successes over the Allobroges (Fam. ii. 15, 4, Ep. cclxxiii.), and Lentulus Spinther for chastising some robbers in Cilicia (Att. v. 21, 4, Ep. ccl.).

tantum ex te peto . . . gaudeas] *Ut* goes with *gaudeas*. 'I only ask you—to use your own most kind expression—to be *glad* if the issue is what I prefer, seeing that you have already conferred on me what in your own judgment is the highest honour.' The reference in *quod amicissime scribis* is to the word *gaudere* in Cato's letter, Fam. xv. 5, 3, Ep. ccxix., where Cato says that he 'is glad' that Cicero has got what he prefers, namely, a supplication. What Cato *amplissimum arbitratur* is the expression of the Senate's opinion about Cicero's upright administration. In *id quod maluero* Cicero refers to a triumph, of which he thinks he has a considerable chance.

Sic enim . . . video] 'for I see that this (*i. e.* pleasure) is signified in your actions, feelings, and letters.'

atque utinam . . . timeo] 'and I trust with public affairs in a better state than my fears forebode.'

CCLXXIX. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 12).

SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Caelius queritur App. Claudium censorem tam ingrato esse animo, ut metuat ne ab hoc mox accusetur, se vero velle ante venire et lege Scantinia postulare.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Pudet me tibi confiteri et queri de Appii, hominis ingratissimi, iniuriis, qui me odisse, quia magna mihi debebat beneficia, coepit, et, cum homo avarus, ut ea solveret, sibi imperare non posset, occultum bellum mihi indixit, ita occultum tamen, ut multi mihi renuntiarent et ipse facile animadverterem male eum de me cogitare. Postea quam vero comperi eum collegium temptasse, deinde aperte cum quibusdam locutum, cum L. Domitio, ut nunc est mihi inimicissimo homine, deliberare, velle hoc munusculum deferre Cn. Pompeio, ipsum reprehenderem et ab eo deprecarer iniuriam, quem vitam mihi debere putaram, impetrare a me non potui. 2. Quid ergo est? Tamen cum eius aliquot amicis, qui testes erant meorum in illum meritorum, locutus sum: postea quam illum ne quoi satis faceret quidem me dignum habere sensi, malui collegae eius, homini alienissimo mihi et propter amicitiam tuam

1. *homo avarus*] 'could not by reason of his rapacity bring himself to repay these services.' Caelius appears to have asked Appius for a loan or gift of some money in return for the services he had done Appius when the latter was prosecuted. But Appius apparently did not wish to lend or give money to such a spendthrift as Caelius was; and we can easily imagine that he refused so awkwardly and ungraciously as to irritate Caelius violently.

collegium] sc. of augurs. Some commentators wish to read *collegam:* sc. L. Piso, who was at this time censor along with Appius.

L. Domitio] Ahenobarbo, who had been consul in 700 (54) along with Appius.

Cn. Pompeio] It is probable that Caelius, as being on terms of friendship with many of Caesar's partisans, was not looked on with favour by Pompeius.

ipsum reprehenderem] The editors supply *ut;* but Caelius often leaves out *ut* after verbs, as Becher (p. 1) has shown, *e.g.* after *suadere*, 6, 5, Ep. ccxlii.; *rogare*, 11, 4, Ep. cclxvii.; *censeo*, 16, 5. The sense is, 'I could not prevail on myself to remonstrate with him' (for his anger), or else 'I could not prevail on myself to endeavour to check him' (in this mean caballing against me). Some commentators read *prenderem*, i.e. 'take him aside and beg him not to injure me': cp. Ter. Heaut. iii. 1, 89, *Syrus est prehendendus atque exhortandus mihi.*

2. *cum eius*] So Wesenberg (*Em.* 113) for *quasi.*

postea quam . . . sensi] 'when I saw that he did not hold me worthy even of reparation.'

ne quoi] Archaic for *ne cui:* see note to Fam. viii. 1, 1, Ep. cxcii. M reads *qui.*

alienissimo mihi et] Cicero always uses

non aequissimo, me obligare quam illius simiae vultum subire. Id postquam resciit, excanduit et me causam inimicitiarum quaerere clamitavit, ut, si mihi in pecunia minus satis fecisset, per hanc speciem simultatis eum consectarer. Postea non destitit arcessere Polam Servium accusatorem, inire cum Domitio consilia. 3. Quibus cum parum procederet ut ulla lege mihi ponerent accusatorem, compellari ea lege me voluerunt, qua dicere non poterant: insolentissimi homines summis Circensibus ludis meis postulandum me lege Scantinia curarunt. Vix hoc erat Pola elocutus, cum ego Appium censorem eadem lege postulavi. Quod melius caderet nihil vidi. Nam sic est a populo et non infimo quoque approbatum, ut maiorem Appio dolorem fama quam postulatio attulerit. Praeterea coepi sacellum, in domo quod est, ab eo petere. 4. Conturbat me mora servi huius, qui tibi litteras attulit. Nam acceptis prioribus litteris amplius quadraginta *dies* mansit. Quid tibi scribam nescio. Scis Domitio *comitiorum* diem timori esse. Te

alienus in the sense of 'strange' with *a;* in the Augustan age and later the dative was a common construction. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 22) alters to *alienissimo et mihi,* but we are not to expect Ciceronian usage from Caelius. In the sense of 'unfavourable,' Cicero uses *alienus* with the dat. incommodi, *e.g.* Caec. 24, Att. i. 1, 1, Ep. x.

vultum subire] 'endure the sight of that ape': cp. pro Quint. 97, *ipsius inimici vultum superbissimum subiit.*

si] 'since.' As the clause is in oratio obliqua *fecisset* is rightly in the subjunctive.

Polam Servium] In Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 2, Ep. cxxxv., Cicero says, *Vereor ne homo taeter et ferus Pola Servius ad accusationem veniat.*

3. *ponerent*] Cicero generally uses *apponere* in this sense: Verr. iv. 40; v. 108.

qua dicere non poterant] *i. e.* they had no real case to bring against me, 'could not utter a word.' Ernesti, perhaps rightly, adds *ipsi* after *qua:* that is, if they were accused themselves under this law they could make no defence. Possibly we should read *quam dicere.* The sense would then be: They wanted a charge to be brought against me, which they, in their position, could not so much as mention. So in their high-mightiness they *procured* a person to bring this charge.

summis Circensibus ludis meis] 'just at the end of the Circensian games which I was holding' (as aedile). The games alluded to were probably part of the Ludi Romani held in September.

lege Scantinia] Passed by the tribune Aricius Scantinius against unnatural crimes: the date of the law is unknown. Owing to the past tense, *voluerunt,* Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 23) has altered *curant* to *curarunt;* which seems absolutely necessary, even though we allow that strict accuracy of expression is not to be expected from Caelius in such a heated composition as this letter.

fama] 'the talk to which it gave rise.'

Praeterea] 'further, I have begun to make a claim on him for the shrine he has in his house.' This appropriation of public shrines by private individuals was not uncommon at Rome: cp. Liv. xl. 51, 8, *complura sacella publicaque loca, occupata a privatis, publica sacraque ut essent paterentque populo curarunt* (sc. the censors). That a censor should be found to have appropriated public property, a censor who ought to have vindicated the rights of the State in any such case of appropriation, was especially disgraceful.

4. *Conturbat*] A postscript apparently.

attulit] Epistol. perf. 'is bringing.'

quadraginta dies] All edd. supply *dies:* for similar omissions cp. Fam. viii. 11, 1, Ep. cclxvii., Att. ix. 8, 1. *Comitiorum* is added after *Domitio,* a good example of *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto.*

exspecto valde et quam primum videre cupio. A te peto, ut meas iniurias proinde doleas, ut me existimas et dolere et ulcisci tuas solere.

CCLXXX. CAELIUS TO CICERO (Fam. viii. 14).

SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Caelius de Domitii repulsa, de Saturnini accusatione, de Pompeii et Caesaris discordiis, de Appii censoris ridicula diligentia refert et coniecturam de futuro rei publicae statu exponit.

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Tanti non fuit Arsacen capere et Seleuceam expugnare, ut earum rerum, quae hic gestae sunt, spectaculo careres. Numquam tibi oculi doluissent, si in repulsa Domitii vultum vidisses. Magna illa comitia fuerunt et plane studia ex partium sensu apparuerunt: perpauci necessitudinem secuti officium praestiterunt. Itaque mihi est Domitius inimicissimus, ut ne familiarem quidem suum quemquam tam oderit quam me, atque eo magis, quod per iniuriam sibi putat ereptum *auguratum*, quoius ego auctor fuerim. Nunc furit tam gavisos homines suum dolorem, †unumque movet† studiosiorem Antonii.

1. *Arsacen*] This was the name of the first king of the Parthians, who began to reign about 256 B.C. All the subsequent kings of the Parthians were called by this name as a title, just as the Roman Emperors were called Augustus. Seleucea was the name of that part of Ctesiphon which lay on the right bank of the Tigris.

oculi doluissent] 'it would have been a cure for sore eyes for you to have seen the face of Domitius': cp. Ter. Phorm. v. 9, 64, *Vin primum hodie facere quod ego gaudeam, Nausistrata, et quod tuo viro oculi doleant?*

repulsa] sc. for the augurate. M. Antonius was elected mainly by the support of Curio and his friends: Phil. ii. 4.

et plane studia] 'and the sides taken were plainly due to party feeling: very few indeed fulfilled their obligations from motives of private connection. Accordingly, Domitius is more indignant with me than he ever was with anyone even of his own friends.' Domitius was apparently one of those people who are more formidable to their friends than to their enemies.

ereptum auguratum] All editors supply *auguratum* before *ereptum;* but Wesenberg (*Em.* 114) says it should be inserted not before but after *ereptum*, so that its omission may be accounted for ex homoeoteleuto. *Per iniuriam* is explained by Manutius by the fact that Antonius, who had held no magistracy beyond the quaestorship, was preferred to Domitius, who had been consul in 700 (54). We read, after Becher (p. 11), the archaic *quoius* as given by M.

fuerim] Virtual oblique, 'of which on his theory I was author.'

†*unumque movet*†] We give the corrupt reading of M. The ordinary correction adopted is that of Baiter, *unumque modo me studiosiorem Antonii*, which, with the addition of *fuisse* before *studio-*

Nam Cn. Saturninum adolescentem *adolescens* ipse Cn. Domitius reum fecit, sane quam superiore a vita invidiosum: quod iudicium nunc in expectatione est, etiam in bona spe, post Sex. Peducaei absolutionem. 2. De summa re publica saepe tibi scripsi, me *ad* annum pacem non videre, et quo propius ea contentio, quam fieri necesse est, accedit, eo clarius id periculum apparet. Propositum hoc est, de quo, qui rerum potiuntur, sunt dimicaturi, quod Cn. Pompeius constituit non pati C. Caesarem consulem aliter fieri, nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit: Caesari autem persuasum est se salvum esse non posse, *si* ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen condicionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Sic illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectationem, sed ad bellum se erumpit. Neque mearum rerum quid consilii capiam reperio—quod non dubito quin te quoque haec deliberatio sit perturbatura;—nam mihi cum hominibus his et gratia et necessitudo est, cum causam illam, non homines odi. 3. Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quam diu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad

siorem, meets the approval of Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 23), 'and that only one was more earnest in Antonius' interest than I was,' that one being Curio (Phil. ii. 4). Klotz, after C. F. Hermann, reads *unum quemque studiosiorem Antonii*, 'that one and all were more zealous in Antonius' interests than in his.' We cannot help thinking that *me* is out of place here: the indignation of Domitius had a larger scope. Perhaps, by what would be a very slight change as MSS were written, we should read *vivere* for *move* (in Harl. 2591 it is *mouē = mouere*), 'and that a single man should live who was more devoted to Antonius than to him,' as is proved by his son's accusing Saturninus. But the passage is very uncertain.

quod iudicium . . . spe] This is the usual alteration of the corrupt *non expectationem inest etiam in bona spe*. It is held to mean 'is now eagerly looked for, with good hopes for the defendant.'

2. *me ad annum*] *ad* is the excellent addition of Wesenberg (*Em.* 116). He compares for *ad annum* 'for a year,' *i. e.* till a year has passed, Att. ii. 5, 1, Ep. xxxii.; v. 2, 1, Ep. clxxxv.; De Orat. iii. 92; Tusc. i, 90.

sic illi amores] 'thus their great love for one another, and their detested union, has not drifted into secret bickering, but is breaking out into open war.' The political marriage, so to speak, which Caesar and Pompeius effected in the triumvirate coalition—that marriage which began with great apparent affection of the parties but was so unpopular in the state—is ending, not like many an ordinary love-match, in bickering and fault-finding, but in open war. There may be a side allusion to the marriage of Julia and Pompeius, but it is of the slightest kind.

mearum rerum] Objective genit. dependent on *consilii*.

quod] = *et id*, 'and I doubt not this, that making up your mind on this point is likely to trouble you also': cp. § 3, *illud . . . quin*.

hominibus his] sc. the Pompeians. 'I am popular and have close relations with these.'

necessitudo est] So Wes. (*Em.* 120) hesitatingly. The MSS give *necessitudinem cum*: perhaps *necessitudo intima*.

causam illam] *i. e.* Caesaris. The MSS read *unde*. Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 24) conjectures *non item homines*.

3. *fugere quin*] 'fail to see that he ought': cp. *quis ignorat quin*, 'who is ignorant *that*,' Flacc. 64. The more

bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. In hac discordia video Cn. Pompeium senatum quique res iudicant secum habiturum: ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros: exercitum conferendum non esse. Omnino satis spatii est ad considerandas utriusque copias et eligendam partem. 4. Prope oblitus sum, quod maxime fuit scribendum. Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, de aere alieno acerrime agere? Persuasum est ei censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur: nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre, per deos atque homines! et quam primum haec risum veni: legis Scantiniae iudicium apud Drusum fieri, Appium de tabulis et signis agere. Crede mihi, est properandum. Curio noster sapienter id, quod remisit de stipendio Pompeii, fecisse existimatur. Ad summam quaeris quid putem futurum. Si alter uter eorum ad Parthicum bellum non eat, video magnas impendere discordias,

natural construction after *fugere* would have been the infinitive (*debere*).

qui res iudicant] It is best to take this as 'those who decide cases,' *i. e.* the judges; for in many passages (Div. in Caec. 8; 1 Verr. 29; 2 Verr. ii. 76; Phil. i. 20) this must be the meaning, and we do not know any certain case in which it cannot be taken in this way. Mr. Jeans translates 'judicially-minded men,' which seems a hardly possible rendering.

timore] sc. fear of accusation.

exercitum] 'his (Caesar's) army is not to be compared with that of Pompeius,' it is so superior.

4. *ostenta facere*] 'is portentously vigorous,' 'is doing marvels.'

de signis et tabulis] The censors had the power of stigmatising, among other matters (cp. Mommsen, St. R. ii². 365 ff.), 1°, excessive luxury, or any gross unproductive extravagance; 2°, neglect of the cultivation of land, or alienation of it without good cause, cp. Plin. H. N. xviii. 11; 3°, heavy pecuniary embarrassments, cp. Ascon. p. 84, Or. *hunc Antonium Gellius et Lentulus censores . . . senatu moverunt causaque subscripserunt, quod socios diripuerit, quod iudicium recusarit, quod propter aeris alieni magnitudinem praedia mancipavit, bonaque sua in potestate non haberet.* The censors, accordingly, had the fullest power, if they wished to use it, to inquire into a citizen's private affairs.

lomentum] bean-meal, used like soap for washing, at least in this passage. In Martial (iii. 42; xiv. 60) it is used for concealing wrinkles. *Nitrum* is washing soda, also called *aphronitrum*, Mart. xiv. 58. Manutius compares Jeremiah ii. 22: 'For though thou wash thee with nitre and take thee much soap, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord God.'

sordes eluere] *i. e.* to wash away the stains on his own character.

haec risum veni] 'come and laugh at this,' *risum* is the supine.

legis Scantiniae] cp. Fam. viii. 12, 3, Ep. cclxxix.

quod remisit de stipendio Pompeii] 'because he has withdrawn his objection to the pay for Pompeius' troops,' *i.e.* those in Spain and at Ariminum. This question about the pay for Pompeius' troops was a matter which had been going on for a year or more: cp. Fam. viii. 4, 4, Ep. ccvi. Most probably when Pompeius and the senatorial party had become determined in their opposition to Caesar, Curio had vetoed the motion for payment, but had not pressed it for fear of entirely precluding the soldiers serving under Pompeius from ever coming over to Caesar.

non eat, video magnas impendere discordias] For the unusual sequence of moods, cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 4, 7, *si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinae.* Here *video . . . discordias* = *magnae impendebunt discordiae.*

quas ferrum et vis iudicabit. Uterque et animo et copiis est paratus. Si sine summo periculo fieri posset, magnum et iucundum tibi Fortuna spectaculum parabat.

CCLXXXI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 8).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

Litteras Attici Ephesi sibi redditas a Batonio gratas fuisse significat, sed Batonium meros terrores Caesarianos ad se attulisse: de tarditate navigationis suae, de rebus urbanis vult edoceri et quid Atticus de triumpho suo cogitet. Epistolam dedit Epheso conscendens Kal. Octobr.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum instituissem ad te scribere calamumque sumpsissem, Batonius e navi recta ad me venit domum Ephesi et epistolam tuam reddidit pridie Kal. Octobres. Laetatus sum felicitate navigationis tuae, opportunitate Piliae, etiam hercule sermone eiusdem de coniugio Tulliae meae. 2. Batonius autem meros terrores ad me attulit Caesarianos, cum Lepta etiam plura locutus est, spero falsa, sed certe horribilia, exercitum nullo modo dimissurum, cum illo praetores designatos, Cassium tribunum pl., Lentulum consulem facere, Pompeio in animo esse urbem relinquere. 3. Sed heus tu, num quid moleste fers de illo, qui se solet anteferre patruo sororis tuae filii? At a quibus victus? Sed ad rem. 4. Nos etesiae

Si sine . . . parabat] We should expect *pararet*. But the sense implied is 'Fortune is preparing (epist. imperf.) for us a great display on her stage, and it would be a pleasure for us to be mere spectators of it, if we could be so without extreme danger': cp. for the sentiment Lucr. ii. *init.* The MSS read *suo*, which Wesenberg (*Em.* 121) alters to *summo*; it is, as he says, 'urbanius' than *tuo*, the correction adopted by most edd. For *summo* corrupted into *suo*, cp. Balb. 56.

1. *opportunitate Piliae*] 'the opportuneness of Pilia,' a careless way of writing 'the opportuneness of Pilia's meeting with you.' Atticus had mentioned to Cicero some circumstance which made his meeting with his wife especially opportune.

2. *meros terrores*] cp. *mera monstra*, Att. iv. 7, 1, Ep. cxi.; *mera scelera*, ix. 13, 1; *merum bellum*, ix. 13, 8; *merus est φυράτης*, vii. 1, 9, Ep. cclxxxiv.

cum illo . . . facere] 'are on his (Caesar's) side.'

designatos] This word qualifies not only *praetores* but *tribunum pl.* and *consulem*.

3. *de illo qui . . . filii*] See on Att. v. 19, 3, Ep. ccxx.

a quibus] C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Lentulus Crus. Cicero did not think highly of these successful rivals of Calidius, of whom he writes, *cave putes quid-*

vehementissime tardarunt. Detraxit xx. ipsos dies etiam aphractus Rhodiorum. Kal. Octobr. Epheso conscendentes hanc epistolam dedimus L. Tarquitio, simul e portu egredienti, sed expeditius naviganti. Nos Rhodiorum aphractis ceterisque longis navibus tranquillitates aucupaturi eramus: ita tamen properabamus, ut non posset magis. 5. De rauduseulo Puteolano gratum. Nunc velim dispicias res Romanas, videas quid nobis de triumpho cogitandum putes, ad quem amici me vocant. Ego, nisi Bibulus, qui, dum unus hostis in Syria fuit, pedem porta non plus extulit quam *domi* domo sua, adniteretur de triumpho, aequo animo essem. Nunc vero αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν. Sed explora rem totam, ut, quo die congressi erimus, consilium capere possimus. Sat multa, qui et properarem et ei litteras darem, qui aut mecum aut paullo ante venturus esset. Cicero tibi plurimam salutem dicit. Tu dices utriusque nostrum verbis et Piliae tuae et filiae.

quam esse minoris his consulibus, Att. vii. 20, 1.

4. *ipsos*] 'precisely.' The open Rhodian vessel which he used caused a loss of exactly 20 days *etiam* (in addition to the delay caused by the violence of the trade winds). This great loss of time can hardly have been due altogether to the slow sailing of the Rhodian vessels. From what follows it appears that Cicero would not put to sea in these undecked vessels unless the weather was very favourable. 'Yet,' he adds, 'we are making all the way we can.'

tranquillitates] 'we have to look out for fine days on account of the nature of our vessels.' This word ought in plur. to mean 'calms': cp. *me mirificae tranquillitates adhuc tenuerunt*, Att. x. 18, 1: 'fair weather' is better expressed by some such term as *felicitas navigandi* above; but sing. *tranquillitas* is not rare in this sense. Hence, perhaps, we should here read *tranquillitatem;* however the plur. might perhaps be used to indicate that Cicero lay in wait for fair weather *at each successive place* where he put in.

5. *De rauduseulo Puteolano*] This probably refers to the repayment of a debt to Vestorius of Puteoli.

domi] 'at Rome': see on Att. vi. 5, 1, Ep. cclxix. There is clearly an allusion to the consulship of Bibulus and Caesar, when Bibulus did not leave his house for eight months. It has been proposed to insert *olim* or *consul*, but *domi*, which we suggest, is far more probable, both as being the regular word for *Romae* in the letters, and as being a word which would very easily fall out before *domo*.

αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν] βαρβάρους δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν, Eur. Philoct., frag. 8. Cicero says he would not be eager for a triumph were it not that Bibulus, whose exploits were very trifling, was straining every nerve to secure a triumph for himself.

qui properarem] 'for one who is in a hurry.'

verbis] 'in my name,' 'from me': see above on Att. v. 11, 7, Ep. cc. A good example of the meaning of *meis verbis* is in Att. xvi. 11, 8, *meis verbis suavium des volo.*

CCLXXXII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vi. 9).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se eius litteras ab Acasto servo suo accepisse, e quibus cognosset eum febriculam habere, se sperare iam melius ei esse factum: de re sua familiari, de Q. fratre provinciae non praefecto, de litterarum commercio. Scripsit in arce Athenis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. In Piraeea cum exissem pridie Idus Octobr. accepi ab Acasto, servo meo, statim tuas litteras, quas quidem cum exspectassem iam diu, admiratus sum, ut vidi obsignatam epistolam, brevitatem eius, ut aperui, rursus σύγχυσιν litterularum, quia solent tuae compositissimae et clarissimae esse, ac, ne multa, cognovi ex eo, quod ita scripseras, te Romam venisse a. d. XII. Kal. Octobr. cum febri. Percussus vehementer nec magis quam debui statim quaero ex Acasto. Ille et tibi et sibi visum et ita se domi ex tuis audisse, ut nihil esset incommode. Id videbatur approbare, quod erat in extremo, febriculam tum te habentem scripsisse. Sed te amavi tamen admiratusque sum, quod nihilo minus ad me tua manu scripsisses.

1. *in Piraeea*] see Att. vii. 3 10, Ep. cccxiv., where he discusses the latinity of this expression.

σύγχυσιν litterularum] 'again, when I opened the letter, I was startled at the illegibility of the handwriting, for your writing is generally most excellent and legible.'

quod ita scripseras] Here is a somewhat carelessly expressed sentence. The meaning is that he had at first reason to infer that Atticus was in bad health from the shortness of the letter and the badness of the writing, and that on reading the letter he had Atticus's own word for it. This, it will be seen, is not very clearly expressed: 'I was surprised at the shortness of the letter and the bad writing, and, to be brief, I discovered from your own statement therein that you were suffering from fever when you arrived at Rome.'

Ille . . . incommode] 'he said that such was your impression of the case and his own, and such were the accounts he received at home from your people, that nothing serious could be the matter'; *ita . . . ut* must often be carefully rendered: see I², p. 65. For *esse* with adv. see I², 70, 71.

Id videbatur] 'what seemed to confirm this view was the expression you used in the end of the letter that you had a *slight attack* of fever when you wrote.'

te amavi] 'I was greatly pleased with you.' We have inserted *te*, which has been corrupted into *cl* in M—a very common mistake. Cicero would not use *amavi* or *adamavi* absolutely, nor would he make them take as object the clause *quod—scripsisses*: cp. *amavi amorem tuum*, Fam. ix. 16, 1; *in Atilii negotio te amavi*, Fam. xiii. 62, Ep. ccxxxiv.; *volo ames meum constantiam* Att. ii. 10, Ep. ccxxxviii.; *Alexidis manum amabam*, Att. vii. 2, 3, Ep. ccxciii.

Qua re de hoc satis. Spero enim, quae tua prudentia et temperantia est, et hercule, ut me iubet Acastus, confido te iam ut volumus valere. 2. A Turranio te accepisse meas litteras gaudeo. Παραφύλαξον, si me amas, *τὴν τοῦ φυρατοῦ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτότατα.* Hanc quae mehercule mihi magno dolori est—dilexi enim hominem — procura, quantulacumque est, Precianam hereditatem prorsus ille ne attingat. Dices nummos mihi opus esse ad apparatum triumphi, in quo, ut praecipis, nec me *κενὸν* in expetendo cognosces nec *ἄτυφον* in abiiciendo. 3. Intellexi ex tuis litteris te ex Turranio audisse a me provinciam fratri traditam. Adeon ego non perspexeram prudentiam litterarum tuarum? Ἐπέχειν te scribebas. Quid erat dubitatione dignum, si esset quidquam cur placeret fratrem et talem fratrem relinqui? Ἀθέτησις ista mihi tua, non ἐποχὴ videbatur. Monebas de Q. Cicerone puero, ut eum quidem neutiquam relinquerem. Τοὐμὸν ὄνειρον ἐμοί. Eadem omnia, quasi collocuti essemus, vidimus. Non fuit faciendum aliter, meque ἐπιχρονία ἐποχὴ tua dubitatione liberavit. Sed puto te accepisse de hac re epistolam scriptam accuratius. 4. Ego tabellarios postero die ad vos eram missurus, quos puto ante venturos quam nostrum Saufeium. Sed eum sine meis litteris ad te venire vix rectum erat. 5. Tu mihi, ut polliceris, de Tulliola mea, id est,

2. *τοῦ φυρατοῦ*] 'keep, an you love me, keep your very own eye on the *philotimousness* of the Unready Reckoner; and as to this legacy from Precius—which is indeed a great sorrow to me, for I loved Precius—don't let him put so much as a finger on it, small as it is.' *Αὐτότατα* is an adv. formed from *αὐτότατος ipsissimus:* cp. Plaut. Trin. iv. 2, 146 (888), which is found in Aristoph. Plut. 83; *αὐτότερος αὐτῶ* is in Epicharm. Fr. 2, and it is probably from him, whom he often quotes, that Cicero here takes *αὐτότατα*. Similarly we have *Δαναώτατος*, Ar. Fr. 259; *ἑταιρότατος*. Plat. Gorg. 487 D; Phaed. 89 E. Philotimus is called *φυράτης* because he is said above (Att. vi. 5, 1, Ep. cclxix.), *πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους*. As Cicero seems to think he *cooked* his accounts, we might in the same vein call Philotimus 'the professed cook,' or the *chef* or *cordon bleu*. For the abstract subst. coined from a proper name, cp. *Lentulitas*, *Appietas*, Fam. iii. 7, 5, Ep. ccxliv. *Dices* means, 'kindly tell him': see n. on Plaut. Mil. ii. 4, 42, (395).

κενὸν . . . ἄτυφον] 'you will see that I shall not show a spirit of silly vanity in trying to get it, nor a spirit of insensibility in refusing it.' The word *ἄτυφος* in classical Greek means *modest:* here it has the meaning of *ἀναίσθητος*, 'phlegmatic,' Ar. Eth. Nic. ii. 7, 3. *Lentitudo* is the nearest Latin to *ἀναισθησία*, Q. Fr. i. 38, Ep. xxx.

3. *Adeon*] 'did you think I so utterly failed to understand the meaning of the guardedness of your letter when you spoke of your *philosophic doubts;* you could not have hesitated to approve of my choice of my brother if there had been a single point in favour of his appointment, knowing as we do what a fine fellow he is. No! I took your *philosophic doubt* for a *dogmatic rejection* (your *scepticism* for *dogmatism*) in the matter.' For *ἐπέχειν*, see on Att. vi. 6, 3, Ep. cclxxvi.

τοὐμὸν ὄνειρον] 'you're telling me what I know already.' Perhaps there is an allusion to this proverb in *Palaestrionis somnium narratur*, Pl. Mil. ii. 4, 33, (386).

de Dolabella, perscribes, de re publica, quam praevideo in summis periculis, de censoribus, maximeque de signis, tabulis quid fiat, referaturne. Idibus Octobr. has dedi litteras, quo die, ut scribis, Caesar Placentiam legiones quattuor. Quaeso, quid nobis futurum est? In arce Athenis statio mea nunc placet.

CCLXXXIII. CICERO TO TERENTIA (FAM. XIV. 5).

A. D. XV. KAL. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Terentiae et reditum e Cilicia provincia et se omnes eius epistolas accepisse cum actione gratiarum nuntiat: significat sibi, si quam longissime ob viam veniat, gratum fore: hereditatis Precianae curam demandat.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

1. Si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus. Pridie Idus Octobres Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus tardeque et incommode navigassemus. De nave exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum litteris praesto fuit uno et vicensimo die, sane strenue. Accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri ne superiores mihi redditae non essent. Omnes sunt redditae diligentissimeque a te perscripta sunt omnia idque mihi gratissimum fuit. Neque sum admiratus hanc epistolam, quam Acastus attulit, brevem fuisse: iam enim me ipsum exspectas sive nos ipsos, qui quidem quam primum ad vos venire cupimus, etsi in quam rem publicam veniamus intellego. Cognovi enim ex multorum amicorum litteris, quas attulit Acastus, ad arma rem spectare, ut mihi, cum venero, dissimulare non liceat quid sentiam. Sed quoniam

5. *referaturne*] 'will the matter be brought before the Senate'? The censors Appius Claudius Pulcher and L. Calpurnius Piso had affixed a limit in their edict to the amount to be spent by private persons on works of art. This required the confirmation of the Senate to become law.

legiones quattuor] sc. *ducturus erat.* This rumour turned out to be false.

statio] 'my quarters'; he used a military term because he is still *cum imperio.* Cicero's year of office expired on July 30, 704 (50); he did not enter Rome until the end of the year 707 (47), because he would then have been obliged to lay down his *imperium,* and thus resign his claim to a triumph.

1. *sive*] For this use of *sive* in a correction cp. Att. vi. 2, 2, Ep. cclvi.; Liv. i. 3, 3, *Ascanius urbem matri seu novercae reliquit;* but it generally has *potius* with it: cp. Att. viii. 3, 3. Cicero corrects *me* to *nos,* because he had his son with him.

subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Tu velim, quod commodo valetudinis tuae fiat, quam longissime poteris, ob viam nobis prodeas. 2. De hereditate Preciana—quae quidem mihi magno dolori est; valde enim illum amavi—sed hoc velim cures: si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius aut, si is minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium curet: nos cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus: sin tu iam Roma profecta eris, tamen curabis ut hoc ita fiat. Nos si di adiuvabunt, circiter Idus Novembres in Italia speramus fore. Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia, si nos amatis, curate ut valeatis. Vale.

CCLXXXIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 1).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero iam has litteras mittit, quas lib. vi. Ep. 9, § 4 (Ep. cclxxxii.), se postero die daturum esse scripserat, et, quoniam putat Saufeium tardius profecturum esse, illarum litterarum argumentum hac ipsa epistola exponit. Tum quod summa inter C. Caesarem et Cn. Pompeium iam futura esse videatur contentio et ipse incidat in discrimen ipsum, iam ex Attico scire vult quid sibi agendum sit: satius fortasse fuisse manere in provincia, quamquam etiam de difficultate administrandae integre provinciae maximo opere queritur. Dein de supplicatione sibi decreta et de exspectato triumpho, tum de placando Hirro, de rebus domesticis, de furtis Philotimi liberti et de re familiari sua. Scripsit Athenis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras et dederam ad te unum, quod, cum non esset temporis mihi ad scribendum satis, tamen hominem tibi tam familiarem sine meis litteris ad te venire

citius] goes with *veniamus*.

2. *hereditate Preciana*] see Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. cclxxxii.

sed] *Sed* is often used after a parenthesis: cp. note on Att. i. 10, 1, Ep. vi.

Camillus] A lawyer friend of Cicero's, whose opinion, especially on questions of bail, he highly valued: cp. Fam. v. 20, 3; xiv. 14, 2; Att. v. 8, 3, Ep. cxciii.

Vos] The plural may be used where one person is directly addressed if it be intended to include others: De Orat. i. 38; Verg. Aen. i. 140, *vestras, Eure, domos* (Watson). Add Brut. 11, N. D. ii. 73.

1. Cicero begins by giving Atticus a *resumé* of the contents of Att. vi. 9, Ep. cclxxxii., which he had sent him by Saufeius.

nolebam. Sed, ut philosophi ambulant, has tibi redditum iri putabam prius. Sin iam illas accepisti, scis me Athenas venisse pridie Idus Octobres: e navi egressum in Piraeeum tuas ab Acasto nostro litteras accepisse: conturbatum, quod cum febre Romam venisses, bono tamen animo esse coepisse, quod Acastus ea, quae vellem, de adlevato corpore tuo nuntiaret, cohorruisse autem me *eo* quod tuae litterae de legionibus Caesaris adferrent: et egisse tecum ut videres ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret: et de quo iam pridem ad te scripseram, Turranius autem secus tibi Brundusii dixerat—quod ex iis litteris cognovi, quas a Xenone, optimo viro, accepi—cur fratrem provinciae non praefecissem exposui breviter. Haec fere sunt in illa epistola. 2. Nunc audi reliqua. Per fortunas! omnem tuum amorem, quo me es amplexus, omnemque tuam prudentiam, quam mehercule in omni genere iudico singularem, confer iam ad eam curam, ut de omni statu meo cogites. Videre enim mihi videor tantam dimicationem —nisi idem deus, qui nos melius quam optare auderemus Parthico bello liberavit, respexerit rem publicam—sed tantam, quanta numquam fuit. Age, hoc malum mihi commune est cum omnibus.

ambulant] 'taking into account the pace at which philosophers go.' Ar. Eth. Nic. iv. 3, 34 makes κίνησις βραδεῖα one of the qualities of the μεγαλόψυχος. The sense here shows that the pace ascribed to philosophers is slow, but that meaning does not seem to lie in the word: see Att. ix. 4, 3, *si recte ambulaverit is qui hanc epistolam tulit*, where *ambulaverit* means merely 'travels.'

in Piraeeum] He here silently corrects *Piraeea* to *Piraeeum;* he afterwards discusses the correctness of the use of the prep. *in*, Att. vii. 3, 10, Ep. ccxciv.

cohorruisse autem me eo] The commentators do not seem to have observed two remarkable phenomena in this sentence. First, the topic of Caesar's advance on Placentia is introduced altogether out of its due place, as will be seen by referring to Att. vi. 9, 5, Ep. cclxxxii.; secondly, *me* is supplied before *cohorruisse*, though omitted before all the other infinitives, *accepisse*, *coepisse*, *egisse*. It seems to us that neither of these phenomena is due to chance. Cicero says jestingly, 'I told you I began to take heart at the good report which Acastus brought about your health, but took a shivering fit *myself* (an allusion to the fever from which Atticus was suffering) at your news about Caesar's advance on Placentia' (which was the most startling news in the letter of Atticus). We have supplied *eo* after *me*. It is quite necessary to the construction, and would have very easily fallen out.

secus ... dixerat] 'had misinformed you.' Turranius had told Atticus that Cicero had left his brother in command of the province.

exposui] Here he gives up the infinitives dependent on *scis*, and suddenly assumes the independent narrative.

2. *singularem*] 'unrivalled.'

ut ... cogites] 'concentrate all your affection and sagacity on one task—the careful consideration of my position.' *Ut ... cogites* is the explanatory subj.: see on Ep. xii. 47.

sed tantam] *sed* resumptive after a parenthesis: see on Att. i. 10, 1, Ep. vi.

Age] 'granted!' like καὶ δὴ in Greek. The commoner phrase is *esto* or *fac* (ita esse). Boot quotes as examples of this usage *age, factum est horum aliquid*, Vatin. 36; *age iam, cum fratre*, Att. viii. 3, 5.

Nihil tibi mando, ut de eo cogites. Illud meum proprium πρόβλημα, quaeso, suscipe. Videsne ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus? Ac vellem a principio te audissem amicissime monentem.

Ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες·

Sed aliquando tamen persuasisti, ut alterum complecterer, quia de me erat optime meritus, alterum, quia tantum valebat. Feci igitur, idque effeci omni obsequio, ut neutri illorum quisquam esset me carior. 3. Haec enim cogitabamus, nec mihi coniuncto cum Pompeio fore necesse peccare in re publica aliquando nec cum Caesare sentienti pugnandum esse cum Pompeio: tanta erat illorum coniunctio. Nunc impendet, ut et tu ostendis et ego video, summa inter eos contentio. Me autem uterque numerat suum, nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat: vere enim iudicat ea, quae de re publica nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi eius modi litteras eodem tempore quo tuas, ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. 4. Verum quid agam? Non quaero illa ultima—si enim castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse quam cum altero vincere—sed illa, quae tum agentur, cum venero: ne ratio absentis habeatur, ut exercitum dimittat. Dic, M. Tulli. Quid dicam? 'Exspecta, amabo te, dum Atticum conveniam?' Non est locus ad tergiversandum. Contra Caesarem?

ubi illaé sunt densae déxterae?

πρόβλημα] 'solve the problem of my individual case' (not of the future of the State).

utrumque] Both Caesar and Pompeius.

Ἀλλ'] Hom. Od. ix. 33.

3. *simulat alter*] Caesar.

non dubitat] sc. *me numerare suum.*

4. *si enim castris*] 'if it comes to a fight, I see it would be better to be vanquished with Pompeius than to be victorious with Caesar.'

Dic M. Tulli] The words in which Cicero would be asked his opinion in the Senate.

Quid dicam?] 'what am I to say? *Pray wait until I see Atticus?* No, I shall not be allowed to evade the question.'

ubi . . . dexterae?] It seems to us certain that this is a verse from some poet. Hence the very strange expression *densae dexterae*, 'those countless pledges of fealty,' which, however, would be quite natural with its characteristic alliteration in an early poet, and is indeed to some extent defended by Verg. G. iv. 347,

Aque Chao *densos* divum numerabat amores.

Densae might fairly be used by an early dramatic poet as expressing πυκναί, an epithet likely enough to have occurred in a similar Greek phrase adopted by the Latin dramatist. The first syllable of *illae* is short according to the usage of the early Latin drama, and the metre is iambic. The conjecture *tensae* for *densae* is not only unnecessary, and therefore bad, but it is bad in itself, for *tendere manus* is more appropriate to the act of

Nam ut illi hoc liceret adiuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu. Aliter sensero? Αἰδέομαι non Pompeium modo, sed Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας.

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει

Quis? Tu ipse scilicet, laudator et factorum et scriptorum meorum. 5. Hanc ergo plagam effugi per duos superiores Marcellorum consulatus, cum est actum de provincia Caesaris: nunc incido in discrimen ipsum. Itaque, ut †stultus primus suam sententiam dicat, mihi valde placet de triumpho nos moliri aliquid: extra urbem esse cum iustissima causa. Tamen dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam. Ridebis hoc loco fortasse: quam vellem etiam nunc in provincia morari! Plane opus fuit, si hoc impendebat. Etsi nil miserius. Nam, ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, volo te hoc scire: omnia illa prima, quae etiam *tu* tuis litteris in caelum fere-

a suppliant (*tendere manus supplices*, Font. 48), while the meaning to be conveyed here is the *commissaque dextera dextrae* of Ovid Her. ii. 31, the συνθεσίαι . . . καὶ δεξιαί ᾗς ἐπέπιθμεν of Homer (Il. ii. 339, 341), the 'pledges of friendship,' which had been exchanged between Cicero and Caesar. As a conjecture a far preferable word would have been *prensae*.

hoc] sc. that Caesar might be allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence, and should not be compelled to disband his troops.

de Caelio] viz. when asked by Caesar to induce Caelius to propose a bill allowing him to stand in his absence, &c.

Ab ipso autem] 'at his request, do I say? Ay, at the request of Pompeius in that immortal third consulship of his.' With *autem* cp. Gk. ἰδού, 'quotha.' *Divino* is ironical.

Πουλυδάμας] Polydamas was Cato above, Att. ii. 5, 1, Ep. xxxii.; now he is Atticus. *Aliter sensero* indicates the course opposed to *contra Caesarem;* that is, *aliter sensero* means, 'shall I espouse Caesar's cause?' He fears that public opinion would condemn this course. See on Att. ii. 5, 1, Ep. xxxii.

5. *plagam*] This is more probably *plăgam*, 'a snare,' 'a trap,' than *plāgam*, 'a misfortune,' for the former sense is much more suitable to the passage; and though *plăgae*, plural, is far more common, yet we have *plăgam* in Off. iii. 68 and Plin. N. H. xi. 83. The 'two last consulships of the Marcelli' were 703, 704 (51, 50), M. Claudius Marcellus in 703, C. Claudius Marcellus in 704. The latter was now designate consul for 705 (49).

ut †stultus . . . dicat] *Stultus* can hardly be right. The reading in the text can be given a meaning only by paraphrasing thus: 'therefore—to leave to some fool (someone who does not see the difficulty of the situation as clearly as I do) the invidious position of giving his vote first—I am determined to busy myself about my triumph, which will give me an excellent excuse for keeping away from Rome.' But this does not lie in the words, and this sentiment would never have been thus conveyed by Cicero. The best conjecture is Boot's *itaque esto: alius primus suam sententiam dicat*. Perhaps, however, we might read *stultior*, which would be a slighter change, and suppose Cicero to have in his mind the words of Hector, Il. xxii. 106, μήποτέ τις εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμεῖο, which immediately follow the αἰδέομαι Τρῶας, which he has just quoted.

hoc loco] 'here,' at what I am about to say, namely, that I wish I had stayed in my province.

ὁδοῦ . . . ἐπίτηκτα] '*en passant*, I would have you know this: all the (appa-

bas, ἐπίτηκτα fuerunt. 6. Quam non est facilis virtus! quam vero difficilis eius diuturna simulatio! Cum enim hoc rectum et gloriosum putarem, ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset, me C. Caelio quaestori relinquere annuum, referre in aerarium ad HS. cıↄ, ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere, ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum et Cilicum aerariis quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt. Nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit: nec tamen quidquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit quod praetermiserim. Sed haec fuerit, ut ait Thucydides, ἐκβολὴ λόγου non inutilis. 7. Tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis: primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Caesaris, deinde de ipso triumpho, quem video, nisi rei publicae tempora impedient, εὐπόριστον. Iudico autem cum ex litteris amicorum tum ex supplicatione, quam qui non decrevit, plus decrevit, quam si omnes decresset triumphos. Ei porro adsensus est unus familiaris meus, Favonius, alter iratus, Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo adfuit et ad me de sententia sua iucundissimas litteras misit. Sed tamen gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione triumphat de sententia Catonis, nec scribit quid ille sententiae dixerit, sed tantum, supplicationem eum mihi non decrevisse. 8. Redeo ad Hirrum. Coeperas eum mihi placare: perfice: habes Scrofam, habes Silium; ad eos ego etiam antea scripsi, *scripsi* ad ipsum Hirrum. Locutus enim erat cum his commode, se potuisse impedire, sed noluisse, adsensum tamen esse Catoni, amicissimo meo, cum is honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixisset, nec me ad se ullas litteras misisse,

rently solid) virtues which distinguished the conduct of my staff at the outset of my government were mere *veneering*,' adapted for show, not intended to last—which was shown by the murmurs of his staff, who thought Cicero should have divided among them the sum reserved by him for the public treasury.

6. ἐκβολὴ λόγου] Thuc. i. 97, 'but you must look on this as a digression from the main subject of my letter, though not without its use either,' as it might help Atticus to make up his mind what advice to give. The later words for ἐκβολή were διέξοδος, παρέκβασις. Hdt., iv. 30, uses προσθήκη, and παρενθήκη λόγου is 'a digression' in vii. 171. The terms used by Quintilian, iii. 9, 4, are *egressio* and *excessus*, which latter, he says, *usitatius esse coepit*.

7. εὐπόριστον] 'feasible.'

plus decrevit] See Fam. xv. 5 and 6, Epp. cclxvi., cclxxviii., and Att. vii. 2, 7, Ep. ccxciii. Caelius describes the part taken by Hirrus and Favonius in Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvii.

triumphat de] 'exults over Cato's vote' against the supplication in honour of Cicero, which he thought would detach Cicero from the Pompeian side. It appears from Att. vii. 2, 7, Ep. ccxciii., a letter written nearly a month after this, that Cicero completely changed his mind about the motives which actuated Cato, and regarded the course which he took as an act of open enmity, not an implied compliment, as Cato wished to represent it, and as Cicero in this letter appears to regard it.

cum ad omnes mitterem. Verum dicebat: ad eum enim solum et ad Crassipedem non scripseram. 9. Atque haec de rebus forensibus. Redeamus domum. Diiungere me ab illo volo. Merus est φυρατής, germanus Lartidius.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ.

Reliqua expediamus. Hoc primum, quo accessit cura dolori meo, sed hoc tamen, quidquid est, Precianum cum iis rationibus, quas ille meas tractat, admisceri nolo. Scripsi ad Terentiam, scripsi etiam ad ipsum, me quidquid possem nummorum ad apparatum sperati triumphi ad te redacturum. Ita puto ἄμεμπτα fore, verum ut lubebit. Hanc quoque suscipe curam quem ad modum experiamur. Id et ostendisti quibusdam litteris ex Epiro *an* Athenis datis et in eo ego te adiuvabo.

9. *ab illo*] sc. Philotimus.

merus] This word seems to be demanded by the subsequent *Lartidius*: see on Att. vi. 8, 2, Ep. cclxxxi.

Lartidius] The old commentators took this for a Latin form of Λαερτιάδης, probably taken by Cicero from some old Latin poet: the word would then mean, 'he is a regular Ulysses,' as cunning as that wily hero. Others have supposed that the reference is to Hilarus mentioned above, Att. i. 12, 2, Ep. xvii., and there called *sane nequam hominem*. In an old inscription are found the words M. Lartidius M. L. Hilarus. It would, however, seem far more probable that Cicero refers to Ulysses, the typical example of astuteness, were it not that Cicero does not seem to ascribe acuteness, but only negligence and stupid fraudulence to Philotimus. Lartidius may be some other unknown agent of Cicero.

hoc . . . Precianum] 'this sum which comes from Precius,' the legacy referred to above, Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. cclxxxii. He wishes it 'not to be mixed up with the transactions on his behalf which Philotimus has in his hands': *prorsus ille ne attingat* he had written above.

ἄμεμπτα *fore*] that my putting the money into your hands 'will not give rise to any *pique*, but if they choose to take offence, let them.'

experiamur] 'how I am to set about' arranging the business.

an Athenis] see on Att. i. 3, 2, Ep. viii.

CCLXXXV. M. AND Q. CICERO AND THEIR SONS TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 1).

A. D. III. NON. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Q. Tironi, quem ex provincia domum decedens Patris aegrotum reliquerat, magno se eius desiderio teneri significat. Scripta epistola est inter Patras et Alyziam.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S. P. D. *ET* CICERO MEUS ET FRATER ET FRATRIS F.

1. Paullo facilius putavi posse me ferre desiderium tui, sed plane non fero, et quamquam magni ad honorem nostrum interest quam primum ad urbem me venire, tamen peccasse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim: sed quia tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus nisi confirmato corpore nolles navigare, approbavi tuum consilium, neque nunc muto, si tu in eadem es sententia. Sin autem, postea quam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi, tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me quam primum veniret aut, si tu morarere, statim ad me rediret. 2. Tu autem tibi hoc persuade, si commodo valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle quam te esse mecum: si autem intellegis opus esse te Patris convalescendi causa paullum commorari, nihil me malle quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos Leucade consequere: sin te confirmare vis, et comites et tempestates et navem idoneam ut habeas diligenter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae litterae moveant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet si feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. 3. Haec pro tuo ingenio considera.

1. *honorem*] sc. hopes of a triumph.

cibum cepisti] Tiro's disease appears to have been mainly a weak stomach (κακοστόμαχος, Fam. xvi. 4, 1, Ep. cclxxxviii.) which had a tendency to reject food; this brought on fever.

videris . . . consequi] 'you think you can overtake me.'

Marionem] A slave of Cicero's: cp. Fam. xvi. 3, 2, Ep. cclxxxvii.

2. *intellegis*] This is the reading of H. It should be adopted in place of *intelleges* of M, which is certainly wrong. For if the orat. obliqua be continued, it should be *intellegas;* and if transition is made to the orat. recta, it should be *intellegis* (Wesenberg, *Em. Alt.* 56).

consequere] 'you will overtake us.'

3. *Haec pro tuo*] 'use your best judgment in making up your mind on this.

Nos ita te desideramus, ut amemus: amor ut valentem videamus hortatur: desiderium ut quam primum. Illud igitur potius. Cura ergo potissimum ut valeas: de tuis innumerabilibus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III. Nonas Novembres.

CCLXXXVI. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 2).

NON. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Tironem valetudinem ut curet rogat. Scripta epistola est Alyziae.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere quo animo sim adfectus: tantum scribo, et tibi et mihi maximae voluptati fore, si te firmum quam primum videro. Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem stadia CXX. Leucade aut te ipsum aut tuas litteras a Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum te a me scis diligi. Nonis Novembr. Alyzia.

My longing for you is tempered by my affection; affection urges me to see you in good health; longing, to see you as soon as possible.' The reading *amamus* gives an inferior sense, 'my longing for you is as great as my affection'; but Cicero is always urging what is dictated by his affection, viz. that Tiro should consider his health before everything.

officiis] cp. Fam. xvi. 4, 3, Ep. cclxxxviii.

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere] This is a good example of hyperbaton: cp. vol. II. xxii.

Alyziam] A town on the coast of Acarnania, midway between Astacus and Anactorium.

accesseramus] epist. pluperf. 'we arrived.'

Alyzia] The abl. is often thus used: cp. note to Att. iii. 5, Ep. lx.

CCLXXXVII. M. AND Q. CICERO AND THEIR SONS TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 3).

A. D. VIII. ID. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Tironem rogat ut omni cura valetudini serviat. Scripta epistola est Alyziae.

TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. D. ET Q. PATER ET FILIUS.

1. Nos apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi litteras ante dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Non. Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem VIII. Idus Novembr. has litteras dedimus. Tu, si nos omnes amas et praecipue me, magistrum tuum, confirma te. 2. Ego valde suspenso animo exspecto, primum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis litteris. Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Qua re nihil properaris: satis quo te die videro si valebis. Utilitatibus tuis possum carere: te valere tua causa primum volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

CCLXXXVIII. M. AND Q. CICERO AND THEIR SONS TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 4).

A. D. VII. ID. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Tironem hortatur ad curandam valetudinem. Scripta epistola est Leucade.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S. P. D. ET CICERO ET Q. FRATER ET Q. F.

1. Varie sum adfectus tuis litteris: valde priore pagina perturbatus, paullum altera recreatus. Qua re nunc quidem non dubito

1. *commorati sumus*] 'we are staying'; *dedimus*, 'we are sending.'

2. *satis quo te die videro si valebis*] So we read after the conjecture of Orelli, instead of *quotidie videro* of the MS. There is certainly no place for *quotidie* here. 'It will be sufficient if on the day I see you you are in good health': cp. Fam. xvi. 4, 1, Ep. cclxxxviii., *satis te mature videro si plane confirmatum videro*.

Utilitatibus] cp. Att. vii. 5, 2, Ep. ccxcvi., *quem* (sc. Tironem) . . . *etsi mirabiles utilitates mihi praebet*.

quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi neque viae committas. Satis te mature videro, si plane confirmatum videro. De medico et tu bene existimari scribis et ego sic audio. Sed plane curationes eius non probo. Ius enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum κακοστόμαχος esses, sed tamen et ad illum scripsi accurate et ad Lysonem. 2. Ad Curium vero, suavissimum hominem et summi officii summaeque humanitatis, multa scripsi: in his etiam, ut, si tibi videretur, te ad se traferret. Lyso enim noster vereor ne neglegentior sit; primum quia omnes Graeci, deinde quod, cum a me litteras accepisset, mihi nullas remisit; sed eum tu laudas: tu igitur quid faciendum sit iudicabis. Illud, mi Tiro, te rogo, sumptu ne parcas ulla in re, quod ad valetudinem opus sit. Scripsi ad Curium, quod dixisses daret: medico ipsi puto aliquid dandum esse, quo sit studiosior. 3. Innumerabilia tua sunt in me officia, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia: in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris. Omnia viceris, si, ut spero, te validum videro. Ego puto te bellissime, si recte erit, cum quaestore Mescinio decursurum. Non inhumanus est teque, ut mihi visus est, diligit, et, cum valetudini tuae diligentissime consulueris, tum, mi Tiro, consulito navigationi. Nulla in re iam te festinare volo. Nihil laboro nisi ut salvus sis. 4. Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse qui me amet quin idem te amet, et cum tua et mea maxime interest te valere tum multis est curae. Adhuc, dum mihi nullo loco deesse vis, numquam te confirmare potuisti. Nunc te nihil impedit: omnia depone, corpori servi. Quantam diligentiam in valetudinem tuam

1. *medico*] His name was Asclapo, Fam. xvi. 9, 2, Ep. ccxcii.: cp. Fam. xiii. 20.

existimari] impers.: cp. Brut. 82.

Ius] 'soup.' Celsus, ii. 24, mentions soup as indigestible.

2. *Curium*] Manius Curius was a money-lender (*negotiator*) at Patrae (Fam. xiii. 17), and a friend both of Cicero and Atticus. Lyso was Cicero's host at Patrae: cp. Fam. xiii. 19.

sumptu] dative: cp. Neue § 95.

daret] The subj. is used after *scripsi*, as the latter signifies 'order by letter.'

3. *si recte erit*] 'if all goes well.' Adverbs are often found with *esse*, e. g. *clam*, Liv. v. 36, 6: *praesto*, Fam. iv. 14, 4: *meliuscule*, Fam. xvi. 5, 1, Ep. cclxxxix.

Mescinio] Cicero had a poor opinion of this Mescinius Rufus as a quaestor. He could not leave him as governor of the province because he was *levis, libidinosus, tagax*, Att. vi. 3, 1, Ep. cclxiv.: cp. Att. vi. 4, 1, Ep. cclxviii. Two letters, Fam. v. 19 and 20, are addressed to him. Some years afterwards Cicero wrote of him in very complimentary terms in a letter of commendation to Servius Sulpicius (Fam. xiii. 26).

decursurum] 'have a most charming voyage.' For *decurrere*, 'to travel by sea,' cp. Ov. Met. ix. 590, *tutoque mari decurrere*.

4. *te confirmare*] 'to get yourself strong.'

Quantam diligentiam] 'I shall consider that you value me in proportion to the care you take of your health.'

conturleris, tanti me fieri a te iudicabo. Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale et salve. Lepta tibi salutem dicit et omnes. Vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Leucade.

CCLXXXIX. M. AND Q. CICERO AND THEIR SONS TO TIRO (Fam. XVI. 5).

A. D. VII. ID. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero rogat, ut Tiro valetudinem curet et saepe litteras mittat. Scriptae litterae sunt Leucade.

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. TIRONI HUMANISSIMO ET OPTIMO S. P. D.

1. Vide quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrei fuimus: Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est quae tibi essent opus: facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere, quem, cum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres; sed cogitavi unas litteras Marionem adferre posse, me autem crebras exspectare. 2. Poteris igitur et facies, si me diligis, ut cotidie sit Acastus in portu: multi erunt quibus recte litteras dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius,

Lepta] Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*, Fam. iii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxliv.

TULLIUS] = Tullius et Cicero (*i. e.* M. Cicero and his son) et Quinti (*i. e.* Quintus, father and son) Tironi, &c. Young Marcus is often called 'Cicero'. *e.g.* Fam. xiv. 5, 1, Ep. cclxxxiii.

1. *Thyrei*] Thyreum (Θυρέον) was in Acarnania, between Alyzia and Leucas.

Volebam . . . perferant] 'I had intended to send Mario back to you, so that you might send him to me when you were a little better; but I reflected that Mario could only bring me one letter, while I am expecting a great many. You will accordingly be able to, and will, manage, if you love me, that Acastus should go down to the harbour every day [*i. e.* to look out for some one who would carry a letter to Cicero]; there will be many to whom you can safely entrust a letter, and who will be quite willing to bring one to me.'

meliuscule tibi esset] cp. *si recte erit*, Fam. xvi. 4, 3, Ep. cclxxxviii.

2. *Poteris*] sc. *facere*. Ellipses are common in the letters: cp. Fam. xvi. 6, 1, Ep. ccxc.: *ut spero* (sc. *te habiturum esse*), xvi. 17, 2, *nam ego hinc perendie mane cogito* (sc. *abire*), Dräger, i. § 116, and I² 70. Accordingly there is no need to add *facere*, with Wesenberg (*Em. Alt.* 56).

nihil nostri amantius. Ei *te* totum trade. Malo te paullo post valentem quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud nisi ut valeas: cetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens, VII. Idus Novembres.

CCXC. M. AND Q. CICERO AND THEIR SONS TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 6).

A. D. VII. ID. NOV.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Tironem rogat, ne quid omittat quod ad restituendam valetudinem spectare videatur et ut quid agat crebro scribat. Scripta epistola est Actii.

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. TIRONI SAL. PLUR. D.

Tertiam ad te hanc epistolam scripsi eodem die, magis instituti mei tenendi causa, quia nactus eram cui darem, quam quo haberem quod scriberem. Igitur illa: quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc, quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Cum valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam navigationis. 2. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me litteras dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro: quoniam non contigit ut simul navigares, nihil est quod festines nec quidquam cures nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Actio, vesperi.

1. *quam quo*] 'than that': cp. Att. x, 1, 3, *Quod scribis non quo aliunde audieris, sed te ipsum putare me attractum iri*, &c.

Cum valetudinis] 'when you have taken thought, as I hope you will do, for your health, take thought also about your journey.' The thought of the writer is here more neatly expressed than in Fam. xvi. 4, 3, Ep. cclxxxiii., where *consulere* is used instead of *rationem habere*.

2. *nec . . . cures*] It is very rare to find this usage of the present subjunctive in a prohibition addressed to a definite person. It is found in Att. xiv. 1, 2, *scribere ne pigrere*; ix. 18, 3, *actum ne agas*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 88, *ne sis patruus mihi*; Ter. Eun. ii. 3, 97, *verum ne post conferas culpam in me*; Plaut. Asin. ii. 4. 63, *molestus ne sis*; Bacch. iii. 3, 41, *ne attigas puerum istae causa*. But perhaps *cures* may be dependent on *quod*, like *festines*, though in that case we should expect *aliquid* instead of *quidquam*; yet the broadly prohibitive character of the sentence may justify the latter.

Actio] sc. *datae*: cp. *Alysia*, Fam. xvi. 2, fin., Ep. cclxxxvi.

CCXCI. CICERO AND HIS SON TO TIRO (Fam. xvi. 7).

A. D. XV. KAL. DEC.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Tironi significat adversis ventis se teneri, hortaturque ut valetudinem curet nec naviget nisi confirmatus. Scripta epistola est Corcyrae.

TULLIUS ET CICERO S. D. TIRONI SUO.

Septimum iam diem Corcyrae tenebamur, Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum; nec mirabamur nihil a te litterarum, iis enim ventis istim navigatur, qui si essent, nos Corcyrae non sederemus. Cura igitur te et confirma et, cum commode et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos amantissimos tui veni. Nemo nos amat qui te non diligat. Carus omnibus exspectatusque venies. Cura ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster, vale. xv. Kalend. Decembr., Corcyra.

CCXCII. CICERO AND HIS SON TO TIRO (Fam. xvi. 9).

A. D. IV. KAL. DEC.; A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero describit navigationis suae cursum et ad curandam valetudinem Tironem cohortatur. Scripta epistola est Brundisii.

TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. P. D.

1. Nos a te, ut scis, discessimus a. d. iv. Non. Novembr. Leucadem venimus a. d. viii. Idus Novembr., a. d. vii. Actium: ibi propter tempestatem a. d. vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a. d. v.

iis enim ventis] 'for those winds are required for a voyage from where you are, which if we got we should not be delaying here at Corcyra.' The same south-east wind which would enable a voyage to be made from Corcyra to Italy would bring a letter from Tiro at Patrae.

cum commode] 'when your convenience and health and the time of year allow you to sail.'

nemo nos amat] 'no man loves me but has a regard for you': *amare* is stronger than *diligere*: cp. ad Brut. i. 1, 1, *Clodius valde me diligit, vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat*, Fam. ix. 14, 5; xiii. 47; Plin. Epist. iii. 9, 7; and Mayor's note. Most mss give *diligat*, but H has *diligit*.

Carus omnibus expectatusque venies] 'all will be glad and on the look out for you when you come.'

Decembr.] The mss give *Nov.*, a palpable error arising from the subscription of the preceding letter.

Idus Corcyram bellissime navigavimus. Corcyrae fuimus usque *ad* a. d. XVI. Kalend. Decembr. tempestatibus retenti. A. d. XV. Kalend. in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia CXX. processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque *ad* a. d. VIIII. Kalendas. Interea, qui cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fecerunt. 2. Nos eo die cenati solvimus. Inde austro lenissimo, caelo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus eodemque vento postridie—id erat a d. VII. Kalend. Decembr.—hora quarta Brundusium venimus, eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia, quae te facit plurimi. A. d. V. Kalend. Decembr. servus Cn. Plancii Brundusii tandem aliquando mihi a te exspectatissimas litteras reddidit, datas Idibus Novembr., quae me molestia valde levarunt: utinam omnino liberassent! Sed tamen Asclapo medicus plane confirmat propediem te valentem fore. 3. Nunc quid ego te horter, ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi: scio te omnia facturum, ut nobiscum quam primum sis: sed tamen ita velim, ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres. Sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi, ut medico honos haberetur et tibi daret quod opus esset: me cui iussisset curatu-

1. *Cassiopen*] A town in the north of Corcyra, with a temple to Jupiter Cassius (Plin. H. N. iv. 52). It was one of the stations on the Greek coast, from which the crossing was often made to Brundusium: cp. Gell. xix. 1, 1; Suet. Nero, 22; Dig. xiv. 1, 1, 12, *quaedam enim naves onerariae quaedam ἐμβατηγοὶ sunt: et plerosque mandare scio, ne vectores recipiant, et sic, ut certa regione et certo mari negotietur, ut ecce sunt naves quae Brundusium a Cassiopa vel a Dyrrhacio vectores traiiciunt ad onera inhabiles.*

cupide] 'eagerly,' 'rashly.'

2. *Hydruntem*] Otranto; also called Hydruntum, Liv. xxxvi. 21, 5.

ludibundi] 'gaily'; sometimes used of what one expects to be irksome, but finds to be child's play: cp. Verr. iii. 156, *Si Volteium habebis omnia ludibundus conficies.*

3. *Symphoniam*] 'musical party.' The Romans had among their various kinds of slaves *symphoniaci pueri*, Mil. 55; Div. in Caec. 55. They used to sing in concert during dinner: cp. Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, ii. 147, iii. 373.

ne in quartam hebdomada incideres] 'as there was danger of your incurring the fourth weekly attack' (of fever). Every seventh day Tiro appears to have been liable to an attack; the oftener he had an attack the more the fever would get into his system, and the harder it would be to throw it off; Tiro should then have been more careful to avoid getting a fourth attack. But when Lyso, at whose house he was staying, gave a large musical party, Tiro did not like (that is the force of *pudori*) to fail to put in an appearance. The ancients considered every seventh day a *dies κρίσιμος* in fever.

misi] 'am sending orders to': cp. *scripsi*, Fam. xvi. 4, 2, Ep. cclxxxviii.

honos haberetur] 'that a complimentary present be made': cp. Dig. xxxvii. 5, 3, 2, *nec enim quaerimus cui adquiratur sed cui honos habitus sit.*

me cui iussisset curaturum] 'that I shall pay anyone he orders,' *i.e.* that instead of

rum. Ecum et mulum Brundusii tibi reliqui. Romae vereor ne ex Kalend. Ian. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. 4. Reliquum est ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges—solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa—cautus sis, mi Tiro—mare magnum et difficile tibi restat—si poteris cum Mescinio—caute is solet navigare—si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine, cuius auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris teque nobis incolumem stiteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale et salve.

CCXCIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 2).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se feliciter Brundusium venisse, de valetudine Attici et nuntiis de ea ad se adlatis, de epistolis Attici, de Tironis morbo, de Curio eiusque testamento, de Alexionis hospitio Corcyrae, de Q. Cicerone, de Attici filiola iocatur eludens Carneadem, de Attici litteris, de sermone Pompeii Neapolitano, de triumpho consequendo, de Bibuli supplicatione, de Catonis in se iniquitate a Caesare in litteris ad se datis reprehensa, de Chrysippo liberto suo in se ingrato, de litteris Attici de re publica. Scripsit Brundusii.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Brundusium venimus VII. Kalend. Decembr. usi tua felicitate navigandi: ita belle nobis 'flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites.'

Cicero's sending the money by bill of exchange to Patrae, Curius will delegate Cicero to some creditor whom Curius may have in Rome, or to some bank with which he may have an account, and Cicero will pay over the money to the creditor or bank specified.

reliqui] 'am leaving.' For *ecum*, 'horse,' which M gives, H has *metum*, with *medicum* written above it.

Kalend. Jan.] When the new Consuls, L. Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, both violently opposed to Caesar, would enter on their office.

4. *mare magnum*] 'a stormy bit of sea': cp. Lucr. ii. 1, 553; or it may be simply 'a great tract of sea.'

navicularius] 'ship-owner,' who, intent on his gains, would press for no delay.

stiteris] This use of *sisto* is very common in the Comic Drama: see Dictt. It also occurs Att. iii. 25, Ep. lxxxviii.; x. 16, 6.

Vale et salve] Wesenberg (*Em. Att.* 56) adds *et*, comparing Fam. xvi. 4, 4, Ep. cclxxxviii.

1. *tua felicitate*] see Att. vi. 8, 1, Ep. cclxxxi.

Onchesmites] the wind blowing from Onchesmus, a port of Epirus; so *Iapyx*, because it came from the Iapygian promontory. The words of Cicero fell by chance into a spondaic hexameter. Cicero says to Atticus, 'I will make you a pre-

Hunc σπουδειάζοντα, si cui voles τῶν νεωτέρων, pro tuo vendita. 2. Valetudo tua me valde conturbat. Significant enim tuae litterae te prorsus laborare. Ego autem, cum sciam quam sis fortis, vehementius esse quiddam suspicor quod te cogat cedere et propemodum infringat, etsi alteram quartanam Pamphilus tuus mihi dixit decessisse et alteram leviorem accedere. Terentia vero, quae quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundusinam venit, quo ego in portum, mihique obvia in foro fuit, L. Pontium sibi in Trebulano dixisse narrabat etiam eam decessisse. Quod si ita est, *est* quod maxime mehercule opto, idque spero tua prudentia et temperantia te consecutum. 3. Venio ad epistolas tuas, quas ego sescentas uno tempore accepi, aliam alia iucundiorem, quae quidem erant tua manu. Nam Alexidis manum amabam, quod tam probe accedebat ad similitudinem tuae litterae, non amabam, quod indicabat te non valere. Cuius quoniam mentio facta est, Tironem Patris aegrum reliqui, adolescentem ut nosti, et adde, si quid vis, probum; nihil vidi melius. Itaque careo aegre.

sent of it, and you can trot it out as your own before the rising school of poets,' Cinna, Gallus, Catullus, and other imitators of the Alexandrine School, especially Euphorion and Callimachus (see Munro's Lucr. Introd. to Notes II.).

2. *eam*] *sc.* quartanam alteram leviorem.

3. *amabam*] See on Att. vi. 9, 1, Ep. cclxxxii., 'I was delighted with the handwriting of Alexis, because it is so very like your own; but my enjoyment of it was spoiled by the evidence it gave that you were not well'; for if Atticus had been well he would not have employed an amanuensis. Here we must apparently take *litterae*, in the sense of 'handwriting,' though it appears that this is the only place in Cicero, or indeed in prose, where it certainly has that signification; but it occurs in Juv. xiii. 138, *arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps Sardonychum*, 'their own handwriting and seal convict them,' a passage which sufficiently defends it. It would be tempting to alter to *litteraturae* (Cic. Part. Orat. 26). Another possible course would be to read with Meutzner, quoted by Boot, *Nam Alexidis manum amabam quod tam prope accedebat ad sim. tuae, litteras non amabam quod indicabant te non valere*. Thus we escape the awkwardness of expression in the remark that the *manus* 'handwriting' of Alexis was like the *littera* 'handwriting' of Cicero, and the meaning would be 'the *handwriting* of Alexis gave me pleasure by being so like yours, but *the letter as* a whole gave me pain, because (not being written by your own hand) it betrayed that you were ailing.'

cuius] sc. Alexidis. He had above (Att. v. 20, 9, Ep. ccxxviii.) said that Tiro was his Alexis; so now the mention of Alexis suggests Tiro.

ut nosti] Unless we suppose an adj. to have fallen out here, *ut nosti* must mean 'such as you know him to be,' nor would this use of adverbs be uncharacteristic of the style of the letters and the comic drama: cp. *haec tam esse quam audio non puto*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 9, Ep. liii.; *utinam tam* (sc. integra) *in periculo fuisset*, Att. iii. 13, 2, Ep. lxxi.; *quemadmodum me censes oportere esse ... ita et esse et fore*, Q. Fr. 13, (15*a*) 4, Ep. cxli.; *Lucreti poemata ita sunt*, Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4, Ep. cxxxii. If an adj. is to be inserted, the best suggestion is that of Wesenberg, who introduces *doctum* before *ut*, comparing *et doctum et probum existimo*, Att. x. 17, 1. But it is not easy to see how the adj. could have fallen out.

nihil vidi melius] lit. 'I have seen nothing better,' that is, 'he is as good a fellow as ever I saw,' 'nothing could be better than the lad.'

Quamquam videbatur se non graviter habere, tamen sum sollicitus maximamque spem habeo in M'. Curii diligentia, de qua ad me scripsit Tiro et multi nuntiarunt. Curius autem ipse sensit quam tu velles se a me diligi, et eo sum admodum delectatus. Et mehercule est, quam facile diligas, *αὐτόχθων* in homine urbanitas. Eius testamentum deporto II. Ciceronum signis obsignatum cohortisque praetoriae: fecit palam te ex libella, me ex teruncio. In Actio Corcyrae Alexio me opipare muneratus est. Q. Ciceroni obsisti non potuit quo minus Thyamim videret. 4. Filiola tua te delectari laetor et probari tibi *φυσικὴν* esse *τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα*. Etenim, si haec non est, nulla potest homini esse ad hominem naturae adiunctio, qua sublata vitae societas tollitur. 'Bene eveniat,' inquit Carneades: spurce, sed tamen pudentius quam Lucius noster et Patro, qui cum omnia ad se referant, *numquam* quidquam alterius causa fieri putent, et cum ea re bonum virum oportere esse dicant, ne malum habeat, non quo id natura rectum sit, non intellegunt se de callido homine loqui, non de bono viro. Sed haec, opinor, sunt in iis libris, quos tu laudando animos mihi addidisti.

se non graviter habere] 'that he was not seriously ill.'

αὐτόχθων . . . urbanitas] 'a *vrai esprit spirituel*.'

II. Ciceronum] Q. Cicero and his son. The reading *trium* must be wrong, for Cicero could not have witnessed the will himself, as he took under it, and his son was too young—only fourteen years of age—to undertake such a function. 'A Roman will was declared in the presence of witnesses to be the testator's will, and then the tablets were sealed up (*obsignabantur*) by the witnesses. The sealing was not for execution, but to protect the contents from being altered. So with other documents (see Flacc. 21),' Roby, *Classical Review*, vol. i. p. 69. The will was in this case sealed with the seals of Q. Cicero and his son, and of the staff of the praetors, who acted as witnesses. *Fecit palam . . . teruncio* means 'in the presence of witnesses he made you heir to one-tenth of his estate and me to one-fortieth.' The relation of the *libella* to the *sestertius* or *denarius* was one-tenth.

Actio Corcyrae] to distinguish it from *Actium Acarnaniae*.

Thyamim] a river of Epirus.

4. *Filiola tua*] We read *pudentius* for *prudentius* of the MS; it seems quite essential as an antithesis to *spurce*, and *prudens* and *pudens* are constantly confused. We have nothing better to offer as an explanation of this very strange passage than the following note, which we translate from Boot's Commentary:—

'*Bene eveniat*. In these words, which correspond to the Greek *εὖ ἔστω*, or *εὖ πάθωμεν*, there is nothing indecent But Bosius and others have rightly observed that some indecent word has been suppressed by Cicero. Casaubon acutely perceived that what Carneades said was *τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ παιδοποιῶμεν*. I have restored *prudentius*, which is well defended by Lambinus and Ernesti; for in what follows there is no *impudentia*, but, while Carneades was at least self-consistent, the Epicureans were *imprudentes, non satis acuti*, in not observing that they ascribed to their good man what was really the conduct of a crafty man, who in everything seeks only his own pleasure.' But the reading *prudentius* could not bear Boot's sense of *acutius*. However, Casaubon's theory (which is far from satisfactory) is equally available with the reading *pudentius*.

qui cum . . . viro] 'who—in tracing back everything to self, and denying all altruistic impulse; in holding that mora-

5. Redeo ad rem. Quo modo exspectabam epistolam, quam Philoxeno dedisses! Scripseras enim in ea esse de sermone Pompeii Neapolitano. Eam mihi Patro Brundusii reddidit: Corcyrae, ut opinor, acceperat. Nihil potuit esse iucundius. Erat enim de re publica, de opinione quam is vir haberet integritatis meae, de benevolentia quam ostendit eo sermone quem habuit de triumpho. Sed tamen hoc iucundissimum, quod intellexi te ad eum venisse, ut eius animum erga me perspiceres. Hoc mihi, inquam, accidit iucundissimum. 6. De triumpho autem nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras, quas amplissime supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta essent, quae scripsit, gauderem et honori faverem: nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cuius exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non adsequi dedecus est nostrum, nostrum, inquam te coniungens. Itaque omnia experiar et, ut spero, adsequar. Quod si tu valeres, iam mihi quaedam explorata essent. Sed, ut spero, valebis. 7. De rauduscul Numeriano multum te amo. Hortensius quid egerit aveo scire, Cato quid agat, qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, iustitiae, clementiae, fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quaerebam: quod postulabam, negavit. Itaque Caesar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur et omnia pollicetur, quo modo exsultat Catonis in me ingratissimi iniuria! At idem Bibulo dierum xx. Ignosce mihi, non possum haec ferre nec feram. 8. Cupio ad omnes tuas epistolas, sed nihil necesse est. Iam enim te videbo. Illud tamen de Chrysippo: nam de

lity derives its obligation from the interest of the individual, not from any inherent sanction—do not see that the type they are describing is not that of moral excellence but of worldly wisdom.'

5. *dedisses*] 'entrusted by you to P. as you told me.' Such is the force of the subjunctive.

6. *amplissime*] granted, voted 'in the most handsome way.' *Amplissima*, the conj. of Pius, would give a better sense, but would not have been corrupted into *amplissime*.

7. *Hortensius quid egerit*] sc. *de meo triumpho*. Others take these words as referring to the testamentary bequests of Hortensius, lately deceased, and the proceedings taken by his son in consequence: cp. Att. vii. 3, 9, Ep. ccxciv. But the words seem to be in close connexion with what follows: 'I want to know what line Hortensius has taken on the subject of my triumph, and what is the present attitude of Cato, who has shown scandalously bad feeling towards me.'

dierum xx] sc. *supplicationem decrevit*. A supplication of 20 days was twice voted in honour of Caesar's victories in Gaul, B. G. iv. 38; vii. 90. It seems very strange that the very trifling services of Bibulus should have been so handsomely recognised. But it would be rash to conjecture in a case like this.

8. *Chrysippo*] A freedman of Cicero, to whom Cicero had assigned the duty of personal attendance on his son Marcus,

altero illo minus sum admiratus, operario homine. Sed tamen ne illo quidem quidquam improbius. Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui, discedere a puero insciente me! Mitto alia, quae audio, multa, mitto furta: fugam non fero, qua mihi nihil visum est sceleratius. Itaque usurpavi vetus illud Drusi, ut ferunt, praetoris in eo, qui eadem liber non iuraret, me istos liberos non addixisse, praesertim cum adesset nemo, a quo recte vindicarentur. Id tu, ut videbitur, ita accipies: ego tibi adsentiar. Uni tuae disertissimae epistolae non rescripsi, in qua est de periculis rei publicae. Quid rescriberem? Valde eram perturbatus. Sed, ut nihil magno opere metuam, Parthi faciunt, qui repente Bibulum semivivum reliquerunt.

CCXCIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 3).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De litteris Attici, de provincia sibi non prorogata, de condicione sua in summo rei publicae periculo propter contentionem C. Caesaris et Cn. Pompeii, de concordia restituenda: dein de rebus privatis, de Caelio, de Philotimo et rationibus suis, de cohorte sua provinciali, de Curionis tabulis, Hortensii legatis, de emptione Puteolana, de nomine Piraeei eiusque usu grammatico, de aliis rebus privatis et domesticis. Data epistola est v. Id. Decembr. a Pontio ex Trebulano.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. viii. Idus Decembr. Aeculanum veni et ibi tuas litteras legi, quas Philotimus mihi reddidit: e quibus hanc primo

had run away, accompanied by another freedman. The latter, 'a mere mechanic,' had not surprised Cicero by his treachery, 'but,' he adds 'to think that Chrysippus should leave my boy without my knowledge—a man whom I was always glad to see, and always made much of on account of a certain tincture of letters the fellow had.'

Drusi] M. Livius Drusus, consul 641 (113), praetor probably about three years earlier, denied the formal validity of his manumission in the case of a certain slave who, on being manumitted, refused to swear to the observance of certain duties to which he had promised to bind himself by oath as a condition of his manumission. Cicero says he here applied the same principle, 'took a leaf out of his book.' *Ut ferunt* is best taken as qualifying *praetoris*, 'in his praetorship, as the story goes': see n. on *ut opinor Panhormi*, Att. i. 19, 10, Ep. xxv.

Parthi] 'the sudden retreat of the Parthians, leaving Bibulus half dead with fright, has taught me not to be much alarmed at anything.'

1. *Aeculanum*] On the Appian Way, about fifteen miles east of Beneventum.

aspectu voluptatem cepi, quod erant a te ipso scriptae, deinde earum accuratissima diligentia sum mirum in modum delectatus. Ac primum illud, in quo te Dicaearcho adsentiri negas, etsi cupidissime expetitum a me est et approbante te, ne diutius anno in provincia essem, tamen non est nostra contentione perfectum. Sic enim scito, verbum in senatu factum esse numquam de ullo nostrum, qui provincias obtinuimus, quo in iis diutius quam ex senatus consulto maneremus, ut iam ne istius quidem rei culpam sustineam, quod minus diu fuerim in provincia, quam fortasse fuerit utile. 2. Sed 'Quid si hoc melius?' opportune dici videtur, ut in hoc ipso. Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusvis rei me aut adiutorem velim esse aut certe non expertem. Sin vincuntur boni, ubicumque essem, una cum iis victus essem. Qua re celeritas nostri reditus ἀμεταμέλητος debet esse. Quod si ista nobis cogitatio de triumpho iniecta non esset,

Dicaearcho] Who recommended a life of action, not speculation, τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον as opposed to τὸν θεωρητικόν. *Illud* is explained by the succeeding words *ne diutius anno in provincia essem*; 'the point in which you say you dissent from the view of Dicaearchus—I mean my not remaining beyond the year in my province—that, though a consummation devoutly wished by me, and with your approbation, was, however, not brought about by any efforts of ours. Let me tell you not a syllable was ever said in the senate about any of us governors which would have justified us in remaining in our provinces longer than the term laid down by the Sctum, so that I cannot be blamed for not having remained in my province as long as perhaps my interests demanded.' On the legislation of Pompeius of 703 (51) concerning the provinces, see *Addenda*. Dicaearchus would have recommended Cicero to keep his government as long as he could; Atticus advised him not to keep it more than a year. The latter was what Cicero earnestly desired; but it was brought about, not by any efforts on his or Atticus's part, but by the wording of the Sctum under which he held the province.

2. *Quid si*] 'perhaps it is all for the best' that I should have left my province at once and returned to Italy. He calls this formula *vulgaris consolatio*, Fam. xiii. 47.

ἀμεταμέλητος] 'not regrettable.' Greek in Cicero often answers to our modern slang phrases, among which we count the word *regrettable*.

Quod si ista nobis] 'if that idea of a triumph had not been suggested to me—an idea which you approve of, too—you would not find in me much that falls short of the ideal sketched out in the sixth book *De Rep.* [by Scipio]. Now, what would you have me do, you who have devoured those six books?' Scipio says, *De Rep.* vi. 8, 17, that though the philosopher regards the applause of conscience as the fullest reward of virtue, yet great excellence has a craving for something as an ultimate reward—not statues, or the soon sere laurels of a triumph, but something of a more lasting bloom. Laelius asks him what are these rewards, and thus is introduced the dream of Scipio. So the passage may be fairly well explained, though not quite satisfactorily; for in the passage which we have quoted (the Latin of which should be referred to) we can hardly be said to have a *vir informatus*, 'a sketch of an ideal character.' If this is the meaning it is better to refer the words to some sketch of an ideal man not contained in the fragments of Book vi. which have come down to us. But Hofmann and others explain *faciam* quite differently, making it mean, 'why should I do so?' that is, *quid informem*, 'why should I sketch this ideal character for you who have battened on my treatise *De Republica*?' Hofmann quotes a very good example of

quam tu quoque approbas, ne tu haud multum requireres illum virum, qui in VI. libro informatus est. Quid enim tibi faciam, qui illos libros devorasti? Quin nunc ipsum non dubitabo rem tantam abiicere, si id erit rectius. Utrumque vero simul agi non potest, et de triumpho ambitiose et de re publica libere. Sed ne dubitaris quin quod honestius, id mihi futurum sit antiquius. 3. Nam quod putas utilius esse vel mihi, quo tutius sit, vel etiam ut rei publicae prodesse possim, me esse cum imperio, id coram considerabimus quale sit. Habet enim res deliberationem, etsi ex parte magna tibi adsentior. De animo autem meo erga rem publicam bene facis quod non dubitas, et illud probe iudicas, nequaquam satis pro meis officiis, pro ipsius in alios effusione, illum in me liberalem fuisse, eiusque rei causam vere explicas, et eis, quae de Fabio Caninioque acta scribis, valde consentiunt. Quae si secus essent

this use of *facio* from Fin. ii. 79, *vadem te ad mortem tyranno dabis pro amico ut Pythagoreus ille Siculo* fecit *tyranno?* Cp. also *φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis*, Att. i. 16, 13, Ep. xxii.; *iubens miserum esse, libenter quatenus id facit*, 'since it is his wish *to be so*,' Hor. S. i. 1, 64. But neither that passage nor any other which we have met seems to us quite parallel with the *faciam* of the text, which we could quite understand if Cicero had written *quem tibi non nunc informabo. Quid enim tibi faciam qui . . . devorasti;* but which seems to us intolerable, as the text stands, 'that man who has been sketched in the 6th book, for why should I *do so* (i. e. sketch him now again to you) when I know you have devoured the treatise?' We might perhaps give a different meaning to *faciam*, and render 'you would have found in me almost every trait of the ideal of my *De Rep.* For how else could I *treat you* (that is, *was I not bound out of consideration for you so to act?*) after devouring these six books of mine?' For *facere* in this sense, cp. *quod nemo nisi . . . amicissimo facere consuevit*, 'what no one was wont to *do for* anyone except a great friend,' Rosc. Com. 18; *Eupolemo . . . idem fecit*, 'treated him in the same way,' 2 Verr. iv. 49; *vigilantibus idem facerent*, 'they would do the same for us in our waking hours,' Div. ii. 126. Observe, he goes on to say, 'Nay, now (though the idea of a triumph *has* been suggested) I will not hesitate this moment to fling it away, great as it is, if that course turns out to be the right one.' Some commentators prefer to read *taceam* for *faciam* with Moser.

libere] sc. *loqui*, Hofm. But surely *agi* is to be understood again with *libere*. The two things are incompatible—his popularity as a candidate for a triumph, and his independence as a public man: cp. *ambitiosum*, 'time-serving,' Q. Fr. i. 2, 4, Ep. liii.

3. *Nam quod putas*] 'as to your view that to retain my *imperium* is better, whether for me personally, as further ensuring my safety, or [on public grounds] as giving me the power to serve the State —that point we shall consider when we meet.'

illum] Caesarem.

Fabio Caninioque] lieutenants of Caesar. The allusion is obscure: we do not know how Caesar treated these lieutenants of his; apparently, from the context, not so well as they deserved.

consentiunt] This verb, it will be observed, has no subject. Wesenberg suggests two remedies: either—(1) read *consentiunt quae de me acta sunt. Quae*, and suppose the copyist to have fallen into a *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto;* or (2) read *consentiunt quae si secus essent*, that is, *ea quae si secus essent:* cp. *eripui quos si occupasset*, Fam. xii. 12, 2; *ea me suasisse Pompeio quibus si ille paruisset*, Fam. vi. 6, 5. The meaning would then be, 'his treatment of his lieutenants is of a piece with his present demeanour towards me; and even though it were quite different, even though he were absolutely devoted to me, yet that guardian of the State

totumque se ille in me profudisset, tamen illa, quam scribis, custos urbis me praeclarae inscriptionis memorem esse cogeret nec mihi concederet, ut imitarer Volcatium aut Servium, quibus tu es contentus, sed aliquid nos vellet nobis dignum et sentire et defendere: quod quidem agerem, si liceret, alio modo ac nunc agendum est. 4. De sua potentia dimicant homines hoc tempore periculo civitatis. Nam, si res publica defenditur, cur ea consule illo ipso defensa non est? cur ego, in cuius causa rei publicae salus consistebat, defensus postero anno non sum? cur imperium illi aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? cur tanto opere pugnatum est, ut de eius absentis ratione habenda decem tribuni pl. ferrent? His ille rebus ita convaluit, ut nunc in uno civi vires ad resistendum sint, qui mallem tantas ei vires non dedisset quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. 5. Sed quoniam res eo deducta est, non quaeram, ut tu scribis,

πoῦ σκάφος τὸ τῶν 'Ατρειδῶν;

mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur. Illud ipsum, quod ais: 'Quid fiet, cum erit dictum, DIC M. TULLI?'—σύντομα, CN. POMPEIO ADSENTIOR. Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Sic enim sentio, maximo in periculo rem esse. Vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis. Verum tamen haec video: cum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse, omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia adfectos, omnes

which you write of would not let me forget its noble inscription, nor permit me to imitate the lukewarmness of Volcatius or Servius.' Cicero before going into exile had placed a statuette of Minerva in the Capitol, with the inscription *Custos Urbis*. The present passage would seem to refer to another and a longer, or more elaborate, legend. L. Volcatius Tullus, consul 688 (66), and Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul 703 (51) maintained a neutral position. Perhaps a simpler expedient would be to put a full stop after *explicas*, and read *Sed* for *et*.

sentire] 'to vote.'

4. *consule illo ipso*] sc. *Caesare* 695 (59).

5. *ποῦ σκάφος*] The verse in the *Troad.* of Eur., which Cicero here quotes inaccurately (or perhaps with a deliberate modification to suit the circumstances of the case) is *ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ*, *Troad.* 455, the exclamation of Casandra, when she resigns herself to servitude, and calls for the vessel which is to carry her away from Troy. Hence one would infer that Atticus had written to Cicero, 'resign yourself to slavery like Casandra, and ask for the ship which is to bear you away.' But this does not suit the context, which seems to imply that Atticus had said, 'consider which is the safest ship to embark in'; to which Cicero replies, 'there will be no ship for me but that which has Pompeius at her helm.' It would appear that Atticus quoted the verse inaccurately from memory, and without any reference to its context, and that Cicero did not verify the quotation, but gave it back to Atticus in the sense in which he had applied it: cp. Fam. vii. 6, 2, Ep. cxxxvi.

Cn. Pompeio] 'I will answer *tout court*; I agree with Cn. Pompeius.'

vos plura] sc. *sentitis*.

damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere, omnem fere iuventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentes addito C. Cassio, omnes, qui aere alieno premuntur, quos plures esse intellego quam putaram—causam solum illa causa non habet, ceteris rebus abundat—hic omnia facere omnes, ne armis decernatur, quorum exitus semper incerti, nunc vero etiam in alteram partem magis timendi. Bibulus de provincia decessit, Veientonem praefecit. In decedendo erit, ut audio, tardior. Quem cum ornavit Cato, declaravit iis se solis non invidere, quibus nihil aut non multum ad dignitatem posset accedere. 6. Nunc venio ad privata. Fere enim respondi tuis litteris de re publica et iis, quas in suburbano, et iis, quas postea scripsisti. Ad privata venio: unum etiam de Caelio. Tantum abest ut meam ille sententiam moveat, ut valde ego ipsi, quod de sua sententia decesserit, paenitendum

illac facere] 'are on his side': cp. *hac faciunt*, Ov. Her. i. 103.

C. Cassio] But C. Cassius, tribune 705 (47), was a Pompeian till long after this time, Att. vii. 21, 2. Boot suggests *Q. Cassio*, who had recently joined Caesar, Fam. xvi. 11, 2.

causam] 'Caesar would have everything on his side if only he had a cause to fight for.' We do not think it is possible to convey in English the double use of *causa*, which means both 'a side' (right or wrong), and also 'the right side.' We should say, 'Caesar has everything on his side but the right.' We have a similar double sense in *case* as used in forensic language, as 'the case will come on next term, but he has no case.'

omnia facere omnes] This depends on *video*, above; *hic* means 'on the Pompeian side.' The testimony of Cicero as to which side was the more responsible for the outbreak of the war is far from consistent. Here, and in Att. vii. 6, 2, Ep. ccxcvi., he lays the blame chiefly on the Caesarians; but he distinctly attributes it no less to the Pompeians in Fam. ix. 6, 2; xvi. 12, 2.

quorum exitus] 'as to a fight, you never can be sure which way it will go; just now there is considerable reason to fear it would go the other way,' that is, that Caesar would have the best of it.

Veientonem] a lieutenant of Bibulus.

In decedendo] Observe that *decedere* is not merely 'to leave one's province,' but includes the whole journey home.

non invidere] Many editors, from Malaspina to Boot, reject the *non*. But, not to dwell on the rashness of expelling *non* in a case like this (see on Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4, Ep. lxxxii.), the sentiment without *non* is so pointless as to be scarcely worth repeating: 'Cato declared that the only people he envied were those whose dignity admitted of little or no accession'—surely a most commonplace reflection. Now, reading *non* with all the MSS, we have at least a noticeable sentiment whether we regard it as just or not: in proposing the high honour which was conferred on Bibulus, a supplication for twenty days, Cato said, 'the only persons whom he did not envy were those whose dignity admitted of little or no augmentation.' No doubt he had extolled to the skies Bibulus, whose politics were after his own heart, and wound up by saying that the only thing unenviable in the position of Bibulus was that there were no higher heights of eminence (or hardly any) for him to scale. He would reserve his envy for those who had still before them some higher pinnacle to attain. Cicero seems to refer to the sentiment as an example of misplaced hyperbole. 'He is the man of whom Cato said,' &c.

6. *decesserit*] Caelius had been persuaded by Cassius to join Caesar. It was well known that Caesar had administered to him enormous bribes. Hence, Cicero asks, in mockery, 'but how came it that those manors of Lucceius were knocked down to a man over head and ears in debt like him?'

putem. Sed quid est quod ei vici Lucceii sint addicti? Hoc te praetermisisse miror. 7. De Philotimo faciam equidem, ut mones. Sed ego mihi ab illo non rationes exspectabam, quas tibi edidit, verum id reliquum, quod ipse in Tusculano me referre in commentarium mea manu voluit, quodque idem in Asia mihi sua manu scriptum dedit. Id si praestaret, quantum mihi aeris alieni esse tibi edidit, tantum et plus etiam ipse mihi deberet. Sed in hoc genere, si modo per rem publicam licebit, non accusabimur posthac, neque hercule antea neglegentes fuimus, sed amicorum multitudine occupati. Ergo utemur, ut polliceris, et opera et consilio tuo, nec tibi erimus, ut spero, in eo molesti. 8. De serperastris cohortis meae nihil est quod doleas. Ipsi enim se collegerunt admiratione integritatis meae. Sed me moverat nemo magis quam is, quem tu neminem putas. Idem et initio fuerat et nunc est egregius. Sed in ipsa decessione significavit sperasse se aliquid, et id, quod animum induxerat paullisper, non tenuit, sed cito ad se rediit meisque honorificentissimis erga se officiis victus pluris ea duxit quam omnem pecuniam. 9. Ego a Curio tabulas accepi, quas mecum porto. Hortensii legata cognovi. Nunc aveo scire quid hominis sit et quarum rerum auctionem instituat. Nescio enim cur, cum

7. *commentarium*] 'day-book,' 'memoranda.'

praestaret] 'if he paid that sum (the *reliquum*, to which reference has just been made), which he declared before you to be the amount of my debt, he would still owe me as much again—aye more.' This is the sum often referred to in the Greek parts of the letters to Atticus in Book vi.

accusabimur] Atticus had urged Cicero to clear off his debts. Cicero says he will not have to be accused of this kind of negligence again; though his neglect of his money matters was not really due to carelessness, but to the fact that his hands were full of his friends' affairs.

8. *serperastris*] 'knee-splints' for keeping straight the legs of children who were bandy or knock-kneed. He refers to the *restraints, checks*, which he put on his staff to keep them from oppressing the provincials, and to keep them straight. The word is from *sirpare*, to bind, according to Varro, L. L. v. 137.

se collegerunt] cp. *collegi ipse me*, Fam. i. 9, 10, Ep. cliii.; *ad se rediit*, a little lower down in this section.

is, quem tu neminem] probably the quaestor Mescinius Rufus, of whom Cicero, too, had thought very meanly, Att. vi. 3, 1, Ep. cclxiv.; vi. 4, 1, Ep. cclxviii.

id, quod . . . tenuit] 'he did not adhere to the idea he had at first conceived, and had held for a while' (*paullisper*).

9. *a Curio*] See on Att. vii. 2. 3, Ep. ccxciii.

legata cognovi] the legacies to be paid by Hortensius, the son of the deceased orator.

quid hominis sit] This is usually explained, 'I am eager to know what kind of a fellow he is'; but Cicero would not care what kind of a fellow young Hortensius was, and, moreover, he knew very well that he was a great scamp, Att. vi. 3, 9, Ep. cclxiv. Now Cicero was anxious to buy a property of the deceased Hortensius at Puteoli, so he would be concerned to know whether Hortensius was *left well off* by his father, for on this probably would depend his willingness to sell the property which Cicero desired. Hence Lehmann, p. 31, acutely suggests that the meaning is, 'I am eager to know *what comes to him*' (from his father). The form of expression he defends by Topica,

portam Flumentanam Caelius occuparit, ego Puteolos non meos faciam. 10. Venio ad Piraeea, in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus 'Piraeea' scripserim, non 'Piraeum'—sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt—quam 'in' quod addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui, sed ut loco, et tamen Dionysius noster *et*, qui est nobiscum, Nicias Cous noenu rebatur oppidum esse Piraeea. Sed de eo videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco, secutusque sum non dico Caecilium,

Mane ut ex portu in Piraeum

—malus enim auctor Latinitatis est—sed Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi:

Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piraeum,

et idem:

Mercator hoc addebat captam e Sunio.

Quod si δήμους oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piraeus. 11. Sed, quoniam grammaticus es, si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberaris. Ille mihi litteras blandas mittit. Facit idem pro eo Balbus. Mihi certum est ab

23, *omnia quae mulieris fuerunt viri fiunt*. What he wants to know is, 'how he is provided for, and what he is going to sell.' He adds, 'for I don't see why I should not acquire an interest in Puteoli, when Caelius has posted himself at the Flumentane Gate,' where lay the *vici Lucceii*, of which we read above. However this form of expression is hardly defended by the passage from the Topica. *Quid hominis sit* would rather mean (to give an interpretation closely akin to Lehmann's) 'what is the man's,' *i.e.* what has been left him by his creditors.

10. *sed ut loco*] His point is that, though *in* is wrong before a town, Piraeus is not to be regarded as a town, which he shows by quotation and by analogy. *Tamen* means 'sure as you are on the point.'

noenu] 'no wise thought it a town.' This archaic form of 'no,' which is plainly the reading of M, should not be expelled, as it is universally by edd. Cicero here, and only here, chooses sportively to introduce a particular archaism in a particular passage. If we found 'no whit,' or even 'an' for 'if,' in a letter of Walpole's, or even an essay of De Quincey's, we should not think of regarding it as a misprint. On this form *noenu* O. E. Schmidt (*Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros*, p. 68) has a very interesting note. Niccolo, to whom the form *noenu* in M[3] is due, when annotating M had just copied out Lucretius from Poggio's MS; he had therefore the requisite knowledge, as well as the editorial acumen, to restore here the difficult *noenu*, instead of the obvious *non*, for *noen* of the MS. *Noenu* (*noenum*) = *ne unum* = *nec unum* = *non unum*: cp. *nihil* = *ne hilum*.

11. ζήτημα] 'problem,' 'knotty point.' This should certainly be connected with what follows. 'Here's a problem for you to solve,' he writes, referring to what follows. As ζήτημα was usually applied to problems in grammar, he says, 'as you are such a grammarian' (purist) as to object to *in Piraeum*. He uses *persolveris* because the ζήτημα refers to money, to his debt to Caesar; *solvere* would have been a more suitable word for the solving of a linguistic difficulty.

Ille] Caesar.

honestissima sententia digitum nusquam. Sed scis illi reliquum quantum sit. Putasne igitur verendum esse ne aut obiciat id nobis aliquis, si languidius, aut repetat, si fortius? Quid ad haec reperis? Solvamus, inquis. Age, a Caelio mutuabimur. Hoc tu tamen consideres velim. Puto enim, in senatu si quando praeclare pro re publica dixero, Tartessium istum tuum mihi exeunti, 'Iube, sodes, nummos curare.' 12. Quid superest? Etiam: gener est suavis mihi, Tulliae, Terentiae: quantumvis vel ingenii vel humanitatis; satis est. Reliqua, quae nosti, ferenda. Scis enim quos aperuerimus, qui omnes praeter eum, de quo per te egimus,

digitum nusquam] sc. *discedere*, 'not a finger's breadth to the right or left.'

reliquum quantum sit] 'what a large balance (of my debt to him) is still due.' He fears that some Pompeian will twit him with this debt if he is lukewarm in his opposition to Caesar, and that if he is too strenuous in that opposition, Caesar will demand payment.

a Caelio] 'where am I to get money to pay it, unless I borrow from Caelius?' Caelius was a banker (Att. xii. 5, 2), and is not to be confounded with the friend and correspondent of Cicero.

Tartessium] 'your Tarshish friend,' L. Cornelius Balbus of Gades. The ellipse of *dicturum esse*, or some such verb, is characteristic of the letters. See I², p. 70. A good example occurs in *ad urbem cogito* at the end of the next letter.

curare] 'pray let me have a draft for that money.' The object of the verb *curare*, the agent or banker of Cicero, whose business it would be to provide the money on the order of Cicero, is omitted, just as the *subject* of the verb is often omitted in Greek in phrases like ἐσάλπιγξε, ἐσήμηνε: the object of *vetat* is omitted in the same way in *Hippocrates vetat adhibere medicinam*, Att. xvi. 15, 5: cp. *naves conquirere iubent*, Caes. B. C. i. 61, 4.

12. *Quid superest? Etiam*] 'what else is there to tell you? Yes, this': cp. *aliud quid*, Att. ii. 6. 2, Ep. xxxiii.; *novi tibi quidnam scribam? Quid? Etiam*, Att. i. 13, 6, Ep. xix.; *quid praeterea? Quid? Etiam*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 24, Ep. cxlviii.

vel ingenii] Cicero does not know whether to ascribe to Dolabella a natural charm of disposition (*ingenium*) or an acquired charm of manner (*humanitas*): *ingenium* and *humanitas* are coupled in Verr. iv. 98. Cicero says, 'he has any amount of natural ability—or should I say culture; so I am satisfied; his other qualities (his extravagance for example), which you wot of, must be put up with': cp. Att. vi. 6. 1, cclxxvi., *cetera noli ἐξακανθίζειν*.

aperuerimus] This word, which is almost the reading of M, is really more easily explained than any of the words which have been proposed as corrections. *Se aperire* and *aperiri* are commonly used, especially in early Latin, in the sense of 'to disclose one's real character,' 'to show one's self in one's true light'; *e. g.* Ter. Andr. iv. 1, 8. And if a man who shows himself in his true colours can be said *se aperire*, cannot one who reveals another in his true colours be said *aperire aliquem*? So Cicero here writes, 'you know what we discovered to be the true character of the other suitors—adventurers who take it for granted (*qui rentur*) that I am amassing a fortune [and so seek the hand of Tullia, because they want to borrow, and] because no one will lend them money on their own security.' They wished to acquire credit by their connexion with Cicero. Or (omitting *me*) and reading *rerentur* (generic subjunctive) the words *qui . . . rerentur* might mean no more than 'a set of fellows capable of looking on marriage with Tullia as a pecuniary speculation,' because they hoped to obtain credit through their connexion with Cicero, as, under their present circumstances, no one would let such names into their books: cp. *quos senatores vidi qui . . . vituperarent*, Att. vii. 5, 4, Ep. ccxcvi. The reading of Klotz, *qui . . . reum me facere viderentur* could, it seems to us, only mean, 'men capable of seeming to be bringing me into the courts,' not 'men likely by their extravagance to involve me in processes for the recovery of debts due by them.' The reading of Mommsen, accepted by Boot, Baiter, and

rem me facere rentur. Ipsis enim expensum nemo feret. Sed haec coram. Nam multi sermonis sunt. Tironis reficiendi spes est in M'. Curio, cui ego scripsi tibi eum gratissimum facturum. Dat. v. Id. Decembr. a Pontio ex Trebulano.

CCXCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 4).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De Dionysio liberto, de sermone cum Cn. Pompeio habito.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Dionysium, flagrantem desiderio tui misi ad te nec mehercule aequo animo, sed fuit concedendum: quem quidem cognovi cum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sanctum, plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum. 2. Pompeium vidi IIII. Id. Decembres: fuimus una horas duas fortasse. Magna laetitia mihi visus est adfici meo adventu; de triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas, monere ne ante in senatum accederem quam rem confecissem, ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. Quid quaeris? In hoc officio sermonis nihil potuit esse prolixius. De re publica autem ita mecum locutus est, quasi non

others, *reum me facerent*, is very far from the MSS, and is not such an expression as Cicero would have used.

praeter eum] Probably Servius Sulpicius: see on Att. v. 4, 1, Ep. clxxxvii.

Tironis reficiendi] Tiro, who seems to have been constantly ailing, succeeded, however, in prolonging his life beyond a hundred years.

1. *libertinum laudare*] *frugi*, 'honest' seems to have been a *patronising* term, and to have been sometimes resented; so the terms, 'my good man' and 'my good woman' are sometimes now resented by the persons thus addressed.

2. *fortasse*] 'about two hours,' 'a matter of two hours.' In this sense *fortasse* always *follows* the numeral in Cicero.

suscipere] 'to promise his services' in securing the triumph for me. This and the other infinitives, *hortari*, *monere*, strangely enough depend on *visus est*, which seems really applicable only to *adfici*. (We do not regard these as historical infinitives which are not suited to the epistolary style.) Whether this is merely a piece of carelessness on Cicero's part, or whether he wishes thus to indicate his disbelief in the sincerity of Pompeius, it would be hard to say; probably the latter: cp. the *ut loquebatur* of Att. iv. 9, 1, Ep. cxxii.

officio sermonis] 'lip-service'; *sermonis* is the *genitivus appositionalis* illustrated by Draeger, i., p. 466, 'the politeness (which consists) in words'; so *mercedem gloriae*, 'the reward which takes the form of fame,' Tusc. i. 34: see on Att. i. 17, 5, Ep. xxiii.

dubium bellum haberemus. Nihil ad spem concordiae, plane illum a se alienatum cum ante intellegeret, tum vero proxime iudicasse: venisse Hirtium a Caesare, qui esset illi familiarissimus, ad se non accessisse, et, cum ille a. d. VIII. Id. Decembr. vesperi venisset, *et* Balbus de tota re constituisset a. d. VII. ad Scipionem ante lucem venire, multa de nocte eum profectum esse ad Caesarem. Hoc illi τεκμηριῶδες videbatur esse alienationis. 3. Quid multa? Nihil me aliud consolatur, nisi quod illum, cui etiam inimici alterum consulatum, fortuna summam potentiam dederit, non arbitror fore tam amentem, ut haec in discrimen adducat. Quod si ruere coeperit, ne ego multa timeo, quae non audeo scribere. Sed, ut nunc est, a. d. III. Nonas Ian. ad urbem cogito.

CCXCVI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 5).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De epistolis Attici ad se missis, de valetudine Attici et Piliae, de Tirone, de sermone Philogenis, de sorore Attici, de Chrysippo, de itinere suo, de spe exigua rei publicae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multas uno tempore accepi epistolas tuas, quae mihi, quamquam recentiora audiebam ex iis, qui ad me veniebant, tamen erant iucundae. Studium enim et benevolentiam declarabant. Valetudine tua moveor, et Piliam in idem genus morbi delapsam

Scipionem] Scipio was the father-in-law of Pompeius. Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar, had made an appointment to have a talk over the whole question with Scipio early on the day after the arrival of Hirtius at Rome. Hirtius did not wait for the interview, but went straight to the camp of Caesar, which made Pompeius despair of the chance of arriving at any understanding with Caesar.

τεκμηριῶδες] 'proof positive.' The word τεκμήριον would probably have for Cicero the meaning which it bears in the logic of Aristotle, *demonstrative proof* as opposed to the fallible σημεῖον. The adjective would indicate an approximation to this demonstration.

3. *dederit*] 'considering that even his enemies have assigned him a second consulate, and fortune has put the highest eminence within his reach, I do not think he will be mad enough to jeopardise his attainment of these prizes.'

ruere] 'to run amuck,' 'to plunge'; *ruere* is used especially of throwing off the restraint of the laws: see note on Att. ii. 14, 1, Ep. xli.

ne] See on Att. iv. 4 b, 2, Ep. cvii.

1. *Valetudine*] *Valetudo* in Cicero nearly

curam tibi adferre maiorem sentio. Date igitur operam ut valeatis. 2. De Tirone video tibi curae esse, quem quidem ego, etsi mirabiles utilitates mihi praebet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum; tamen propter humanitatem et modestiam malo salvum quam propter usum meum. 3. Philogenes mecum nihil umquam de Luscenio locutus est: de ceteris rebus habes Dionysium. Sororem tuam non venisse in Arcanum miror. De Chrysippo meum consilium probari tibi non moleste fero. Ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore. Devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν et habet alia δύσχρηστα. Sed de Formiano Tarracinam pridie Kal. Ian. Inde Pomptinam summam, inde Albanum Pompeii, ita ad urbem III. Nonas, natali meo. 4. De re publica cotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putatur, consentiunt. Quos ego equites Romanos, quos senatores vidi, qui acerrime cum cetera tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent! Pace opus est. Ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus exsistet. Sed haec propediem coram. Iam plane mihi deest quod ad te scribam: nec enim de

always means either—(1) 'good health,' or (2) the '*state* of one's health,' whether good or bad being inferred from the context; but it sometimes (rarely) means—(3) 'bad health,' 'illness,' as in Att. xi. 23, 1, *scripseras enim te quodam valetudinis genere temptari*.

3. *Luscenio*] Boot approves of the suggestion of Corradus that we should read *de Q. Lucieno*. Q. Lucienus is a character introduced in Varro's *De Re Rustica* (ii. 5 ff) as carrying on a conversation with Atticus and others.

De Chrysippo] See on Att. vii. 2, 8, Ep. ccxciii.

non moleste fero] A very common *litotes* for *gaudeo* in Cicero.

nihil sane] 'I won't go to Tusculanum now—not a bit.' This sentence illustrates two leading peculiarities of the epistolary style—(1) the use of a cognate or homogeneous object after a verb, this object being often replaced by a pronoun, as here, where *nihil* (sc. *ibo*) stands for some such phrase as *non pedem* (sc. *pergam* or *discedam*): cp. Att. xiii. 16, 1, *pedem e villa adhuc egressi non sumus;* Plaut. As. iii. 3, 13 (596), *ab ista non pedem discedat:* on this feature in the letters see I², p. 62; (2) the prevalence of ellipse: on this see I², p. 70. Here is a very strong example of ellipse: *Pisonem sicubi, de auro*, Att. xiii. 2, 1, where the full expression would have been *Pisonem si alicubi conveneris, loquere cum eo de auro permutando*.

Devium] 'it is out of the way for chance *rencontres* (with travellers of his acquaintance who would convey his letters), and it has other *désagréments*.'

Pomptinam summam] the upper end of the Pomptine Marsh. Baiter reads *Pomptinam sumam*, comparing *Capuam sumpsimus*, Fam. xvi. 11, 3. But there the meaning is, 'we undertook the defence of Capua,' and the passage does not go to show that *sumam* might mean 'I will occupy,' in the sense of 'I will take on my way,' or 'visit,' 'put up at.'

4. *ut putatur*] This is by far the simplest correction of the MS *ut putant*, where the ellipse of the subject is somewhat strange: *putant* and *putatur* are almost indistinguishable in the abbreviated writing of the MSS (Chassant, Plate viii.). If *consentiunt* be omitted then *sunt* is understood.

consentiunt] This word, which is not found in M¹, is very probably an interpolation by some copyist. The ellipse would be quite normal and natural.

qui . . . . vituperarent] 'capable of blaming,' 'ready to inveigh against': cp. *qui . . . rererentur*, suggested on Att. vii. 3, 12, ccxciv.

nec enim . . . ambobus] It seems to us

re publica, quod uterque nostrum scit eadem, et domestica nota sunt ambobus. 5. Reliquum est iocari, si hic sinat. Nam ego is sum, qui illi concedi putem utilius esse quod postulat quam signa conferri. Sero enim resistimus ei, quem per annos decem aluimus contra nos. 'Quid senties igitur?' inquis. Nihil scilicet nisi de sententia tua, nec prius quidem, quam nostrum negotium aut confecerimus aut deposuerimus. Cura igitur ut valeas. Aliquando ἀπότριψαι quartanam istam diligentia, quae in te summa est.

CCXCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 6).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

M. Cicero valde timet de re publica, se tamen negat, etsi sentiat omnia potius facienda esse quam cum Caesare depugnandum, a Pompeio discessurum esse.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Plane deest quod ad te scribam: nota omnia tibi sunt nec ipse habeo a te quod exspectem. Tantum igitur nostrum illud sollemne servemus, ut ne quem istuc euntem sine litteris dimittamus. 2. De re publica valde timeo, nec adhuc fere inveni qui

that this is a very pointless sentence unless by *scit eadem* Cicero means *scit nihil.* There would then be a point in his remark, 'on public matters we have both the same knowledge (that is, none at all), while our private affairs are familiar to both of us,' otherwise he would have written *neque enim de rep. neque de rebus domesticis, quae utraque nota sunt ambobus.* Perhaps, however, he means, 'while we are each kept completely informed of the private concerns of the other, on public matters we both have information (though not full); but as the knowledge of both of us is derived from the same sources, we cannot each supplement the information of the other.' This seems to fall in better with the opening words of the next letter.

5. *si hic*] Caesar.

Quid senties] cp. in next ep., *quid tu igitur sensurus es,* 'what will be your view?'

aut confecerimus] 'until I either secure the triumph or abandon the attempt to secure it.'

ἀπότριψαι] 'shake off,' usually of something painful or unpleasant, but we find in Theocr. xxiv. 131, *πρὶν γῆρας ἀποτρῖψαι νεότατα.*

1. *nota omnia*] Cicero seems to include both public and private matters under the word *omnia.*

nostrum . . . dimittamus] 'our old rule of never letting anyone go to you without a letter.' It will be at once seen that this is a very careless expression. What he meant to say was, 'Let us then only keep our old rule, by which neither of us ever lets anyone go to the other without bearing a letter from himself.' But he carelessly writes *istuc,* 'to where you are,' and so only contemplates the case of a bearer of a letter from him to Atticus, not from Atticus to him as well. Perhaps we should read *istuc aut huc.*

non concedendum putaret Caesari quod postularet potius quam depugnandum. Est illa quidem impudens postulatio opinione valentior. Cur autem nunc primum ei resistamus?

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι κακόν,

quam cum quinquennium prorogabamus, aut cum ut absentis ratio haberetur ferebamus, nisi forte haec illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Dices: 'Quid tu igitur sensurus es?' Non idem quod dicturus. Sentiam enim omnia facienda, ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius, neque id faciam humili animo. Sed rursus hoc permagnum rei publicae malum est, et quodam modo mihi praeter ceteros non rectum, me in tantis rebus a Pompeio dissidere.

2. *opinione valentior*] 'more serious than we thought it.'

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ] The words of Od. xii. 209, are, *οὐ μὲν δὴ τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι κακὸν ἢ ὅτε Κύκλωψ Εἴλει ἐνὶ σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ κρατερῆφι βίηφιν.* Cicero changes *μὲν* to *γὰρ* because a connexive particle is required to connect his own question, *cur nunc primum ei resistamus* with what follows. It would have been more accurate if he had written: *Namque οὐ μὲν δὴ, κ. τ. λ.* These are the words with which Odysseus comforts his companions, terrified by the smoke and the surf at the Planctae. Cicero here applies the quotation to indicate that there was nothing in the present demand of Caesar to call more loudly for a firm stand on the part of the *boni* than former demands of his. The only reason why there is now a greater obligation to withstand him than there was before, is that by our former concessions we have made him stronger. The only theory, he says, on which we can justify our non-resistance before, and our resistance now, is that we wanted to supply him with arms, so that he might not be unequipped when the fight should begin.

sensurus] 'what will be your real view? very different from my expressed opinion.' *Sentire* often means to 'hold a view' in the letters; but it sometimes means 'to vote'; this is the sense in which Atticus uses it, and Cicero plays with the two senses.

hoc] the necessity imposed on the *boni* to 'say ditto' to Pompeius. *Et* has an ampliative force, 'indeed I, above all others, am under a moral obligation not to dissent from Pompeius.'

CCXCVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 7).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De Dionysio, de Philogene, de Pomptino, de adventu suo in Albanum, de triumpho suo et de Pompeii sententia ipsum in Siciliam cum imperio mittendi, de bonis viris nullis iam in civitate, nunc Caesari concedendum potius quam cum eo depugnandum, se tamen eos secuturum esse, quicumque dicantur boni. Postremo Alexim salvere iubet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. 'Dionysius, vir optimus, ut mihi quoque est perspectus, et doctissimus tuique amantissimus, Romam venit xv. Kal. Ian. et litteras a te mihi reddidit': tot enim verba sunt de Dionysio in epistola tua. Illud †putato non ascribis: 'et tibi gratias egit.' Atqui certe ille agere debuit, et, si esset factum, quae tua est humanitas, adscripsisses. Mihi autem nulla de eo παλινῳδία datur propter superioris epistolae testimonium. Sit igitur sane bonus vir. Hoc enim ipsum bene fecit, quod mihi sui cognoscendi

1. *mihi quoque*] If Atticus really used the word *quoque* he implied that Cicero too had called Dionysius *vir optimus*, which he had not: see Att. vii. 4, 1, Ep. ccxcv., where he calls him *plane virum bonum*.

†*putato*] This word must be corrupt. See Adn. Crit. for the emendations of the passage which have been proposed. We think it is not improbable that the words corrupted into *putato* were *puta te me*. Cicero complains of the absence in the letter of Atticus of the words, 'and he, Dionysius, expresses his gratitude to you.' It is easy for us to write: 'one thing you do not add, "and he expresses his gratitude to you."' By the use of inverted commas we can always indicate who is the person addressed, and we can make the sense still clearer by the use of italics. But Cicero, we must remember, had no such expedient whereby to make his meaning clear. Therefore when he wrote down the words *et tibi gratias egit*, he found it requisite to remind Atticus that the *tibi* referred not to Atticus, whom he was addressing, but to himself. This he might well express by saying (*puta te me*), 'by the word *tibi* in *et tibi gratias egit* you are to understand that I am referred to.' Let us remember how hard it would be to understand without typographical helps such a verse (if met for the first time) as

'Making *I dare not* wait upon *I would*.'

However, it is possible that under *putato* lurks some Greek word such as πατητὸν (cp. πεπατημένη λέξις, 'a hackeyned saying') in the sense of 'hackneyed,' 'conventional'; the expression of thanks would have been little more than a concession to conventionality: the omission of this civility was, Cicero thought, significant: but the passage is very obscure.

παλινῳδία] 'I can't *recant* on the subject of his character as I have spoken so highly of him in a former letter. I must allow him to be as I called him a really good fellow. One good deed he *has* done: he has given me that means of thoroughly understanding him which your letter supplies' (*istam*), by its not mentioning any expression of gratitude on his part.

penitus etiam istam facultatem dedit. 2. Philogenes recte ad te scripsit: curavit enim quod debuit. Eum ego uti ea pecunia volui, quoad liceret, itaque usus est menses XIIII. 3. Pomptinum cupio valere, et, quod scribis in urbem introisse, vereor quid sit: nam id nisi gravi de causa non fecisset. Ego, quoniam IIII. Nonas Ianuarias compitalicius dies est, nolo eo die in Albanum [venire] *ne* molestus familiae veniam: III. Non. Ian. igitur: inde ad urbem pridie Nonas. Tua λῆψις quem in diem incurrat nescio, sed prorsus te commoveri incommodo valetudinis tuae nolo. 4. De honore nostro, nisi quid occulte Caesar per suos tribunos molitus erit, cetera videntur esse tranquilla. Tranquillissimus autem animus meus, qui totum istuc aequi boni facit, et eo magis, quod iam a multis audio constitutum esse Pompeio et eius consilio in Siciliam me mittere, quod imperium habeam. Id est Ἀβδηριτικόν. Nec

2. *Philogenes*] See on Att. v. 13, 2, Ep. cciii. There Cicero speaks of a sum of money apparently lent by Atticus to him, and he tells Atticus how he had apprised Philogenes of the transaction. Perhaps he had entrusted the negotiating of the bill of exchange there mentioned to Philogenes, and then, not wanting the money at once, had allowed Philogenes to have the use of it as long as the terms of the transaction would permit, namely, fourteen months. Philogenes seems now to have paid the money duly to the account of Atticus (*curavit quod debuit*), and to have apprised Atticus by letter of what he had done. Cicero explains to Atticus that it is all quite regular.

3. *cupio valere*] 'I hope Pomptinus will recover his health.' An accusative with the infinitive is put after those verbs which denote a wish that something should happen, as *te tua virtute frui cupimus*, Brut. 331; *corpora firmari voluerunt*, Tusc. ii. 36; *sociis lex consultum esse volt*, Div. in Caec. 21, Madv. § 396.

vereor quid sit] The fact that Pomptinus had entered the city, and had not waited for the triumphal entry of his General, seemed to show that he had made up his mind that Cicero would not be granted a triumph. 'He would not have done so,' writes Cicero, 'unless he had a strong reason for such a step.'

venire] Probably inserted by some copyist. It is not found in M[1]: see I[2], 70.

molestus familiae veniam] 'lest my arrival should put the household to inconvenience.' The Compitalia were celebrated especially by the slaves and dependants (*familia*) of the house, and Cicero feared that his coming might interfere with their arrangements.

λῆψις] 'the return of the quartan ague,' *accès* (Jeans), but we are not aware that *accès* is an accepted term in pathology.

prorsus . . . nolo] 'I would not have you stir a step to the detriment of your health': cp. *cura ut te istim ne temere commoveas*, Fam. vi. 20, 3.

4. *De honore*] 'as regards my chances of a triumph, unless Caesar, by means of the tribunes in his interest, gives trouble, things seem to be going smoothly.' There is, we think, a half-heard metaphor from sailing, but to render 'the rest will be plain sailing,' would be too strong.

aequi boni facit] 'looks on it all as a matter of indifference.' *Aequi boni facere*, 'to take in good part,' found also in Ter. Haut. iv. 5, 40 (787), Liv. xxxiv., 22, 13, appears to be strictly 'to value at a fair and reasonable price'; *aequi istuc faciam*, 'it is all the same to me,' Roby, 1191: cp. *boni consulere*, 'to take in good part.'

constitutum] 'that Pompeius and his advisers have resolved to send me into Sicily, to govern it with military powers.' *Quod imp. habeam* = *ut id. imp. habeam* = *ut ibi sim cum imperio*. But may not *habeam* be simply the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*, the meaning being 'because I still hold the *imperium*'?

Ἀβδηριτικόν] 'Midsummer madness.' Abdera was the traditional country of blockheads: see Mayor on Juv. x. 50.

enim senatus decrevit nec populus iussit me imperium in Sicilia habere. Sin hoc res publica ad Pompeium defert, qui me magis quam privatum aliquem mittat? Itaque, si hoc imperium mihi molestum erit, utar ea porta, quam primam videro. 5. Nam quod scribis mirificam exspectationem esse mei neque tamen quemquam bonorum aut satis bonorum dubitare quid facturus sim, ego quos tu bonos esse dicas non intellego—ipse nullos novi—sed ita si ordines bonorum quaerimus; nam singulares sunt boni viri, verum in dissensionibus ordines bonorum et genera quaerenda sunt. Senatum bonum putas, per quem sine imperio provinciae sunt?—numquam enim Curio sustinuisset, si cum eo agi coeptum esset, quam sententiam senatus sequi noluit, ex quo factum est ut Caesari non succederetur—an publica nos, qui numquam firmi, sed nunc Caesari sunt amicissimi? an feneratores? an agricolas, quibus optatissimum est otium? Nisi eos timere putas ne sub regno sint qui id numquam, dum modo otiosi essent, recusarunt. 6. Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis, cum legis dies transierit, rationem haberi placet? Mihi vero ne absentis quidem. Sed,

The modern Abderitae are the Schildbürger whose acts of stupidity are curiously similar to those of the Abderitae quoted by Mayor: see Addenda.

hoc] The duty of providing for the Government of Sicily.

utar] 'I shall avail myself of the first gate I see,' and by entering the city divest myself of this *imperium* which seems likely to be embarrassing to me. *Uti* often means 'to put up with,' as a *dernier ressort*. In Att. ii. 19, 2, Ep. xlvi., *utor via* should have been translated, 'I jog along,' that is, 'I put up with the beaten track and do not strike out any line of my own.'

5. *ego quos tu bonos*] 'let me tell you I do not know whom you mean by "the right side." I am not aware that it exists—of course when I say this I assume (*sed ita si*) that we are looking for *classes* which may be said to be on the right side—individuals there are—but when the state is split into two camps, we must look for *parties* and *classes* which may be called the right side.' We agree with Mr. Watson that *ordines* refers to *political* differences, *genera* to *social*.

Senatum] 'do you consider the senate on the right side, when they are leaving the provinces without properly qualified governors?' Cilicia, Mr. Watson remarks, was governed by a quaestor, the two Spains by legates, and no provision had been made for the future government of Caesar's provinces.

sustinuisset] 'Curio would never have held out if they had treated with him, but the senate refused to adopt the proposal to that effect' made by Marcellus, the consul, Fam. viii. 13, 2, Ep. cclxxi. For *sustinuisset* used absolutely Boot compares *Brutus Mutinae vix iam sustinebat*, Fam. xii. 6, 2, to which add *mihi videor per me sustinere posse*, Plancus in Fam. x. 11, 2. Lehmann, p. 14 ff, enumerates many other words which are used absolutely by Cicero in his letters, in a manner which varies from general usage. The best exx. are:—*proficient*, Att. xiii. 1, 1; *tribuerim*, Fam. xiii. 9, 2; *tenent . . . potiuntur*, Att. vii. 12, 3 (*tenent*, Att. ii. 18, 1, but *tenent omnia*, ib. xxii. 6); *accepisset*, Att. i. 17, 8 (*accepit*, Att. v. 21, 5); *conscendere* Q. Fr. ii. 2, 4; *imponere*, Att. i. 10, 3; *exponere*, Att. i. 3, 2; *suppeditare*, Att. xiv. 20, 3; *habere*, Att. vi. 1, 4; *movere* (castra), Att. ix. 1, 1; *occupare* (φθάνειν) Att. iv. 17, 4; *delectarunt*, Att. iv. 16, 1; *detineat*, Att. iv. 15, 2.

6. *Sed cum id*] *Id* = *rationem haberi absentis*. *Illud* = *rationem haberi exerci-*

cum id datum est, illud una datum est. 'Annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum *placet?*' Placet igitur etiam me expulsum et agrum Campanum perisse et adoptatum patricium a plebeio, Gaditanum a Mytilenaeo, et Labieni divitiae et Mamurrae placent et Balbi horti et Tusculanum. Sed horum omnium fons unus est. Imbecillo resistendum fuit et id erat facile. Nunc legiones XI., equitatus tantus, quantum volet, Transpadani, plebes urbana, tot tribuni pl., tam perdita iuventus, tanta auctoritate dux, tanta audacia. Cum hoc aut depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio. 7. 'Depugna' inquis 'potius quam servias.' Ut quid? si victus eris, proscribare? si viceris, tamen servias? 'Quid ergo' inquis 'facturus es?' Idem quod pecudes, quae dispulsae sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros aut eos, quicumque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent. Quid sit optimum male contractis rebus plane video. Nemini est enim exploratum, cum ad arma ventum sit, quid futurum sit: at illud

tum retinentis. Cicero holds that the concession which permitted Caesar to stand for the consulship in his absence carried with it the further concession allowing him to be a candidate without laying down his *imperium* or disbanding his army.

Annorum . . . placet] 'why then' (Atticus is supposed to retort) 'you approve (do you?) of the ten-year term of military authority in Gaul, and the unconstitutional way in which it was carried.' 'Then,' rejoins Cicero, 'I *approve* of my banishment and all the other acts of the triumvirate.' Cicero's point is that he does *not approve* of the concessions made to Caesar any more than he *approves* of the high-handed acts of the triumvirs, including his own exile; but he thinks that after yielding so much to Caesar it is now too late to make a stand; the *boni* are bound now to make the final concession to his last demand, or else to submit to the arbitrament of civil war.

Campanum agrum perisse] 'the throwing away of the Campanian land,' which Caesar proposed to assign to the people in 695 (59). *Perire* is used as the passive of *perdere*.

patricium a plebeio] Clodius by Fonteius; possibly also P. Scipio by Q. Metellus.

Gaditanum] L. Cornelius Balbus of Gades, for whom we have a speech of Cicero's defending the validity of the act of Pompeius by which he acquired Roman citizenship. Balbus was afterwards in 714 (40) the first consul of provincial extraction. He had an ornamental pleasure-ground at Rome and a villa at Tusculum.

Mytilenaeo] Theophanes, a confidential servant of Pompeius.

Labieni divitiae] T. Atius Labienus acquired such wealth in the service of Caesar, that he is said to have rebuilt the town of Cingulum at his own expense.

Mamurrae] Caesar's *praefectus fabrum*, or commandant of engineers, against whom Catullus xxix. inveighs so fiercely. We learn from Catullus that he got his riches not only from Caesar but from Pompeius. Horace tells us that Formiae belonged to the Mamurrae, and Catullus xli. 4, calls him ironically *decoctor Formianus*.

7. *Ut quid*] 'to what end?' cp. ἵνα τί.

facturus] This is Wesenberg's correction of *acturus* of M, which does not suit the following words: *pecudes* cannot be said *agere*.

ruent] 'rush to destruction.'

male contractis rebus] 'in our sad straits' (Jeans).

ventum sit] *Sit*, which Wesenberg reads for *est* of M, is required because the sentence is in *oratio obliqua*, as is shown by the subsequent *victi sint . . . fore . . . fuerit*.

omnibus, si boni victi sint, nec in caede principum clementiorem hunc fore quam Cinna fuerit nec moderatiorem quam Sulla in pecuniis locupletium. Συμπολιτεύομαί σοι iam dudum, et facerem diutius, nisi me lucerna desereret. Ad summam, DIC, M. TULLI. 'Adsentior Cn. Pompeio, id est, T. Pomponio.' Alexim, humanissimum puerum, nisi forte, dum ego absum, adolescens factus est—id enim agere videbatur—salvere iubeas velim.

CCXCIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. VII. 8).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De Dionysio, de valetudine Attici et adventu in Albanum, de Dolabella, herede Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus in triente facto, de convento a se Pompeio et sermone cum eo habito, de nummis Caesari solvendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quid opus fuit de Dionysio tam valde adfirmare? An mihi nutus tuus non faceret fidem? Suspicionem autem eo mihi maiorem tua taciturnitas attulerat, quod et tu soles conglutinare amici-

illud omnibus] sc. *exploratum est*. It is almost needless to remind our readers how nobly the subsequent conduct of Caesar falsified Cicero's forecast that he would rival Cinna in cruelty and Sulla in rapacity.

Συμπολιτεύομαι] The reading of M is ἐμπολιτεύομαι. Neither word is found in the sense plainly required here, 'to talk politics with one,' but συμπολ. is rather more natural in this sense, and the authority of M in the case of a Greek word is of hardly any weight.

facerem] 'I would do so longer only my lamp is going out.' For *facere* put instead of another verb (here instead of συμπολιτευοίμην ἄν), see L. and S. under *facio* E.

Ad summam] 'to sum up.' (When the presiding officer in the senate says) *Dic M. Tulli* (I shall answer), 'I assent to Cn. Pompeius, that is to T. Pomponius.' He regards the opinions of Atticus as identical with those of Pompeius.

Alexim] Mentioned above (Att. vii. 2, 3, Ep. ccxciii.), as an amanuensis of Atticus.

id enim agere] 'he was bidding fair to be an *adolescens*,' when I last saw him. *Id agere* properly means 'to be busy' about a thing; Alexis was fast becoming an *adolescens*. Cicero does not know whether he is now to be described as a *puer* or an *adolescens*. A Roman ceased to be a *puer* when he assumed the *toga virilis*; he is called *adolescens* regularly from about 15 to 30, then he is more strictly *iuvenis*, but often *adolescens* and *iuvenis* are applied to the same person at the same age. Cic. Phil. ii. 118, speaks of himself as *adolescens* during his consulship, that is, in his forty-fourth year; he calls himself (Or. 107) *adolescentulus* when he delivered his speech *pro Q. Roscio Amerino* at the age of 26.

1. *adfirmare*] We see that Atticus had vehemently asserted that Dionysius was guiltless of any want of gratitude or good feeling towards Cicero. Cicero writes,

tias testimoniis tuis et illum aliter cum aliis de nobis locutum audiebam. Sed prorsus ita esse, ut scribis, mihi persuades. Itaque ego is in illum sum, quem tu me esse vis. 2. Diem tuum ego quoque ex epistola quadam tua, quam incipiente febricula scripseras, mihi notaveram, et animadverteram posse pro re nata te non incommode ad me in Albanum venire III. Nonas Ianuar. Sed, amabo te, nihil incommodo valetudinis feceris. Quid enim est tantum in uno aut altero die? 3. Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente, sed iuberi mutare nomen. Est πολιτικὸν σκέμμα, rectumne sit nobili adolescenti mutare nomen mulieris testamento. Sed id φιλοσοφώτερον διευκρινήσομεν, cum sciemus quantum quasi sit in trientis triente. 4. Quod putasti fore, ut ante, quam istuc venirem, Pompeium viderem, factum est ita. Nam VI. Kal. ad Lavernium *me* consecutus est. Una Formias venimus et ab hora octava ad vesperum secreto collocuti sumus. Quod quaeris ecquae spes pacificationis sit, quantum ex Pompeii multo et accurato sermone perspexi, ne voluntas quidem est. Sic enim existimat, si ille vel dimisso exercitu consul factus sit, σύγχυσιν τῆς πολιτείας fore. Atque etiam putat eum, cum audierit contra se diligenter parari, consulatum hoc anno neglecturum ac potius exercitum provinciamque retenturum. Sin autem ille fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat. Quid quaeris? Etsi mihi crebro

'what need was there for such an emphatic statement? Would not a mere nod from you convince me?'

2. *Diem tuum*] the day of your λῆψις.

pro re nata] 'in the circumstances.'

Quid enim est tantum] 'what great difference does a day or two make?' that is, the delay of a day or two in your joining me is of no importance; literally, 'what is the value of a day or two?' 'what does a day or two amount to?' just like *quid sit in trientis triente* in the next section.

3. *in triente*] Dolabella with two coheirs was named as heir to ⅓ of Livia's estate, so he would inherit only ⅓ of ⅓ or ⅑ of the whole estate, and the bequest was saddled with the condition that he should change his name, which was called *adoptio in nomen et familiam*. A Roman woman could not adopt thus during her life, that is, an adoption of the kind mentioned in the text did not become operative till the death of the testatrix. Cicero jestingly says it is a problem in *haute politique* (a 'social problem') whether a young noble like Dolabella should change his name to take under a woman's will, but adds, 'we shall be able to reach a more scientific solution when we see what the third of a third amounts to in this case.' Dolabella did not accept the legacy—at least he did not change his name.

4. *ne voluntas quidem est*] that is, on the part of Pompeius.

Sic enim existimat] 'the opinion of Pompeius is that if Caesar is made consul, even on disbanding his forces, the result will be a *coup d' état*.'

parari] 'that preparations are being made,' a good explanation of the *absolute* use of verbs commented on in the note on § 5 of the last letter.

fureret] Pompeius thought it would

ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος occurrebat, tamen levabar cura, virum fortem et peritum et plurimum auctoritate valentem audiens πολιτικῶς de pacis simulatae periculis disserentem. 5. Habebamus autem in manibus Antonii contionem habitam x. Kal. Ianuar., in qua erat accusatio Pompeii usque a toga pura, querella de damnatis, terror armorum: in quibus ille 'Quid censes' aiebat 'facturum esse ipsum, si in possessionem rei publicae venerit, cum haec quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere?' Quid multa? non modo non expetere pacem istam, sed etiam timere visus est. Ex illa autem sententia †î relinquendae urbis movet hominem, ut puto *maxime*. Mihi autem illud molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Caesari et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est

be 'the act of a madman' for Caesar now to declare war.

ξυνὸς] Il. xviii. 309. See Adn. Crit. for a curious corruption here.

5. *Antonii*] M. Antonius had been a quaestor under Caesar in Gaul. He was now a tribune of the people.

damnatis] those condemned *de ambitu* under the act of Pompeius, which was retrospective, and of which Cicero complains so much in the last letter of vol. ii., *nos hic in multitudine et celebritate iudiciorum et novis legibus ita distinemur ut cotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur*, Fam. vii. 2, 4, Ep. clxxxii.

terror armorum] Antonius threatened open war.

in quibus ille] 'on this topic (*à propos* of this harangue of Antonius) Pompeius exclaimed, *what do you think Caesar would do if he got hold of the government when his poor feeble quaestor dares to talk in such a strain?*'

ex illa autem sententia] The *î* which we have printed in the text no doubt is a relic of the lost subject of *movet*. See Adn. Crit. for the various emendations. Of these, perhaps the most plausible is *indignitas* or *infamia*. We must with Wesenberg supply *maxime*, which is demanded by the fact that Cicero goes on to mention what is to himself the *most galling* part of the whole business. The sense would then be, 'what most, I think, makes him waver in his determination to oppose Caesar in the field is the want of dignity in abandoning the city (at such a crisis). What galls *me* most is that I must pay my debt to Caesar, and devote to that what I meant to have spent on my triumph: for it looks ugly (is bad form) to be in debt to a political opponent.' For *ex illa opinione . . . movet*, lit. 'dislodges him from that opinion,' cp. *nec me ex ea opinione . . . movebit*, Nat. Deor. iii. 5. Klotz, who shows, ed. 2, p. lxvii., that *cā* and even *c̄* were recognised abbreviations for *causa*, supplies that word, and inserts it in his text. But could *causa relinquendae urbis* mean 'the fact that he must leave the city? Or could we translate, 'this reason, that he would be obliged to leave the city, makes him waver in his resolution to oppose Caesar?' We think not. We should prefer to supply some such word as *metus* before *relinquendae urbis*, 'a reluctance to leave the city.' Far nearer to the MS would be *mora relinquendae urbis*. The *-ra* of *mora* would have fallen out before the *re-* in *relinquendae*, and the *mo-* of *mora* would easily have been corrupted into *in*, which would be written *î*. We have seen how often *m* and *in* are confused in M, and it seems to us therefore more likely that the lost word was a short word beginning with *m*, than a long word beginning with *in*, like *indignitas* or *infamia*. The words *mora rel. urbis* might either mean—(1) 'the delay attendant on abandoning the city,' like *moram rerum* in Fam. x. 22, 2; or (2) 'a hesitation about leaving,' for we have very nearly as *subjective* a use of *mora* in Mil. 54, *quid ergo erat? mora et tergiversatio*; and in De Inv. ii. 146: *deinde ex lege utrum statim fieri necesse sit; utrum habeat aliquam moram et sustentationem*.

eo conferendum] 'spent on it' (lit. 'thither').

enim ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτην esse. Sed haec et multa alia coram.

CCC. CICERO TO ATTICUS (Att. vii. 9).

A. U. C. 704; B. C. 50; AET. CIC. 56.

De commercio litterarum, de condicione qua cum C. Caesare transigendum sit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. 'Cotidiene' inquis 'a te accipiendae litterae sunt?' Si habebo cui dem, cotidie. 'At iam ipse ades.' Tum igitur, cum venero, desinam. Unas video mihi a te non esse redditas, quas L. Quinctius, familiaris meus, cum ferret, ad bustum Basili vulneratus et spoliatus est. 2. Videbis igitur num quid fuerit in iis, quod me scire opus sit, et simul tu hoc διευκρινήσεις πρόβλημα sane πολιτικόν: cum sit necesse aut haberi Caesaris rationem, illo exer-

1. *quas . . . cum ferret*] The relative is governed by the verb in the subordinate clause: cp. *quod ille si faciat* § 3; *quibus ille si paruisset*, Fam. vi. 6. 5. In Att. vii. 3, 3, Ep. ccxciv., Wesenberg, reading *valde consentiunt quae si secus essent*, makes the relative the subject of the conditional clause, and understands 'with what you tell me took place in the matter of Fabius and Caninius admirably agree certain symptoms on his part; *and were the latter quite different*, yet,' &c.

Basili] 'via Appia est prope urbem monumentum Basili, qui locus latrociniis fuit perinfamis,' Ascon. in Milon, p. 50, Orell.

2. *διευκρινήσεις*] 'you must decide.' This is the principal verb on which the word *putes* depends in the sentence at the end of § 2, *quod horum malorum quorum aliquod certe subeundum est, minimum putes*, 'you must decide which of these evils, one of which must be faced, is the least.' All the intermediate infinitives, *haberi*, *persuaderi*, *haberi*, *adduci*, *contendere*, *facere*, *ire* depend on *cum sit necesse*; but *cum sit necesse* ceases to influence the sentence after *ire autem ad arma*: the thread of the main sentence is resumed at *suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs*, but *tenenda sit* depends only on the *cum* in *cum sit necesse*. We append Mr. Jeans' translation, which gives very clearly the different courses which Cicero conceives to be open. 'We will say that things must take one of these courses:—(1) Caesar is allowed to stand for the consulship, and yet meanwhile, through the influence either of the Senate or the tribunes, to retain his army. (2) Caesar is induced to give up his province and army, and thereupon is elected consul. (3) We fail in persuading him to do this, and thereupon the elections are held without admitting his claim; he meanwhile consenting to this: and so retaining his province. (4) He employs the tribunes to interfere, but makes no violent resistance: the result being that we are brought to an interregnum.

Again, he may bring his army to bear upon us because we refuse to admit his claim; and then we must fight it out with him. In that case we may draw the sword either—(1) at once, while we

citum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente, aut persuaderi Caesari, ut tradat provinciam atque exercitum et ita consul fiat, aut, si id ei non persuadeatur, haberi comitia sine illius ratione, illo patiente atque obtinente provinciam, aut, si per tribunos pl. non patiatur *et* tamen quiescat, rem adduci ad interregnum, aut, si ob eam causam, quod ratio eius non habeatur, exercitum adducat, armis *nos* cum eo contendere, illum autem initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum, cum comitiis, amicis eius postulantibus, ut e lege ratio habeatur, impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam, quod ratio non habeatur, aut addita causa, si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit dicensve se expulsum ad illum confugerit, suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus: quod horum malorum, quorum aliquod certe subeundum est, minimum putes. 3. Dices profecto persuaderi illi, ut tradat exercitum et ita consul fiat. Est omnino id eius modi, ut, si ille eo descendat, contra dici nihil possit: idque eum, si non obtinet, ut ratio habeatur retinentis exercitum,

are hardly prepared for him, or (2) later on when his friends have proposed to the assembly his claim to stand as being legal, and it has been rejected. Then he may appeal to arms—(1) merely on the single pretext of the refusal of his claims; or (2) he may combine it with some other reason, if it should turn out that any tribune, for obstructing the proceedings of the Senate, or inciting the populace to riot, has been publicly censured, or had his powers limited, or been suspended, or deprived of his office (or, what is the same thing, pretends to have been deprived), and takes refuge with him.

Lastly, war being once begun, we may have—(1) to defend the capital; or (2) to abandon it, and intercept his provisions and other supplies.'

illo . . . obtinente] This might have been expressed more briefly, *sine illius ratione patientis atque obtinentis provinciam*, but this use of the ablative absolute is not uncommon in Cic., e.g. *spirante etiam republica ad eius spolia advolaverunt*, Sest. 54; *sese hoc incolumi non arbitrabatur huius innocentis patrimonium posse obtinere*, Rosc. Amer., 6.

notatus . . . expulsus] A tribune was said to be *notatus*, 'censured,' when the senate declared *ea quae facta essent contra rempublicam facta esse*; he was *circumscriptus*, 'curtailed,' in the exercise of his functions when the resolution of the senate took the form *si quis aliter fecisset eum contra remp. facturum*, or *eum in hostium numero esse habendum*; he was *sublatus*, 'suspended,' or *expulsus* 'deprived of his office' by the decree *videant consules ne quid detrimenti resp. capiat*.

dicensve se] 'Notice the weak alternative marked by *ve* after a succession of strong alternatives marked by *aut*' —Jeans.

tenenda sit] depending on *cum* in *cum sit necesse* at beginning of § 2, Ep. cclxxxii.

quod . . . putes] depending on διευκρινήσεις, 'you will kindly decide.' This use of the future as a polite imperative has been noticed on Att. vi. 9, 2, Ep. cclxxxii.

3. *persuaderi illi*] 'you will say doubtless that the least of evils is that he should be persuaded to disband his forces, and be elected consul on that condition.'

eo descendat] 'would stoop so low.'

si non obtinet] 'and, since he is not carrying his point about being allowed to stand for the consulship without disbanding his army, I wonder that he does not take this course,' namely, give up his army

non facere miror. Nobis autem, ut quidam putant, nihil est timendum magis quam ille consul. 'At sic malo' inquies 'quam cum exercitu.' Certe. Sed istud ipsum SIC MALO magnum malum putat aliquis: neque ei remedium est ullum. 'Cedendum est, si id volet.' Vide consulem illum iterum, quem vidisti consulatu priore. 'At tum imbecillus plus' inquis 'valuit quam tota res publica.' Quid nunc putas? Et eo consule, Pompeio certum est esse in Hispania. O rem miseram! si quidem id ipsum deterrimum est, quod recusari non potest, et quod ille si faciat, iamiam *a* bonis omnibus summam ineat gratiam. 4. Tollamus igitur hoc, quo illum posse adduci negant: de reliquis quid est deterrimum? Concedere illi, quod, ut idem dicit, impudentissime postulat. Nam quid impudentius? tenuisti provinciam per decem annos, non tibi a senatu, sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos. Praeteriit tempus non legis, sed libidinis tuae: fac tamen, legis: ut succe-

and stand. Kayser suggested *obtineat* and *mirer*, but the indicative in the antecedent of a conditional clause is defended by Hofmann, who, on Fam. xvi. 1, 2, *si autem intelleges . . . nihil me malle* (*tibi persuade*), quotes in defence of *intelleges* there Fam. xvi. 2, *scribo . . . voluptati fore si . . . videro*; Att. vii. 3, 11, *puto . . . si dixero . . . Tartessium* (*dicturum esse*); Att. viii. 12, C. 2, *nolito commoveri si audieris . . . si forte Caesar ad me veniet;* Fam. v. 12, 3, *rogo . . . si me commendabit . . . ne aspernere*. Cicero writes, 'I wonder he does not take the course of securing the consulship even by giving up his army. But [that would not do us much good, for] some think that there is nothing more to be dreaded by us than his election to the consulship.'

SIC MALO] See Adn. Crit. Our chief reason for preferring SIC MALO here is that we believe Cicero is here indulging in one of those plays on words which he can so seldom resist. Most edd. read *istud ipsum, dico;* but Cicero would not use *dico* in that way, but rather *inquam*. The passages quoted in defence of such a usage are Att. vi. 1, 3, *sed, dico, revocavi me*, where Cicero certainly wrote not *dico* but *ilico;* and Att. xiii. 25, 3, *sed, etiam atque etiam dico, tuo periculo fiet*, where the *etiam atque etiam* of course makes the use of *dico* quite normal. Cicero's meaning is, 'The very attitude of mind which makes you say *sic malo* (that is, if he must be consul, better without his army than with it) is what seems to someone (Pompeius) so much to be deplored.' The acquiescence in Caesar as consul on any terms seemed to Pompeius fatal.

si id volet] *sc.* Caesar.

Quid nunc putas] *sc.* eum valiturum esse. For *valere quid*, 'to have any power,' see I², p. 62 (i).

certum est] 'Pompeius is resolved to remain in Spain during his consulate.'

quod recusari non potest] permission to stand for the consulship on condition that he gives up his army. His consulate even on these terms would be most fatal, according to Cicero.

quod ille si faciat] 'his carrying out of which (that is, his giving up his army that he might obtain the consulship) would at once (iamiam) secure him the highest regard of the right side to a man.'

4. *quo illum posse adduci negant*] 'let us therefore put this alternative (that he should give up his army and stand for the consulship) out of the question, as it is generally reported that he could not be brought to accept it.'

quod . . . postulat] that he should be allowed to retain his army till after his election, the tenure of his provincial government being prolonged. *Idem* is Pompeius.

non tibi a senatu] The personal pronoun usually stands after the negative in sentences connected by *non . . . sed;* e. g. *non me dicto Metelli sed consilio*, Fam. v.

datur, decernitur: impedis et ais: 'Habe meam rationem.' Habe tu nostram. Exercitum tu habeas diutius, quam populus iussit, invito senatu? 'Depugnes oportet, nisi concedis.' Cum bona quidem spe, ut ait idem, vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. Iam si pugnandum est, quo tempore in casu, quo consilio in temporibus situm est. Itaque te in ea quaestione non exerceo. Ad ea, quae dixi, adfer, si quid habes: equidem dies noctesque torqueor.

2, 9; *non ego causam nostram sed consilium improbabam*, Fam. vi. 1. 5.

non legis] 'the term prescribed not by statute, but by your own will and pleasure, let us say, however (for argument's sake), the statutory term.' The ten years' period of office would not expire till March 1 of the following year, 705 (49). This letter was written at the end (the last few days) of 704 (50), and the senate would not make their decree appointing a successor till the beginning of Jan. 705 (49). So when Cicero writes *praeteriit* and *decernitur* he is anticipating, and referring to what will take place in a few days, not to the actual present.

meam rationem] The possessive pronoun often takes the place of the objective genitive in Cicero, as De Off. i. 139; *amor noster*, 'affection for us,' Fam. v. 12, 3; so occasionally with other adjectives, as *invidia senatoria*, 'the hatred felt for the senate,' Cluent. 77: cp. *tuam fiduciam*, 'reliance on you,' Plaut. Bacch. iii. 3, 10 (410); *hostilis metus*, 'fear of the enemy.' So in English, 'whose service is perfect freedom' (2nd Collect for Peace) = 'to serve whom is to be free.' Many edd. read *mei rationem*, and *habe tu nostrum*, where *nostrum* is gen. plur., like *splendor vestrum*, Att. vii. 13, A. 3; *custodem huius urbis ac vestrum*, Catil. iii. 29.

Here it will be seen that there is a kind of play on the two meanings of *habere rationem*, which means—(1) 'to recognise as a candidate for office.' (2) 'to have some consideration for.' The first use of the phrase is familiar in the letters of this time; the second is illustrated by the passages quoted at the beginning of this note, *e.g.* Att. viii. 11, D. 7, *duxi meam rationem = mihi consului*, 'I took my own interests into account.'

cum bona quidem spe] our answer must be in the words of Pompeius (*ut ait idem*), 'with a good hope of victory, or death before dishonour.' Madv. on Fin. iv. 27, *habere ea quae secundum naturam sint vel omnia vel plurima et maxima*, remarks that in that passage and the present, which he adduces, Cicero uses *vel* . . . *vel* where we should have expected *aut* . . . *aut*; and says that the use of *vel* . . . *vel* seems to show that there is nothing to choose between the alternatives. But in the passage in the *De Finibus* does not Cicero mean that they require the possession of such things as are according to nature—'all of them, or should I rather say, the most and best of them'? Moreover, it is to be noted that in this passage the alternatives are not incompatible. It would have been possible that the Pompeians should win, and that Cicero, or any given Pompeian, might die in the struggle, and not outlive republicanism. He might even mean 'we have good hopes of conquering, or (shall I say even a greater thing?) of seeing the republic outlast us.' We do not think these two passages are sufficient to upset the universal application of the rule regulating the use of *aut* . . . *aut* and *vel* . . . *vel*; and we do not regard them as proving that *vel* . . . *vel* may be applied to two incompatible alternatives, instead of *aut* . . . *aut*.

quo tempore] 'the time of the struggle depends on chance; the plan to be adopted in it depends on the circumstances of the time when it begins.' 'This remark,' observes Mr. Watson, 'was verified by the event. The senate, by sending Caesar a defiance at Pompey's suggestion before the Italian levies had assembled, made it impossible to defend Rome.'

ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

I.—LEX LICINIA DE SODALICIIS.

(Fam. VIII. 2, 1, Ep. CXCVI.)

Sodalitates were originally brotherhoods formed for the maintenance of religious rites and for social intercourse. 'Most of the *sodalitates* were closely connected with the *gens*; all members of the *gens* were *sodales*, and met together to keep up the old *sacra*, but in historical times fictitious kinship largely took the place of real kinship, and feasting became almost the sole *raison d'être* of these clubs. The parallel of the London City Companies will occur to everyone,' Reid on Cic. Sen. 45. The members were so far united that it was customary that they should not sue one another at law, and they used to give such support as they could to their fellow-sodales, and even to the children of their fellow-sodales. Forming a bond which opinion regarded as so close, it was only natural that they should use their unity in politics. Each *sodalitas* worked together, and thus succeeded in introducing into public affairs a very considerable organized body; and organization is everything where the governing power is in the hands of a large body of voters. The chief features in their organization of voters were the *decuriatio tribulium*[1] and *discriptio populi* technically so-called. There would have been nothing reprehensible in this, if it was not that this arrangement and division of the voters were simply for purposes of bribery; and when the feeling in politics ran very high, violence naturally ensued from bodies so organized. The public peace being thus endangered, a decree of the Senate was passed in 698 (56 B.C.), *ut sodalitates decuriatique discederent lexque de iis ferretur ut qui non discessissent ea poena quae est de vi tenerentur*, Q. Fr. ii. 3, 5, Ep. ccii.

The collegia against which this enactment was directed were strictly guilds of workmen.[2] The very wide extent of these clubs, which date from the earliest times, may be inferred from the great number of inscriptions which have reference to them (Wilmanns' Index, pp. 631–644). The *collegia* of workmen as well as the *sodalitates* had their religious rites, and therewith a very considerable cohesion. Belonging to the lower strata of the people, we can well understand that they became a dangerous factor in the city, where there was no proper police, and which was full of slaves; and the wonder is that we do not hear of legislation directed against them till 686

[1] Divisions of ten were frequent in *collegia* under the empire: see Wilmanns, 2605: cp. *ib*. 61.

[2] We have nothing to do here with *collegia* of priests or magistrates.

(68 B. C.), when a decree of the Senate was passed dissolving the collegia, which were considered dangerous (*collegia sublata sunt quae adversus remp. videbantur esse*, Ascon., p. 7, Orelli). Ten years later Clodius procured a law allowing the collegia to be restored, and apparently giving unlimited power of establishing new ones, with the result that a vast number of *collegia compitalicia* arose, which, as Mommsen says (*R. H.* iv. 296), 'were nothing else than a formal organization—subdivided according to the streets, and with an almost military arrangement—of the whole free or slave proletariat of the capital': cp. Sest. 34, *iisdem consulibus inspectantibus servorum dilectus habebantur pro tribunali Aurelio nomine collegiorum, cum vicatim homines conscriberentur, decuriarentur, ad vim ad manus, ad caedem ad direptionem incitarentur:* cp. 55; pro Domo sua 54, *cum in tribunali Aurelio conscribebas palam non modo liberos sed etiam servos ex omnibus vicis concitatos:* add Pis. 11 and 23, Post red. in sen. 33. Their full title appears to have been *collegia sodalicia* (Dig. 47, 22, 1), and when the *sodalitates* disappeared they arose. The name was changed; the thing remained.

It was against the organizing of clubs, established for the purpose of bribery and if necessary riot, that laws *de sodaliciis* were directed. *Haec doce*, says Cicero (Planc. 45), *haec profer, huc incumbe, Laterensis, decuriasse Plancium, conscripsisse, sequestrem fuisse, pronuntiasse, divisisse:* cp. 38, *venditorem corruptorem sequestrem esse.* These laws bore not only against the candidates who won elections by the help of clubs, but also against the organizers of these clubs; and in this they differed from the laws concerning ordinary *ambitus*. The Lex Licinia de sodaliciis was passed in the second consulship of Pompeius and Crassus, 699 (55 B. C.), and it was the law under which Plancius was accused by Laterensis and defended by Cicero: cp. Schol. Bob. 253, Orelli, *M. Licinius Crassus—pertulit ut severissime quaereretur in eos candidatos qui sibi conciliassent* (*sodales*) *ea potissimum de causa ut per illos pecuniam tribulibus dispertirent ac sibi mutuo eadem suffragationis emptae praesidia communicarent.* One of the chief features of the law was the constitution of the jury (in cases of *sodalicia* called *iudices editicii*), which was chosen from four tribes named (*editi*) by the prosecutor of which tribes the defendant could reject only one, and the jury was chosen from the remaining three. The scheme of *iudices editicii* was suggested by Servius Sulpicius, in 691 (63 B.C.): cp. Cic. Muren. 47. In ordinary cases of *ambitus* the jury was chosen by lot from the *album iudicum* and the defendant could challenge as many of the jurymen as the prosecutor. The penalty for *sodalicium* appears to have been exile and a fine (*exilio*, Planc. 8; *salus, patria, fortunae*, ib. 79). There are only five trials recorded under this law (Zumpt, *Criminalprocess*, 547–549, 552), viz. in 700 (54) C. Messius (Att. iv. 15, 9, Ep. cxliii.), P. Vatinius (Fam. i. 9, 4 ff, Ep. cliii.), C. Plancius; and in 703 (51) Milo (Ascon., p. 54, Orelli), and M. Valerius Messalla (Fam. viii. 2, 1, Ep. cxcvi.; 4, 1, Ep. ccvi.).

On the whole subject consult Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodaliciis;* Rein, *Criminalrecht der Römer*, 714–719; Lange, *Röm. Alt.* iii. 340–1, and especially Dr. Holden's Introduction to the *Pro Plancio*.

II.—LEX JULIA DE REPETUNDIS (OR REPETUNDARUM.)

(ATT. V. 16, 3, EP. CCVIII.)

THIS law was passed by Caesar in his consulship, 695 (59 B. C.), and contained at least 101 clauses (Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 3, Ep. ccxxiii.). Like all laws concerning *repetundae*, it had reference to senators only (Rabir. Post., 12 ff.). Cicero speaks of it with great praise (*haec optima lex*, Sest. 135 : cp. Piso, 37) as being a severe law, and one carefully considered (*sicut multa sunt severius scripta quam in antiquis legibus et sanctius*, Rabir. Post. 8 ; *lex acerrima*, Vat. 29 ; *sancitum diligenter*, Pis. 90).

The sphere of the Lex Julia Repetundarum is given by Marcianus in the Digest (48, 11, 1, pr.) as referring *ad eas pecunias quas quis in magistratu, potestate, curatione, legatione vel quo alio officio munere ministeriove publico cepit, vel cum ex cohorte cuius eorum est.*

In some respects it reproduced the Lex Cornelia majestatis of Sulla ; *e. g.* in the provision that the provincial governor should not leave his province, nor engage in war on his own responsibility without the order of the Senate and people, as Piso thought fit to do (Pis. 50). In others it reproduced the Lex Cornelia and the Lex Servilia de repetundis, *e. g.* it allowed proceedings against those into whose hands the fraudulently acquired money had come (*persequi ab iis ad quos ea pecunia quam is ceperit qui damnatus sit pervenerit*, Rabir. Post., 9) ; in others, again, the Lex Cornelia de provinciis (cp. Fam. iii. 10, 6, Ep. cclxi.), in that it limited the contributions which could be demanded from the provincials by the governor and his retinue, *e. g.* the *aurum coronarium* could neither be demanded nor received, except after a triumph had been decreed; orders for travelling at State expense (*diplomata*) could not be indiscriminately given; the number of ships to be demanded from the provincials for any purpose, and the amount of booty any commander could take for himself (cp. Fam. ii. 17, 4, Ep. cclxxii.), was strictly circumscribed; only a certain quantity of corn could be required, and the specially privileged States and individuals were to be really treated as privileged (Piso, 90: cp. De domo, 23). This latter provision leads Cicero to call the law *iustissima atque optima* (Piso, 37), and it won for Caesar the steady allegiance of the free city of Utica (Bell. Afr., 87, 2). Cicero lays great stress on the fact that in his journey through the provinces only one of his *legati* took from the provincials anything in the shape of entertainment for man or beast, even within the limits of the Julian Law (*foenum aut quod lege Julia dari solet*, Att. v. 16, 3, Ep. ccviii.: cp. v. 10, 2, Ep. cxcviii., and v. 21. 5, Ep. ccl.). Yet another provision of the Lex Julia reproduced a law of Cicero's own, referring to *legationes liberae*, and limiting them especially as regards time (Att. xv. 11, 4), most probably to a year (Cic. de Leg. iii. 18 : cp. Mommsen, St. R., ii^2 672, note 2).

Other provisions appear to have been peculiar to this law; such as that which directed that besides the copy of his accounts which a provincial governor was required to lodge in the Treasury at Rome (*rationes ad aerarium referre*), he should also deposit (*deponere*) two other copies in the two most important towns of his province. Cicero deposited his accounts at Laodicea and Apamea (Fam. ii. 17, 2, 4, Ep. cclxxii. ; Att. vi. 7, 2, Ep. cclxx.). Again, when a governor was put on his trial for extortion, the

evidence which was procured from the provinces must be lodged with the praetor, and sealed by the jury within three days, apparently after the trial was granted: cp. Flacc. 21, Schol. Bob., p. 238, Orelli:—*Lege enim habebatur, ut accusatores de pecuniis repetundis omnia instrumenta tabularum et intra diem tertium ad praetorem deferrent et omnia iudicum anulis obsignarentur.* The accuser also, when going out to collect evidence, could only bring a certain number of companions with him (*lege hac recenti et nova*,[1] Flacc., 13). Cicero (Flacc., 82) further informs us that according to this law the time of accusation and defence in cases of *repetundae* was shortened, six hours apparently being allowed to the prosecutor and nine to the defendant (cp. Plin. Epist. iv. 9, 9).

The law remained in force during the Empire, and is commented on in the Digest (48, 11), and the Codes (Just. 9, 27; Theodos. 9, 27). As falling under this law the jurists especially emphasise many forms of judicial corruption, *e.g.* in giving evidence, in appointing arbitrators or judges, in estimating damages, in passing sentences, &c.; also corruption exhibited in giving votes in the Senate for money, in the recruiting of soldiers, and in the matter of public contracts, *e.g.* if the contract was given at too high a price owing to corruption of the official who gave the contract, or if the contractor declared the work to be finished when it was not properly finished. The punishment was fourfold restitution, with an action against the heirs (Cod. Just. 9, 27, 12); sometimes expulsion from the Senate (and such a degraded senator could not be a judge or a witness, Dig. 1, 9, 2: cp. Suet. Jul., 43); and in more serious cases exile, or even death (Dig. 48, 11, 7, 3).

III.—CILICIAN TAXES.

(Att. V. 16. 2, Ep. CCVIII.; Fam. III. 8, 5, Ep. CCXXII.)

Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse, ὠνὰς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis, sed ferae nescio cuius immanis.

Atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumptu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil, nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent, ne in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissimam exactionem, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumptus minime necessarii.

Mommsen (*R. H.*, iii. 396) says:—"In Cilicia and Syria subsequently there was paid one per cent. on estate; and there was in Africa also an apparently similar tax, in which case the estate seems to have been valued according to certain presumptive indications, *e.g.* the size of the land occupied, the number of doorways, the number of heads

[1] Yet cp. Schol. Bob. 235, who refers this enactment to a law of Vatinius or of Fufius Calenus; but the note is confused, as it says the law in question relates to challenging the jury, a matter quite foreign to the subject now under consideration.

of children and slaves (*exactio capitum atque ostiorum*, Cic. Fam. iii. 8, 5, with reference to Cilicia; *φόρος ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν*, App. Pun., 135, with reference to Africa). In accordance with this regulation, the magistrates of each community, under the superintendence of the Roman governor (Cic. Q. Fr. i. 1. 8. 25; S. C. de Asclepiade, 22, 23 = Wordsworth, p. 208), settled who were to pay the tax, and what was to be paid by each individual (*imperata ἐπικεφάλια*, Cic. Att. v. 16. 2): if any-one did not pay this in proper time, his tax-debt was sold just as at Rome, *i. e.* it was handed over to a contractor with an adjudication to collect it (*venditio tributorum*, Cic. Fam. iii. 8, 5: *ὠνὰς omnium venditas*, Cic. Att. v. 16. 2)."

On this it may be remarked—(1) that the poll-tax and door-tax (virtually family-tax, each family which lived in a house having a separate door: see Huschke, *Census und Steuerverfassung*, Note 224) are rather to be regarded as special kinds of extortion practised by Appius and the other unscrupulous governors, and sorely felt. We hear of the poll-tax as continued afterwards in the time of Hadrian (App. *Syr.* 50, *καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστῳ*), but probably in a milder form. There were somewhat similar extortions practised by Scipio in Asia in 706 (48 B. C.): see Caesar Bell. Civ. iii. 32, "Interim acerbissime imperatae pecuniae tota provincia exigebantur. Multa praeterea generatim ad avaritiam excogitabantur. In *capita singula* servorum ac liberorum tributum imponebatur. *Columnaria*, *ostiaria*, frumentum, milites, remiges, arma, tormenta, vecturae imperabantur: cuius modo rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas pecunias videbatur": cp. Aristot. Oec. ii. 25 (1351 a), *ἀπ' οἰκίας δὲ ἑκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας εἰσένεγκαι τάξαντα ὃ δεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὡσαύτως*, under Chabrias in Egypt: cp. Marquardt, St. V. ii², 197 ff.[1]

(2) The words *imperata ἐπικεφάλια* probably refer to this extortionate poll-tax, and not to the partition among the various individuals of the lump-sum at which each of the various states was assessed by the Roman settlement-officer.

(3) Mommsen's view of *venditio tributorum*, *ὠνὰς omnium venditas*, seems the right one. The contractor would pay up the sum at which the States were assessed, and afterwards extort it by degrees with, doubtless, a good interest. There is no need to suppose, on the basis of App. Mithr. 83,[2] that the tax on doors was peculiar to the Asiatic dioceses. It and the poll-tax were rather extortions of Appius and those like him (cp. *quam tu non ignoras*).

[1] Poll-tax was the original and best understood tax in Egypt; in Africa and Britain it was imposed after wars of conquest (App. Pun. 135; Dio. Cass. lxii. 3).

[2] *καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς* (sc. Lucullus) *ἐπανελθὼν ὀφλοῦσαν ἔτι τῶν Συλλείων ἐπιβολῶν, τέτταρα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριζε*, but the taxes referred to here surely fell on the rich.

IV.—LEX PUPIA.

That there were certain days on which it was not lawful to hold the Senate is stated by Varro in the year 683 (71 b. c.): cp. Gell. xiv. 7, 9, *Docet* (sc. *Varro*) *deinde inibi multa; quibus diebus haberi senatum ius non sit*. Now, we know such were not necessarily *festivals*, for a sitting was held on the Carmentalia xvi. Kal. Feb. 698 (56 b. c.), Cic. Fam. i. 2. 4, Ep. xcvi.; i. 4. 1, Ep. xcviii.; nor days of *public games*, *e.g.* the Ludi Plebii were going on xvii. Kal. Dec., yet a sitting was held on that day in 697 (57 b. c.), Cic. Att. iv. 3. 3, Ep. xcii.; nor *dies religiosi*, for iv. Non. Dec. was such a day, yet in 693 (61 b. c.) the Senate sat on that day, Att. i. 17, 9, Ep. xxiii.; nor was the day on which it was not lawful to hold the Senate necessarily a *day marked EN*(*dotercisus*) in the calendar [i. e. *intercisus*, a day which was *nefastus* in the morning and evening, but *fastus* during the middle of the day], for on prid. Id. Oct. 584 (170), which was such a day, the second Senatus consultum de Thisbaeis was passed (*Eph. Epigr*. i. 280); nor a *day marked Q*(*uando*) *R*(*ex*) *C*(*omitiavit*) *F*(*as*) (i. e. *fastus* after the Rex Sacrificulus had been to the Comitium), for a meeting of the Senate was held on such a day, viz. ix. Kal. Apr. in 585 (169 b. c.): Liv. xliv. 20, 2. Further, that the hindrances were not of the nature of religious ones is certain from the expression ius *non sit* (cp. Herzog, *Röm. Staatsverfassung*, i. 910). In short, we cannot be certain to what days Varro is alluding.

But perhaps they were *dies comitiales*, days on which the comitia could be held. This certainly seems very natural, for it would prevent any clashing between the orders, and, besides, the magistrates could not be in two places at once. And a certain incompatibility did subsist between the *dies comitiales* and the sittings of the Senate; on some *dies comitiales* the Senate could *not* be held (*consecuti sunt dies comitiales per quos senatus haberi non poterat*, Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 2. 3, Ep. c.). But there were some comitial days on which the Senate could be held, as is perhaps implied in this very passage, and this inference is further supported by the direct evidence that the Senate did meet on *dies comitiales*, e. g. prid. Kal. Oct. in 703 (51 b. c.), Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii. There appears then to have been a certain amount of compatibility and a certain amount of incompatibility between the *dies comitiales* and the sittings of the Senate.

Originally, as Karlowa (*Röm. Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 364) supposes, in all probability it was *customary* that no sittings of the Senate should be held on *dies comitiales*; but there being no *legal* restriction to that effect, in the later times of the Republic inconvenience began to be felt from violation of this custom; and an attempt was made to fix the days on which it would and the days on which it would not be *legal* to hold the Senate. This was done by the Lex Pupia, a law about which we have not very explicit information, and the terms of which can only be conjectured.

Lange (*Röm. Alt*. iii. 195) considers that it forbade the holding of the Senate on any *dies comitialis*, at any rate till the Comitia were dismissed: cp. Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 43; Cic. Att. i. 14, 5, Ep. xx. The Comitia had the first claim on a *dies comitialis*; that claim satisfied, whether it happened that the Comitia were not held or were finished or adjourned, the Senate might meet. A resolution of the Senate passed ἡμέρᾳ μὴ καθηκούσῃ was only a *Senatus auctoritas*, not a *Senatus consultum*: cp. Dio. Cass. lv. 3. The Gabinian law of 687 (67 b. c.) enacted that all the days of February should be

given to audiences of foreign embassies; and accordingly the Lex Pupia did not hold for that month. Bardt (in Hermes, vii. 27) is of opinion that the Lex Pupia forbade the Senate to be held on those *dies comitiales* on which comitia were actually held. Willems (*Le Sénat*, ii. 152, note 6) objects that no such restriction is ever mentioned: in all the passages in which the law is alluded to there is implied an absolute incompatibility between the comitial days and sittings of the Senate. Further, he argues that if the views of Lange or Bardt were correct, the Senatus consultum in Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii., *utique eius rei causa per dies comitiales senatum haberent senatusque consultum facerent* should rather be *ne per dies comitiales cum populo ageretur*. Willems supposes the Lex Pupia specified certain comitial days on which the Senate could not be held, and that it required special exemption if a meeting was convened on one of those days. He then goes on to establish empirically some of the *dies comitiales* on which the Senate could not meet, *e.g.* iii., and prid. Non. Jan. (Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 5, 4), from xv. Kal. Febr. to prid. Kal. Febr. (Cic. Fam. i. 4, 1, Ep. xcviii.), certain *dies comitiales* in March (*ib.* viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii.), &c.; and he supposes that by implication on all other comitial days than those actually specified in the law the Senate could be held, as it is found to have been held on the following comitial days amongst others: prid. Kal. Mart. (Ascon., p. 44, Or.), xi. Kal. Sext. (Cic. Fam. viii. 4, 4, Ep. ccvi.), iii. Id. Sext. (Ascon., p. 47) prid. Kal. Oct. (Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii). The objection to this theory is that which holds against most empirical theories, viz. that the evidence is not sufficient to prove any leading principle, and we surely must suppose some leading principle in the law: cp. Herzog., *op. cit.*, p. 910.

On the whole, the view of Lange is most satisfactory. Mommsen (St. R. iii. 922) virtually agrees, noticing some exceptions to the main feature of the law that the Senate could not be held on comitial days, viz.—(1) that sometimes a sitting of the Senate was held on a day, marked indeed comitial in the Calendar (*e.g.* vii. Id. Jan. 705 (49), Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 5, 4), but which may have lost its character as comitial by being a market day or a day on which an extraordinary festival was appointed to be held; (2) that the Senate could pass a special resolution in certain crises not only to sit during comitial days, *e.g.* Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 5, Ep. ccxxiii. [and it is thus that Mommsen explains the great number of sittings during the Catilinarian crisis]; but also to forbid the Comitia to be held on comitial days: cp. Cic. Mur. 51, *meministis fieri senatus consultum referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus.* But there is no necessity to assume this last exception, unless we place the enactment of the Lex Pupia prior to 691 (63 B. C.).

There is the utmost variety of opinion about the date of the law. Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 923) places it as early as about 600 (154 B. C.), basing his view on the fact that it can hardly be accidental that the four dates of sittings of the Senate which we know of between 613 and 663 (141 and 91 B. C.) are all on non-comitial days. But till the last half-century of the republic it was probably customary to hold the Senate on the non-comitial days. We incline to think that the Lex Pupia was a consular law of 683 (61 B. C.), one of the consuls for that year being M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus. The law is first mentioned in 698 (56 B. C.), Cic. Fam. i. 4, 1, Ep. xcviii.; and the great number of sittings of the Senate held on *dies comitiales* in 691 (63 B. C.)—we have evidence of no less than six between ix. Kal. Oct. and prid. Non. Dec.: see Willems, *op. cit.* ii. 155, note 6—seems to point to the conclusion that the law had not been enacted at that time. Lange (*op. cit.* 191) assigns the Lex Pupia to 683 (71 B. C.) —M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus having been praetor about that year—before the Lex Gabinia of 687 (67). But this is by no means rendered certain by Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 3,

Ep. cxxxv.; for there Appius, wanting to put off the Comitia, argues that on the one hand the Lex Pupia does not absolutely preclude the holding of the Senate on the comitial days in the latter part of February (for the Pupian Law allowed of certain exceptions), and on the other that the Lex Gabinia declares that *all* the sittings in February (if necessary) should be given to hearing embassies. But the passage certainly does seem to prove that the Pupian law enacted that *as a general rule* the *Senate* should not be held on comitial days; so that the decree moved by Cicero in 691 (63 B.C.) which forbade the *Comitia* to be held on a certain comitial day, does not necessarily establish the conclusion that it was directed against the Lex Pupia. It was only as a matter of convenience and urgency that it was proposed that the Comitia in this case be put off to another comitial day.

As we have been discussing a matter connected with the Senate, this may be the place to redeem a promise made (Fam. viii. 9, 2, Ep. ccxi.) with regard to a discussion on whether a minimum of senators was necessary to enable a decree to be passed.

The practice of counting out the house (see note on Att. v. 4, 8, Ep. clxxxviii.), taken in connexion with Dio Cass. xxxix. 30, *μὴ συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἀριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψηφισθῆναί τι περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν οὐδὲ χρηματισθῆναί τι ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠδυνήθη*, seems to point clearly to the conclusion that a fixed number of senators was required to be present to enable a decree to be carried. And it is no objection to this that in the case of some important matters the minimum required is fixed at a relatively high number, *e.g.* no secret rites were allowed according to the *SC de Bacchanalibus* (l. 18, Wordsworth, p. 173) unless at least 100 senators were present in the Senate which sanctioned them; in Livy, xlii. 28, 9, we find at least 150 required to pass a money grant for a large festival; and the Cornelian Law of 687 (67 B.C.) forbade anyone to be *legibus solutus* unless by a Senate of 200 (cp. Ascon., p. 58, Or.). For ordinary senatus consulta the minimum was probably much lower than 100; but the house was not counted out unless some member (Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvi.) or the president (Fam. viii. 9, 2, Ep. ccxi.: cp. Herzog, *op. cit.* i. 909) called attention to the fact that the minimum was not present. Accordingly we are not surprised to hear that decrees were often 'snatched' (*senatus consultum surreptum*, Att. x. 4, 9) in a small house: cp. Livy, xxxix. 4, 8, *qui per infrequentiam furtim senatus consultum factum ad aerarium detulerit*, also Livy, xxxviii. 44, 6, and Mommsen St. R. iii. 989, note 4.

Willems (*Le Sénat*, ii. 166 ff.) maintains that, as a general rule, there was no fixed minimum required—it is the exception when the minimum is specified—and argues, that if there was such a fixed minimum, senatus *frequens* would have a fixed and positive meaning, whereas it has only a relative meaning (cp. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1, Ep. xciii. Senatus fuit *frequentior* quam putabamus esse posse mense Decembri sub festos dies... Sane *frequentes* fuimus, omnino ad CC; Att. xvi. 7, 1, Haec afferebant . . . fore *frequentem* senatum Kalendis: Mil. 66, *frequentissimus* senatus; Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2, Ep. cl., Gabinius crept into the Senate *summa infrequentia*; Livy, xxxv. 7, 1, De ea re nihil temere decerni placuit; ad *frequentiores* consultatio dilata est). While it is quite certain that *frequens* had not a fixed positive meaning at all, that it did not mean 'a house' (*i.e.* a sufficient house), but 'a well-attended house,' it is not by any means necessary that just this adjective or indeed any adjective expressing *large* number should be used to express the *bare necessary* number: besides, if *frequens* were the technical term used to express a sufficient house, would not Festus have probably said *si non frequens sit senatus* instead of such a roundabout phrase as *si tot non sint senatores, quo numero liceat*

perscribi senatus consultum? When a large attendance was considered advisable the magistrate who convened the Senate sent out a 'whip': see Livy, xxviii. 9, 5, inde praemisso edicto ut triduo post frequens senatus ad aedem Bellonae adesset; Cic. Phil. iii. 19.

Under the Empire a minimum was fixed by the Lex Julia of 735 (19 B. C.): see Dio Cass. liv. 15; lv. 3.[1] Augustus fixed a minimum which were required to be in attendance for each different kind of decree—more for the more important, less for the less (Reimar on Dio Cass. lv. 3). There were definite numbers fixed for certain senatus consulta in the Senates of the municipal towns (*e.g.* Lex Col. Genet. 64, 69, 75, in *Eph. Epigr.* iii., pp. 92, 93, 95; Orelli 3115). In the third century A. D. the minimum number required to attend the Roman Senate was 70 (Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 16, 1).

V.—EVOCATI.

(FAM. III. 6, 5, EP. CCXIII.)

[Taken from Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Art. EXERCITUS].

THE *Evocati* were called ἀνάκλητοι in Greek. The ancients (especially Servius on Verg. Aen., viii. 1) distinguished three kinds of service—(1) *legitima militia*, or *sacramentum*; (2) *tumultus*; (3) *evocatio*; but logically, as Mommsen has pointed out (*Eph. Epigr.*, v. 142) the division should be state-ordered service, comprising *sacramentum* and *tumultus*, and voluntary service. Those who served in the latter were the *Evocati*. It was originally only in periods of great crisis (Serv. on Aen. vii. 614) that such a summons to arms was made; and that not by a magistrate, but by any man of spirit and influence who called on those who wished their country's safety to follow him. According to strict legal right these volunteers were not soldiers, but *pro militibus* (Serv. on Aen. ii. 157); they did not serve in a legion or cohort, they had no definite leaders, nor had they any right to demand pay, though probably they always received rewards in larger measure than the ordinary soldiers—certainly they did so in later times (Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 3, 2: cp. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 143, note 1). But afterwards it became the practice for generals, no longer in the name of the State, but in their own name, to invite, as a rule specially (*nominatim*, Caes. Bell. Gall. iii. 20, 2) veterans (Bell. Civ. i, 3, 2) to renew their service. These *Evocati* stood in rank above the ordinary soldiers, probably on a level with the centurions (Caes. Bell. Civ., i. 17, 4; iii. 53, 1; 91, 1; Vell. ii. 70, 3, compared with Dio Cass. xlvii. 46, 4); they were probably only employed in battle, and were freed from all ordinary duties (Marquardt, St. V. ii², 387, note 6), and were provided with horses on the march (Caes. Bell. Gall. vii. 65, 5). We find such troops as these in the time of Flamininus (Plut. Flam. 3; Livy xxxii. 3, 3), Marius (Sall. Jug. 84, 2), Catiline (id. Cat. 59, 3), Cicero (Fam. xv. 4, 3, Ep. ccxxxviii.), Caesar (besides the passages already quoted, cp. C. I. L. X. 3886, 6011), Octavian (Dio Cass. xlv. 12, 3). They played a considerable part in the civil wars, but seldom

[1] Dio Cassius appears to be in error when he says that previously 400 senators were required to be present to make a decree valid. The number is too large: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1, Ep. xciii., *Sane frequentes fuimus omnino ad CC.*

appear under the Empire, it not being consonant with the order of the standing army (for the army became a standing one under the Empire) to have forces which could not be formed into definite troops (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 144). When they do appear the invitation is, of course, no longer made by any subordinate, but by the Emperor (Tac. Hist. ii. 82); those who responded to the invitation being sometimes called *revocati* (Orelli, 3580). For further, see Schmidt in *Hermes*, xiv. 321–353.

VI.—LEX CORNELIA DE PROVINCIIS ORDINANDIS

(Fam. III. 6, 3, Ep. CCXIII.)

This law was enacted by Sulla in 673 (81 b. c.). Its chief provisions were :—

1. It recognised as belonging to the Senate the fixing of the consular and praetorian provinces in the manner regulated by the Lex Sempronia of C. Gracchus; yet it did not cut off the possibility that extraordinary decrees of the people might assign a special province to a special individual.

2. It recognised as belonging to the Senate the *prorogatio imperii;* and made it a rule that the consuls and praetors, immediately on the expiration of their magistracies, should go to their provinces with the *imperium* continued for a year (Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 8, Ep. ccxxiii.)—a determination, however, by which the formality of a *lex curiata de imperio* was not removed (Fam. i. 9, 25, Ep. cliii.); yet the Cornelian law presupposed that the *imperium* had been given, since it enacted that the governor could hold that *imperium* till he entered the city (*se, quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset*, Fam. i. 9, 25, Ep. cliii.).

3. The outgoing provincial governor must leave the province within thirty days after the arrival of the new governor (Fam. iii. 6, 3, Ep. ccxiii.).

4. It made some provisions as to the amount of expense the provinces were to be put to for the *legati* (Fam. iii. 10, 6, Ep. cclxii.); and it perhaps regulated the expense to be incurred in complimentary presents, monuments and embassies (Q. Fr. i. 1, 26, Ep. xxx.; Fam. iii. 8, 3, Ep. ccxxii.), though in neither of these passages is the law referred to specified as the Lex Cornelia.

VII.—LEX POMPEIA DE PROVINCIIS.

(Fam. XV. 9, 2, Ep. CCXVI.)

Unum vero si addis ad praeclarissimas res consulatus tui ut aut mihi succedat quam primum aliquis aut ne quid accedat temporis ad id quod tu mihi et senatus consulto et *lege* finisti, omnia me per te consecutum putabo.

As there is a difficulty with regard to the question of the law which is referred to here, we have thought it advisable to discuss the matter in some detail.

In the year 701 (53 B. C.) the Senate, with a view to checking the violence and corruption which had become so frequent in the struggle for magistracies, passed a decree that between the holding of a city magistracy and a provincial governorship five years should elapse (Dio Cass. xl. 46: cp. 30). But a decree of this nature could not become law till it had been approved of by the people, superseding as it did the plebiscitum of C. Gracchus, which gave the provincial governorships to the consuls and praetors immediately after they had laid down their magistracies: accordingly, Pompeius in his third consulship, 702 (52 B. C.), brought the matter before the people, and the result was the *Lex Pompeia de provinciis:* cp. Dio. Cass. xl. 56, τό τε δόγμα τὸ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν γενόμενον ὥστε τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ πρότερον ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας πρὶν πέντε ἔτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι ἐπεκύρωσεν (sc. ὁ Πομπήϊος): cp. also chap. 30. There can be little doubt that ἐπεκύρωσεν means that Pompeius succeeded in having the senatus consultum ratified by the people, and it is understood thus by Lange (*Röm. Alt.* iii². 376).

The most important provisions of this Lex Pompeia were as follows:—

1. That five years' interval should elapse between the time of holding the consulship or praetorship and the holding of a provincial governorship.

2. That the right of intercessio on decrees of the Senate concerning consular provinces should be again granted to the tribunes. During 703, 704 (51, 50 B. C.), the tribunes were incessantly vetoing the bills brought forward about the consular provinces.

3. That a special decree of the Senate should in the case of each province decide how long each governor was to hold it, the time of service to count from the arrival of the governor in the province. This provision is supported by Fam. ii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxxvii., ut et *senatus consultum et leges* defendas eaque mihi conditio maneat qua profectus sum; 13, 3, Ep. cclix., mihi erat in animo . . . decedere *ex senatus consulto*: 15, 4, Ep. cclxxiii., dicerent iniqui me non plane post annum ut *senatus* voluisset de provincia decessisse quoniam alterum me reliquissem; Att. vi. 5, 3, Ep. cclxix., quoad mihi praeesse provinciae per *senatus consultum* liceret; vi. 6, 3, Ep. cclxxvi., statueram patrem relinquere aut etiam reipublicae causa contra *senatus consultum* ipse remanere; vii. 3, 1, Ep. ccxciv., sic enim scito verbum in senatu factum esse nunquam de ullo nostrum qui provincias obtinuimus, quo in iis diutius quam ex *senatus consulto* maneremus. See also the passages quoted under 4.

4. That, as by the interval of five years the ex-consuls and ex-praetors had lost the *imperium*, the consuls should bring before the comitia centuriata, or tributa, the *lex de imperio* in the case of each governor. That this provision formed part of the law is argued on the basis of the passage under consideration, Fam. xv. 9, 2, Ep. ccxvi.; of Fam. xv. 14, 5, Ep. ccxli., ad hanc provinciam quam *et senatus et populus* annuam esse voluit; and of Caesar, Bell. Civ. i. 6. 6, in reliquas provincias praetores mittuntur neque expectant, quod superioribus annis acciderat ut de eorum imperio *ad populum* feratur: cp. also Att. vii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxcviii., audio, constitutum esse Pompeio et eius consilio in Siciliam me mittere quod imperium habeam: id est Ἀβδηριτικόν: Att. xi. 6, 2, Quomodo sine lictoribus quos *populus* dedit possum (sc. propius accedere).

It is this special *Lex de imperio Ciceronis* which Willems (*Le Sénat.* ii., 590, note 2) and Mommsen (*Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Cäsar und den Senat*, p. 44) suppose to be the law referred to in this passage, and it is on the whole the opinion which it is best to acquiesce in. However, Mommsen, in his *Staatsrecht*, i² 590, note 4, says it is the Lex Pompeia of 702 (52 B. C.), "das Gesetz, das Ciceros Provinz regulirt (Cicero *ad Fam.* xv. 9, 2), ist ohne Zweifel das pompejische von 702, dessen Ausführung die Sendung

Ciceros herbeiführte;" accordingly we suppose that on this view *senatus consulto* will refer to that of 701 (53 B. C.). But while Marcellus took part in the passing of the latter, what had he to do with the Lex Pompeia? Yet Cicero expressely says *quod* TU *mihi et senatus consulto et lege finisti*. And further, why mention the senatus consultum at all if the *law* was sufficient?

Yet again, in another passage (St. R. ii[3] 231–2) Mommsen appears to think that Pompeius's enactment of 702 (52) was not a law at all, and that the law referred to in the passage before us was a consular law of 703 (51). He says, "aber ein selbstständiges und fest benanntes Amt ist die Statthalterschaft erst geworden als zuerst zwei Senatsbeschlüsse aus dem J. 701 (Dio. xl. 30, 46),[1] und 702 (Dio. xlvi. 56), weiter ein dieses aufnehmendes Consulargesetz vom J. 703 (*ad Fam.* xv. 9, 2; ii. 7, 4; xv. 14, 5; Att. xi. 6, 2)." In support of his view that the enactment of Pompeius was not a law, Mommsen says:—"Mit recht bemerkt Drumann (iii. 364) dass ein Gesetz damals nicht erlassen ward: es liegt das auch nicht in den Worten τὸ δόγμα . . . ἐπεκύρωσεν. It is not quite certain, however, that this is really Drumann's opinion. In the passage quoted Drumann does indeed seem to imply it (Pompeius), veranlasste den Senat zur Erneuerung des Beschluss vom vorigen Jahre . . . Auch handelte er (sc. Pompeius) in beiden Fällen durch den Senat nicht durch das Volk." But in ii. 101, Drumann most clearly says:—"Eine Verfügung des Senats vom vorigen Jahre nach welcher Consuln und Praetoren erst fünf Jahre nach Niederlegung ihrer Aemter Provinzen übernehmen dürften wurde jetzt von Pompeius durch ein Gesetz bestätigt (Dio. xl. 46, 56) welches er selbst nicht beobachte."

VIII.—PRAEFECTUS FABRUM.

(FAM. III. 8, 5, EP. CCXXII.)

THE *praefectus fabrum* was properly 'chief of engineers,' but was one of a class of officials who, in comparatively early times, lost their distinctive military character (Mommsen, St. R., i[2], 118). He did not belong to the legions, but was an immediate subordinate of the commander who appointed him from among his most trusty friends (cp. Cic. Balb. 63, *in praetura, in consulatu praefectum fabrum detulit* [i. e. Caesar returned his name to the Treasury as deserving of a *beneficium*]; *consilium hominis probavit, fidem est complexus officia observantiamque dilexit*). During the Republic and early Empire, the name of the commander was generally added to the title of the praefectus *e.g.* Fam. iii. 7, 4, Ep. ccxliv., *Q. Leptam praefectum fabrum meum:* Att. ix. 7, C, 2, *duo praefecti fabrum Pompeii*), yet not always (Wilmanns, 2046, 2046 b); and this practice ceased at a later time. The office lasted as long as that of the commander; accordingly as a general rule for a year; and if the administration of a province was prolonged in the

[1] He adds in a note, 'The ostensible reason was to diminish *ambitus;* but Caesar had good grounds for saying, in reference to this decree of the Senate (*Bell. Civ.* i. 85, 9), in se iura magistratuum commutari, ne ex praetura et consulatu, ut semper, sed per paucos probati et electi in provincias mittantur.'

hands of a governor, the *praefectus fabrum* reckoned his post as a yearly one, and styled himself *praef. fabr. bis* or *iterum* (Wilm. 659), *ter* or *tertio* (ib. 1254), *quarto* (Orelli, 516), *quinquies* (Wilm. 1606), *sexies* or *sexto* (Orelli, 3431), &c. The office belonged to the *militiae equestres* (O. Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. 247, 249), and was held either by knights (Orelli), or by such officers as had already commanded an auxiliary cohort. Many of them afterwards became *tribuni legionum*, and even passed into the higher equestrian offices, especially the position of Procurator (ib. 3817). Sometimes we find the *praef. fabrum* invested with judicial functions, *e. g.* Wilm. 2046, *praef. fabr. iure dicundo et sortiendis iudicibus in Asia.* After Sept. Severus the corps of *fabri* was broken up, and divided among the legions.

The *praef. fabrum* presided over the sale of the booty taken in war, according to Mommsen (St. R. ii², 551); it was not given to the quaestors to sell, as in earlier times. The passage he refers to, Cic. Fam. ii. 17. 4, Ep. cclxxii. (*omnis pecunia ita tractatur, ut praeda a praefectis, quae autem mihi attributa est a quaestore curetur*) does not say that the *praefecti* were *praefecti fabrum.*

IX.—HIRRUS.

(Fam. VIII. 8, 5, Ep. CCXXIII.)

Without doubt the *gens* Lucilia was the one to which Hirrus belonged. The mss here give *Lucius*, so that it has been supposed that he belonged to the *gens* Lucceia; but in Plut. Pomp. 54 he is distinctly called Λουκίλλιος; and the corrupt *Ulcillem*, in Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 15. 5, points to Lucilius rather than to Lucceius. He was quaestor probably about 697 (57 B. C.), as he was praetor in 706 (48 B. C.): cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 82. 5. As tribune in 701 (53 B. C.) he proposed that the dictatorship should be granted to Pompeius (Q. Fr. iii. 8, 4, Ep. clix.; 9, 3, Ep. clx.), a proposal which appears to have been detrimental to him in his candidature for the curule aedileship (Fam. viii. 2. 2, Ep. cxcvi.; 4. 3, Ep. ccvi.). He competed unsuccessfully against Cicero for the augurate, and against Caelius for the curule aedileship (Fam. viii. 9. 1, Ep. ccxi.). He voted with Cato against granting Cicero a supplicatio, but did not obstruct the passing of the motion, as he might have done by speaking against time (Fam. viii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxvii.; Att. vii. 1. 7, 8, Ep. cclxxxiv.). Caelius is always laughing at him; but for all that Hirrus must have been a man of some influence, as Cicero expresses a wish to be reconciled to him (Att. *l. c.*). In the Civil War he fought on the side of Pompeius (Att. viii. 11 a: Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 15. 5), and was sent as ambassador to Orodes, King of the Parthians, by whom he was thrown into prison (Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 82, 5; Dio. Cass. xlii. 2). Later he appears to have been pardoned by Caesar, and to have deserted public life for the high and expensive calling of lamprey-fancier, and as such he showed originality and enterprise (cp. Plin. H. N. ix. 171, 'Muraenarum vivarium privatim excogitavit ante alios C. Hirrus, qui cenis triumphalibus Caesaris dictatoris sex millia numero muraenarum mutua adpendit: nam permutare quidem pretio noluit aliave merce"). He is one of the interlocutors in Varro's treatise, *De Re Rustica* (ii. 1, 2), and is represented as proprietor of numerous herds of cattle in Bruttium.

X.—THE STATUE OF AFRICANUS.

(Att. VI. 1, 17, Ep. CCLII.)

We have it on the authority of Macrobius, Saturn. 2. 4, that in the De Rep. Cicero makes Laelius regret that there was no public statue of Scipio Nasica Serapion, the slayer of Tib. Gracchus. Now Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, the great-grandson of Serapion, had placed in the Capitol, near the Temple of Ops, a statue of his great-grandfather, as he supposed; and accordingly he drew Atticus' attention to what he regarded as an error made by Cicero. But, argues Cicero, it was Metellus Scipio himself who made the mistake, for the statue which he had placed in the Capitol, supposing it to be a statue of his great-grandfather Serapion, was really a statue of another person, which he might have known, had he remembered that Serapion had never been a Censor.

So far all is plain; but it is evident that for the argument it is essential that Cicero should go on to prove that the statue erroneously supposed by Scipio Metellus to be the statue of his ancestor, was really the statue of a man who *had been* a Censor. Now, according to M, which gives Cens. first and Cos. after, Cicero does indeed go on to state that the statue placed in the Capitol by Scipio Metellus was the statue of one who had been a Censor, for it bore the inscription Cens.; but why does he say this statue had *no other inscription but* Cens., and why does he introduce at all the mention of the other statue near the Hercules of Polycles? The solution of the difficulty is, in our mind, this:—Cens. *and* Cos. *should change places*. This transposition we have accordingly made in the text. The copyist of M saw that the argument required that the statue supposed by Scipio Metellus to be that of his ancestor should be shown to be that of one who had been a Censor, and so was in a hurry to introduce Cens., not much troubling himself about the logical analysis of the whole sentence. Copyists do not, as a rule, go beyond the first step in any process of thought. Now if Cos. be put in the first place, and Cens. after, the whole argument may be thus paraphrased: "Is it possible that Scipio Metellus is not aware that his great-grandfather was never Censor? It is true, indeed, that the statue placed by him near the temple of Ops, and supposed by him to be the statue of his ancestor, had no inscription on it but Cos., showing that it was the statue of a person who had been Consul. [This indeed would not have shown the statue not to have been the statue of Serapion, who was Consul.] *But* another statue standing near the Hercules of Polycles had the inscription Cens.; and it can be proved that it commemorates the same person as the statue placed by Metellus near the Temple of Ops. That the two statues are statues of the same man is proved by the *pose*, the dress, the ring, in fine, the whole work."

Both are statues of the same man; therefore, as the statue near Polycles' Hercules had the inscription Cens., the man commemorated by the two statues must have been a Censor; but Scipio Nasica Serapion had never been a Censor; therefore Scipio Metellus has made a mistake about his own great-grandfather, and the remark put by Cicero into the mouth of Laelius has not been shown to be incorrect.

Both are, in Cicero's opinion, statues of Scipio Africanus Minor, who was not only consul, *but censor* with Mummius in 612 (see Att. xvi. 13. 2, *videor mihi audiisse P. Africano L. Mummio censoribus*).

Cicero then goes on to say that when he saw the statue of Africanus with the name of Serapion written under it, he thought it was a mistake on the part of the sculptor, but he now sees it was Metellus Scipio who made the error.

Orelli was not aware that X and Y are figments of Bosius. He is not, therefore, conscious that in introducing the readings of X and Y—Cos. in both places, and *item* for *autem*—he has foisted on Cicero the (in this case, stupid) conjecture of the generally clever but never very scrupulous Frenchman.

Boot, in his 1st edition, read Cens. in both places, and gave *item* for *autem*. This is—(1) a greater change than that which we propose; (2) it renders otiose the statement that the first-mentioned statue had inscribed on it *nothing else but* Cens.; (3) the establishing of the identity of the person commemorated by the two statues, a point much dwelt on by Cicero, is in this case superfluous; for if the statue placed in the Capitol by Metellus Scipio had the inscription Cens., the proof was already complete that it could not be a statue of Serapion, who never was Censor. Boot now (ed. 2) reads Cos. in both places. But if we read Cos. in both places, it is evident that the whole logical *nexus* of the passage disappears.

XI.—ABDERA.

Id est Ἀβδηριτικόν.

(Att. VII. 7, 4, Ep. CCXCVIII.)

The "Schildbürger" were the race noted for stupidity in German fable:—

They suddenly bethought them how indispensable an article salt was; and for fear their supply should run short, sowed all they had in the ground. When a thick crop of nettles grew up as a result, the mayor had himself carried across on another man's shoulders (lest he should trample the precious produce), to decide whether it was fit to cut.

When their town was besieged, they took their great bell out in a boat to sea, and dropped it overboard, making a notch in the boat at the spot where they had dropped the bell, to enable them to find it again when they wanted it.

To guide a heavy millstone down a hill, they put a man through the centre of it; and man and stone rolled into the river, and were lost.

They cut down the trees on a hill-side, and tied them together with ropes, and were, with great pains, letting them gently down, when one tree slipped out, and rolled to the bottom. So they dragged all the load laboriously to the top, and let them roll down.

They built a town-hall, and found it was quite dark. They got sacks and buckets, left them exposed to the sun until they must be quite full of sunshine, and carried them in; but that did not improve matters. They then took the roof off, and held a meeting; but the rain poured in on them. At last a stranger came along, and

offered to make it light for them on receipt of a very large sum. This they gave him: and he put windows in, which they had forgotten.

Another stranger came along, and sold them a cat for an immense sum. It occurred to them that, after the cat had eaten up all the mice in their country, he would have to turn round and eat *them*; so they shut the cat up in the townhall, and set fire to it. The cat jumped out of the ruins safe and well.

They saw some green plants growing on the top of a wall, and, after great deliberation, thinking it was a pity they should be wasted, they drew a cow up by ropes, that she might eat them. The cow was strangled before they had lifted her to the top.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

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In Adnotatione Critica per H significavimus in octo primis libris *Epp. ad Fam.* Harl. 2773, in libris post octavum Harl. 2682; de quibus libris manu scriptis in praefatione voluminis secundi fusius disputavimus.

Ep. clxxxiii. (Fam. iii. 2).

1. praeter] *propter* H.
a te] *ad te* M.
2. senatus consulto] *senatu consulto* M[1]. Fort. *senati consulto.*
quod eius] *quod et* H.
potueris] *poteris* H.
facilior] *fatebor* H.
efficere] *effici* H.
veniet] *veniat* H.
magnam te] MH, Wes.; *magnam me* Müller, Btr.
capturum] M[1]; *capturum. Vale* M[2]H.

Ep. clxxxiv. (Att. v. 1).

1. mei in eo] nos; *meo* M; *in eo* Rav.
2. quod] *quo* M.
aperuisti] Ante DCCC inserendum videtur *de:* vid. Comm.
nominum] C; *omnium* M.
3. sumptus] C; *sumpta* M.
ego viros ascivero] Mal.; *ego ascivero pueros* M[1]; *ego vero ascivero pueros* M[2]; sub *vero* latere *viros* vidit Mal.; sed unde irrepsit *pueros?* Fort. scripsit Tullius *ego viros ascivero porro:* vid. Comm.
4. quaeso] Man.; *quasi* M.

Ep. clxxxv. (Att. v. 2).

1. mandavi, sed] Kahnt.; *mandasti* MC.
proprie] Man.; *prope* M[1]; *probe* M[2].
provinciam] Pius; *provincias* M.
Furnium] *Turnium* M.
2. se a Vest.] Fort. *me a Vest.*: vid. Comm.
στρατηγήματι] *stragem alta* M[1]; *strage altera* M[2]; *strategemate* Vict.
et Hortensius] *et* ins. Lamb.
post etiam] Man.; *postea iam* M.
exiens e sua] Lamb.; *expense sua* M; *me ex Pansae exeuntem ille exiens e sua* Purs.
audiri] M; *laudari* C, quod probat Kl., sed vid. Comm.
3. noli] *nolim* M.
odorere] Ursinus; *operare* M; *opere* M in marg.; *opere* Rav.; *opperiare* Asc.
IIII. viros] *illi viros* M.

Ep. clxxxvi. (Att. v. 3).

exiens e] Lamb; *expense* M.
quod scriberem] Lamb; *quid scriberem* M.
de his] M; *de villis* Madv.; *de viis* Boot.
et quando] Haec verba uncinis includit Boot.; om. Rav.; lacunam postulat Kays.; sed sententia, modo recte interpreteris, recte procedit: vid. Comm.
2. simul] R; *semel* M.
alterae] *altera* M.
fuerit] *fuerat* M[1]; *fiat* M[2].
3. apud] ins. Vict.; *Lentulum* M[1]; *Lentuli* M[2].
gratia] Ern.; *gratiam* M.
egregiam] *e grecia* M.
†esse satis†] Fort. latet sub hac corruptela vel Graecum vocabulum vel nomen proprium.

Ep. clxxxvii. (Att. v. 4).

ipso eo] *ipse eo* M.
ac . . . non quo] Kays.; *ac me ille*

illud non quo M; *ac me illud quidem labat non quo*, M in marg.
et tu ais] Turneb.; *et tuis* M.
res habebit mei rationem?] nos; *habebis mirationem* M; *habebis mei rationem* Bos., k; *nemo habebit mei rationem* Sch.; *res habebit mirationem* Kays., Wes., Kl.
Servilia] Tunstall.; *Servilio* M.
Servius fieri probabilis] nos; *Servio fieri probabile* M et vulg: vid. Comm.
viam] *aliam* M.
2. alteram] nos inseruimus.
ne quid] M; *ne quis* Gron.
3. de DCCC] M; *de* om. vulg.
ut agam amplius] *ut ne angar amplius* Mal.; *ut agam planius* vel *apertius* Lehm.; fort. *ut agam aplos* (ἁπλῶς).
4. dum acta et] *dumtaxat* Madv., fort. recte.
vel etiam] Stinner.; *vellet iam* M; *velis et iam* FA.
et aliis et Pomptino] Boot.; *et alias pomptino* M.
diligenter] Ern.; *diligentes* M.

Ep. clxxxviii. (Att. v. 5).

1. deest] Vict.; *id est* M^1; *nil est* M^2.
quod mandem . . . quod narrem] Ern.; *quid mandem . . . quid narrem* M.
nihil] Man.; *mihi* M.
2. possim] Lamb.; *possem* M.
quo dem posthac] Man.; *cui dem posthac* C; *quod est post has* M.
de] ins. Ern.

Ep. clxxxix. (Att. v. 6).

1. duxi dies] *duxi expectare dies* M.
qui etiam] Vict.; *quin etiam* M.
2. quod aut mandem] Ern.; *quid aut mandem* M.
putabo, de] M; *putabo te, de* Btr.; *te, putabo de* Kl.; sed *te* non inserendum est: vid. Comm.

Ep. cxc. (Att. v. 7).

quo de] *quod* M; *quot* Man.; 'cum Franckenio scribendum censeo *quo de ante* usitata prepositionis post pron. relat. collocatione, quam exemplis Ciceronis pluribus demonstravit Menckenius in Obss. lat. ling.' Boot., p. 208.
novos . . . causa] Madv. in disp. de praefectis (*Revue de Philologie*, ii. p. 177); *novos vacationes iudiciariam causam* MC; *non vero vacationes iudiciariarum causarum* Kl.; *vacationis iudiciariam causam* Sch.
XII] Mal. et Wes.; *XIIII* M; *XI* Corrad.; *XIII* Man.

Ep. cxci. (Fam. iii. 3).

CICERO] M: IMPERATOR CICERO H.
1. Fabius Vergilianus] Bengel., quod nomen fuit legati, Fam. iii. 4, 1, Ep. cxciv. Librarius erravit ab *i* in *Fabius* ad alterum *i* in *Vergilianus*; unde apparet in MH *Fabianus*.
firmiori opus] M^2H; *firmioribus* M.
censebant enim omnes] *consedebant omnes* H.
itaque fecimus] *itaque quae fecimus* M^1.
petii] *peto* H.
tradere] *tradere. Vale* H, novamque epistolam continuo incipit.
2. istas] M^2H; *ista* M^1.
ego C. Pomptinum] *ego consul pomitinum* M; *ego consul pomtinium* H.
Iunias] *iunii* H.
Brundisium] MH; *brundium* M^1; deleverunt vocem Kleyn et Btr.
arbitrabar] *arbitrabor* M^1; *arbitror* M^2H.

Ep. cxcii. (Fam. viii. 1).

1. decedenti] Ern.; *decedens* M, inusitatum sane, neque ideo tamen Caelio abiudicandum; *dedecens* H; *discedens* Gronov.; *discedenti* Wes.: vid. Comm.
gerantur] *geruntur* H.
et ad] *ut ad* MH.
nosti] *nostri* H.
ipsum] *id ipsum* H.
nescio quoius otii esset] M (*quo ius*); *nec si quid ius ocii* H, quae ad formam antiquam *quoius* legendam certa via perducunt: vid. Comm.
ibi senatus consulta] *ibi s. c.* M; om. *ibi* H.
edicta fabulae] *dictae fabulae* MH.
exhibeam] *ex ea hibea* M; *ex ea habeat* H.
2. possint] *possit* MH.
spes sit] *spes est* MH.
nulla] om. H.
tibi] MH; *tibi ipsi* Pluygers. Wes.
ne tenuissimam] H; *ne tenuissem* M.
accepi] H; *accipi* M.
Iunias] *iunii* H (ut semper).
expressit] MH; *repressit* Lamb.; *pressit* Or.; Sed minime displicet libro-

rum scriptura. Nempe Marcellus propter dilationem et moram sibi ita male loqui homines coegit ut scilicet 'tardus et parum efficax' haberetur (Fam. viii. 10, 3, Ep. ccxxvi.).
3. visus sit] *visus sis* M.
orationem] *rationem* H.
ostenderit] H; *ostenderet* M.
appareat quid] *appareat ut quid* M.
4. de eo rumores] *de eorum mores* M.
equitem] *equidem* MH.
fictum] Stephanus, Wes.; *factum* MH.
Bellovacos] *beluacos* M; *beluacus* H.
at] *aut* M; *ad* H.
cum manus ad os apposuit] M; *cum ad eos apposuit* H.
5. subrostrani] M; *sub rostram* H.
illorum] MH; *ipsorum* Wes. Fort. *illorum ipsorum*.
sit] *sint* MH.
perisse; urbe] Wes.; *perisse de urbe* H; *perisse ur de urbe* M; *perisse; unde in urbe* Or. Fort. *perisse; unde urbe*.
te a Q.] *atque* M; *atque a* H.
πειρητικὴν] Kl.; *baulis embaeneticam* M; *bauli seni beneticam* H; *Baulis emeticam* Schütz.; *Baulis ἐμετικὴν* Hofm.: vid. Comm.
esurire] MH; *esuriei* Or.
impenderent] *impenderet* M; *impende* H.
ut defungeremur] *vide fungeremur* MH.
Ravennae] *ravenna* MH.
est] *erunt* H.
vigent] H; *vigens* M.

Ep. cxciii. (Att. v. 8).

1. *e*] ins. Crat.
2. sin es] *sin est* M.
alienus] Lamb.; *alienis* M.
secum] RI; *secura* MZ[b]; illam recte exhibent Wes., Boot., k, Or.; hanc Kl. et Btr., sed *securus* eodem sensu quo *tutus* non occurrit nisi apud auctores post-Augustinos.
posset] Mal.; *possit* M.
3. scribit] *scribet* M.
scripsi etiam] *scripsit etiam* M.

Ep. cxciv. (Fam. iii. 4).

Inscriptionem et novae epistolae significationem omiserunt M[1]H. In margine a recenti manu M addit *caput alterius epistolae*.
1. L.] *lentulo* MH.
potuero] *potuere* H.
Vergilianus] *vergibanus* H.
C] *consul* MH.
L. F.] *lucius figulus* H.
Cn. F.] *gnaeus felix* MH.
2. summae] H[3] Man., Wes.; *summa* MH.
M. Brutum] *meum brutum* MH.
videtur] *videatur* H.
causam eam] *causa mea* H.
convenires] H; *conveneris* M.
est gratum] *esse gratum. Vale* H.

Ep. cxcv. (Att. v. 9).

1. Sybotis, muneribus tuis quae et] *sybotismune robustius qua et* M.
congesserant] Man.; *concesserant* M.
Saliarem] C; *alia—rem* M; *hilarem* alii
et Leucatem] *sed leucatam* M; *et* post voc. in *s* desinens saepius mutatur in *set*, *sed*.
tu me] *tum* M.
extraordinarium] *exordinarium* M.
2. quoque tempore] Bos.; *quoque hoc tempore* M.
abes] *abest* M[1]; *habes* M[2].

Ep. cxcvi. (Fam. viii. 2).

1. me in re praesente] Gronov.; *me representante* M; *me representare* H; *me praesente* Rutilius, Wes. *meme praesente* Becher. Fort. *me in re praesenti adstante*: vid. Comm.
omnibus ordinibus] MH; *ab omnibus ordinibus* Wes. parum necessario: vid. Comm.
et] *set* MH.
†Vide modo] MH; *ride modo* Wes. egregie.
praeparassem] *praeparasse* M.
obstipui et mihi] *obstupui et mihi* H; *obstipuiet mihi* M.
quid] *quod* MH.
itaque] M; *ita* H.
lege Licinia] MH; *legi Liciniae* Ern., Btr., Wes. At si ad *relictus* interpunxeris, ita ut *lege Licinia* ablativus sit causae, nulla erit necessitas scripturae mutandae, etsi libenter fatemur litteras *i* et *e* in manu scriptis sexcenties inter se mutari.
in] Btr. fortasse recte; om. MH: vid. Comm.
maiore esse] *maior esse* MH.
introivit] *introitu* MH.
ab] M; *a* H.
tum tam bene] Benedict., Wes.; *tota bene* MH.

quoivis] *quovis* MH: vide ad Ep. cxcii. 1.

2. quod] Wes.; *quid* MH.

non inertia] *non mercia* H; *non intertia* M.

videbatur] *videbantur* MH.

competitorem] M; *competicionem* H.

Cn.] *G. N.* H (ut semper); *gn.* M.

petit] MH; *petunt* Wes.: vid. Comm.

Hirrum] *hyrru* H (ut saepe).

ad] om. MH.

dedit] MH; *reddidit* Wes. At confer Ep. clxxxvii. 1.

Ep. cxcvii (Fam. viii. 3).

1. negaras] MH.; *me negaras* Lamb., Btr., Wes.

hoc eo] vulg.; *hoc ego* MH; *hoc ego eo* Wes.

facio] H; *facito* M; *factito* vulg.

plane . . . otiolum] om. H.

otiolum] *otiosum* M.

vacanti] *vaganti* MH.

ut] *et* MH.

ego solus] Wes.; *solus* MH: vid. Comm.

mea neglegentia est] *mea neglegentiast* M; *mea facta neglegentia est* H.

maxime vero] M; *maximeque vero* H.

dolere] *dolore* M.

si fio forsitan] *si fio si forsitan* M; *si fio si forte* H.

cum locupletiore referam] MH; *cum locupletiore feram* Ern. (*fiam* Pluygers, Wes.) At vid. Comm.

ut si] *sed si* MH.

est tanti? est] Wes. *sed tanti sed* MH.

Octavius . . . sublevat] MH, quam lectionem defendimus in Comm.; *Octavium . . . sublevant* Wes., Btr.

2. ut et] *ut* H.

3. illud] *illut* M; *illuc* H, fort. recte, verbum perusitatum ab auctoribus comicis.

aliquod] *aliquid* H; *aliquit* M.

σύνταγμα] *syntagma* M; *sintagma* H.

qui tibi] *quid tibi* MH.

inepto: *opto*] Certissimum Klotzii additamentum; *inepto* (om. *opto*) MH.

aliquod] Lamb.; *aliquid* MH.

nostrae] *in nostrae* H.

posteris] M[2]; *poteris* M[1]H.

quoque prodat. Cuius modi] *quam quod prodat huiusmodi* H.

nosti] *nostri* H.

conveniat] Lamb.; *convenit* MH.

ad] H; om. M.

διδασκαλίαν] *didascalian* M; *didaskalian* H.

Ep. cxcviii. (Att. v. 10).

1. VII] Man.; *XV* M.

3. illud] Vict.; *illum* M.

sane scio] Kahnt.; *nescio* M.; *sane nescio* Kl.; *scio* Sch.

et puto] *ut puto* M.

etsi] *sed si* (*setsi*) M.

voltu] R; *volo* M.

bellis] M; Bootio adsentimur, non esse cur, pro *bellis*, aut *bellissime* aut *bellissimi* aut *bellissimis* scribatur.

insulse adroganter] *insulsi adrogantur* M.

δυσεξείλητα] Btr.; ΔΥCCΕΚΙΛΛΗΤΑ M; *δυσεξίλλητα* K; *δυσεξίτηλα* Kl.; *δυσξέλικτα* Or.; *δυσδιήγητα* sive *δυσδιεξήγητα* Kays.; *δυσεκλάλητα* Turneb.; *δυσεξίμητα* Bos.; Fort. *δυσεπίληπτα* (*tactu difficilia*) sive *δύσεκτα et ἐξίτηλα*.

4. ergo] *ego* M.

ac non . . . quisquam] Kays.; *ac non modo nemo modo ne Roma quidem* M; *ac non modo nemo homo, sed ne rumor quidem quisquam* Kl.

5. urbe] M in marg.; *turbe* (per dittographiam litterae *t* in *delectarunt*) M; *turbae* Btr.

ornamento] M; *ornamenta* Ern. Btr.

amore] C; *amores* M.

te et in nos] C; *te in nos* M.

multum †ea† phil.] C; *multae a* (i. e. *multa ea*) *phil.* M; *multum et phil.* k; 'latet sine dubio in *ea* verbum aliquod quo cum *sursum deorsum* iuncto reprehenditur Attica quae tum erat philosophia, ut *commeat* . . . ipsum *sed* declarat Ciceronem aliquid posuisse superioribus Athenarum laudibus contrarium.' Wes. *Em. Alt.*, p. 104. Fort. posuit verbum simplex *meat*, unde facili corruptela post *multum* evasisset *mea*.

si . . . Aristo] Man.; *si quidem est in aris tu* M; *si quid extimaris tu* marg.; *si quid aestimaris tu* C; *si quid est, est in Aristo* Vict. k.

tu velim] Boot.; *invecim* M[1]; ex hoc nihili vocabulo extricavit *tu velim* Boot.; sed ex eodem (in *invicem* mutato) ortae erant lectiones *iuncti* M[2], *iunctim* Z, quae minime probari possunt. *Tu velim*, creberrima in epp. formula, a Wes. et Kl. in textum recepta est.

tempore] ins. Crat: vid. Adn. Cr. ad Att. vi. 2, 10, Ep. cclvi., ubi reperies *tp*r contracte scriptum esse pro *tempore*.

Ep. cxcix. (Fam. xiii. 1).

1. animi] *amici* H.

vidisse] MH; *vidissem* Btr.

dubitabo] *dubito* H.
potero] *potuero* H.
agam nunc. A te] H Crat.; *agam nunc ac te* M Btr.; *agam. Ac te* Schütz. Wes.
2. mea intelleges multum, tua nullam in partem] Ald. Btr. Wes.; *mea intelleges, tua nullam in partem* MH, qui ordo librorum iam sero nescimus an sit retinendus; nam *multum interesse* ad ambas sententiae partes referri potest.
Patrone] *patrono* H (ut semper).
omnia] MH; *communia* Crat., cui Baiterum non esse obsecutum mallem; *alicui omnia esse* minime rara locutio: vid. Comm.
ab eo] *abesse* H.
me] H; *meme habuit* M mera dittographia ut saepe: neque opus est Bechero (p. xi.) adsentiri Mediceum hic iniquum nimium prementi, etsi doctissime confert Priscianum (xii. 5, 24) ut *meme* defendat.
mihique est commendatus] H; *mihique commendatusque* M.
3. idem ut ad] H; *idem ad* M.
4. des te ad] *deesse ad* H.
summam tuam humanitatem] Kl., Wes.; *summam humanitatem* MH.
viam rationemque] Schütz, Wes.; *vitam rationemque* MH.
5. dubitat] *dubitabat* H.
me inliberalem] H; *meliberalem* M. Verbum *illiberalis* paullo atrocius videtur quam pro tam mansueta et accurata epistola. Potuitne vera lectio esse *minus liberalem?* quam tamen diffidenter proferimus.

Ep. cc. (Att. v. 11).

1. dedisse] *dedissem* M.
at vero] *advenero* M.
committam] *committo* M.
quam vix] *quamvis*.
2. foede in Comensi] Car. Sigonius et Mal.; *sedendi comes* M; *cecidit Comensem* Kl.; *foede de Comensi* Bos.
gesserit] M, recte; *gesserat* cum Pantagatho Kl.
quam] ins. Mal.; *nostro [Caesari]* Kays.
3. persuasi] *persuasit* M.
4. una] Bos.; *nam* M.
aphracta] Btr.; *pr. acta* M, sed *aphracta*, Att. v. 12, 1, Ep. ccii..
ἐπικώπων] Ern.; ΕΠΙΚΟΝΔΕΙ M.
5. οἷάπερ ἢ δέσ.] Vict. ex antiquo exemplari; ΟΙΑΤΛΗΑΕCΠΟΙΝΑ M; *οἷα τ' ἂν δέσποινα* C. Fort. *οἷα τ' ἂν ἡ δέσποινα.*
profuerit] *quod fuerit* M.

severius] *serius* M.
Siculi] Gron.; *singuli* M.
6. sentire] *sentiret* M.
Patronem] *patronum* M.
praetore] *PR* M[1]; *pridie* M[2].
is ad suos] Corrad.; *si ad vos* M.
posset] Post hoc verbum ins. M *Cicero At. Sal.* et mox *Manius* non *Memmius.*
7. accepi] *accipe* M.
abstuli] *attuli* M.
datas] M; *datae sunt* Ern. perperam: vid. Comm.
NOMANAPIA me] M; *νομαίαν αἰτίαν* Kl.; *νομαρχίας* Sch. Fort. *νομαίαν ἀργίας.*

Ep. cci. (Fam. ii. 8).

1. tibi] om. T.
et Chresti] M; *ut Chresti* Lamb.; *ut heresti* H.
ea quae] *eaque* MH; *eas* T.
2. qui cum] *cum* T.
egregium esse] *egregium* T.
quare da te homini; complectetur] M; *Quare da te homini complectendum* HT. Fort. *Quare da te homini complectendum; complectetur mihi crede.*
mihi crede. Nam] Wes.; *mihi crede; iam* MH.
iidem] om. T.
3. multumque] *multique* T.
proficiscebar inde] M; *proficiscebatur ainde* H; *proficiscebatur inde* T.

Ep. ccii. (Att. v. 12).

ad Ceo] Man.; *ab Ceo* M; *ad Ceum* Corrad.
iucunde. Inde] Vict.; *vicum deinde* M.
Syrum] Moser. et Meinek.; *schyrum* M; *Scyron* alii.
nec me Delo] Lamb.; *Delo nec me* M.
ἄκρα Γυρέων pura] L. Dindorf.; ΑΚΡΑΤΗΡΕΟΝ *iura* M; *ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια* Bos. et vulg.: vid. Comm.
2. a te] nos; *ad te* M; *ad Messallam* Madv. (iii. 176) qui *ad te* damnat, sed non scit certum quid pro *ad te* scriptum fuerit; conicit, quod sententiae satisfacere dicit, sed nimis audacem videri mutationem, *auctore te.*
cum Thallumeto nostro] *cum thallum et onostro* M.
gravissimus] C; *gratissimus* M.
sit sciam. Cum] Man.; *sit etiam cum* M.
habemus] M; *habebimus* vulg.
3. explica] *explicari* M.

de strue laterum] Bos.; *destrues alterum* M.
tu id] Kl.; *quid* M; *aliquid* Aldus.
rogabit] Corrad.; *rogavit* M.
constitero] *constituero* M.

Ep. cciii. (Att. v. 13).

1. quingentesimo] Bos.; *quinto* M.
pugnam Bov.] marg. ed. Lamb. 1584; *pugnam ambo villam* M.
quae mihi] *qui mi* M.
fuit] *fuisse* M.
decumani quasi venissem] Gron.; *de cumanis venissem* M.
praetori se alacres] *pretoris ea alacres.*
quod] marg.; *quo* M.
nuntiarit] Corrad.; *nunciaret* M.
2. negotiola] C; *negotio* M¹; *negotia* M².
curae] *cura* M¹; *cure* M².
tradidi] Vict.; *tradi* M.
Apollonidensem] Lamb.; *appolinicense* M.
Xenonem] *senonem* M.
commendavi] *commendi* M.
omnino omnia] *omnia omnia* M.
3. praefulci . . . annui] *prefulce atque premunitas queo* (marg. *queso*) *simus annui* M.
maximeque si quid] C; *maxime queso quid* M.
scrupulum] M (sc. tolle); *scrupulo* Ursin.; *deme illum domesticum scrupulum* Moser.; sed vid. I², p. 70 de ellipsi apud Cic. in epp. creberrima.
te auctore] Vict.; *et auctorem* M.
imprimisque num quid] Lamb.; *imprimisque quid* M¹; *impirmis nunc quid* M²; *imprimisque ecquid* Bos.
de aqua si curae est] M; *de aqua tibi curae esto. Quid Philippus* Boot.

Ep. cciv. (Att. v. 14).

1. utrumque praestabo] Vict.; *utrumque est dabo* M¹; *utrumque dabo* M²; *utrumque stabo* Z¹.
me amas] *meas* MZ¹.
παράπηγμα] Tunstall.; ΠΑΓΓΕΓΜΑ M.
haec mihi quae vellem] R; *hec que mihi que vellem* M.
adferebantur] Vict.; *adierabantur* M; *aggerabantur* Z.
otium Parthicum] M²; *ocii in* (*i in* pro *um*) *phartinum* M¹
Appio] *oppio* M.
2. spero meos] *spero eos* M²; *per meos* M¹.

in] margo ed. Lamb. 1582.
speramus] Man.; *paramus* M.
recta] marg.; *recte* M.
iuris dictioni] *viriedictionis* M¹; *iuris dictionis* M².
3. imprimisque illud] Man.; *imprimis quid illud* M.
ἐνδόμυχον] Vict.; ENOMΤΛΟΝ M; ἐνόμιλον C.

Ep. ccv. (Fam. iii. 5).

1. de] om. MH.
praestitueresque] edd. post Orellium; *restitueresque* MH; *statueres* Schütz.
2. cum mihi gratissimum dicam] *congratissimum esse dicam* H.
est perspectum ii mihi] *est perscriptum hi mi* MH.
agetur] *agitur* H; Fortasse recte.
3. sic se habet] *se sic habet* H; *sic sie habet* M¹; *sic si habet* M²; *sic habet* Vict. Btr.
arbitrarer] MH; *arbitraretur* edd. post Martyni-Lagunam, coll. Fam. iii. 6, 1, Ep. ccxiii.
si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae] MH: neque est cur locum vexemus; *illam* sc. ubi naves conscendere solebant ii qui a provincia Romam redibant. Schützius coniicit *si ad Sidam* [*maritimam partem provinciae*] *navibus*, coll. Fam. iii. 6, 1, Ep. ccxiii.
L. Clodius] *lucilius clodius* MH.
Laodiceae] H; *laudiceas* M.
4. fieri] *ferri* H.
pridie] *propter* MH.
putem] *pute* M *putet* H.
celerrimis nuntiis] Kl.: *celerrimis* (om. *nuntiis*) MH; *celerrime* Pal. quintus quod nonnihil arridet.
commodo] H; *quomodo* M.
magni interest ut te videam ante quam decedas] *magni in te quam decedas* (mediis omissis) MH.
desperaro] *desperatum* H.
5. commoratus] H; *comuratus* M.
ac sane] Orell.; *an sane* MH.
noluisse] *uoluisse. Vale* H.

Ep. ccvi. (Fam. viii. 4).

invideo tibi] *invideo etibi* M.
mirere] *mirer* MH.
condemnatum] *contemptatum* H.
Calidium] *claudium* MH.
Galliis] Corrad.; *Gallis* MH.
P.] *principibus* H.
at qua] *Atque* H.

et hercules] *Ut me hercules* H.
nostri equites acutius] *nostrisque acutius* MH.
2. Servaeum] Wes.; *serva eum* M; *serium* H.
tribunum plebis] *T.R.P.L.* H.
in] om. MH.
petit] Wes.; *petiit* MH.
cecidisse] *cecinisse* MH.
in evitandis consiliis qui] H; confer Becherum (pp. 2, 3) qui hanc lectionem optime defendit; *in evitandis iis consiliis qui* M; *in eorum evitandis consiliis qui* (aut *in evitandis iis consiliariis qui*) Wes.; *in evitandis iis consiliis quae inita erant ab illis qui* Kl.
Laelios . . . dico] *lelius et antonius et etios genus valentis dico* H.
3. misi] *mihi* M.
dilationes] *dilatiores* H.
exspectare] *spectare* MH.
confectis] *interfectis* H.
Sextiles usque] *sextus usque* M.
praetoriis] *praeteritis* H.
morae] *more* MH.
sint] H; *sit* M.
aedilium pl.] *APO. P.L.* H.
Vinicianum] Ursinus: confer Bell. Alex. 77 et titulum ap. Henzenum 5358; *vicinianum* MH.
deriseramus] *deseramus* M; *desideramus* H.
de dictatore] *delectatore* H.
magno clamore insecuta est] libri; *magni clamores insecuti sunt* Boot.; fort. *magno clamore insectatio insecuta est.*
iam non] Vict.; *annon* MH.
faciendum flagitare. Spero] *faciendum agitas? Spero* H.
sperare] *sperari* H.
es] *est* MH.
4. referretur] *referet* H.
quo appeteretur] MH; *quoad appeteretur* Le Clerc, Btr.; *quando repeteretur* Boot.: vid. Comm.
Cum] *eam* H.
†Cum . . . Gallia] libri; *Cum* (aut *Quae cum*) *esset in Gallia* Wes.
abducturum] *adducturum* H.
obtrectatorum] *obtrectaturum* M.
interrogatus] MH; *interrogatus est* Lamb. Btr.: vid. Comm.
actum] *factum* MH.
transigetur] *transigeretur* MH.
intercedetur] *intercederetur* MH.
Pompeius] *pompeio* MH.
5. Cibyratas] *ciburatas* MH. Fort. Κιβυράτας (Graecis litteris).
vehantur] *veantur* H; *venentur* Graev.
nuntiatum nobis] MH; *nuntiatum nobis est* Wes.: vid. Comm.

Alexandrinum] *Alexandrum* H.
quid mihi] *qui dem* M; *Qui de* H. Fort. *Quid de re.*
K. Sext.] M; om. H.

Ep. ccvii. (Att. v. 15).

1. anni movebis] Bos.; *animo verbis* M (superscr., quod mera est coniectura, 'al. *vacat*').
habeat . . . cesset] M; *habet* . . . *cessat* cum Graevio Kl. Interpunctionem nos correximus.
ius] *in iis* M.
annuum] M; *annum* C.
2. ut verear] M²; *aut verear* M¹.
permutavi] *permulta vi* M.
refrico] *reficio* M.
3. castra] *castro* M.
Moeragene] Bos.; *mofragene* M.
decernerem] edd. nonnulli; *decedere* M; *deciderem* Man., Btr., Wes., fort. recte.
plane] Ammian. Marcell. (xvi. 5, 10); *illa* M¹; *illane* M²C: *cillane* Bos. Versus est troch. septen.
sim annuus] Kl; *sit annus* M; *sit annuus* FA; *sit annuum* Mal.
adsis tu ad tempus] *adsitua tempus* M; *at si tu ad tempus* marg.
senatum totum] M²; *senatum* M¹; *senatum tum* Büch.
epistolam . . . iri] Gron.; *plura scribam tarde tibi redituro* M¹; *plura scribebam tarde tibi redditu ire* M²; *redditu iri* Z¹. Corruptio ex forma contracta *eplā* pro *epistolam* orta est.
per magistros] *permagistris* (superscr. *i. valde magistris*) M¹.
et portus nostrarum] Man.; *et portus et nostrarum* M.

Ep. ccviii. (Att. v. 16).

1. desiderant] *se deserant* M.
2. iam venisse] Kl; *invenisse* M.
moratos] F; *moratus* M.
ἐπικεφάλια . . . ὠνὰς] *epicephalia* . . . *onas* M.
hominis] *homines* M.
omnino eos vitae] Mal.; *omnium nos vitae* M.
3. ne tectum] *nec tectum* M.
ex domibus ex omnibus] nos; *ex nominibus ex omnibus* M; *ex domibus omnibus* Vict.
ita opiniones] Moser.; *itaque opiniones* M.
4. ne cogitabat] Vict.; *negociabat* M.

Ep. ccix. (Att. v. 17).

2. nullus] *nullius* M.
teruncius] marg. qui alteram etiam lectionem *te rectius* exhibet; *terentius* M.
5. dixisse] *dixit* M.
muni] C; *ama* M.
illustriorem] Vict.; *iniustiorem* M[1]; *iustiorem* M[2].
6. minima cum] M[2]; *inimicum* M[1].

Ep. ccx. (Fam. viii. 5).

1. animi] M; *animis* H.
hoc more moderari] MH; *hoc more rem moderari* Becher.; *hoc modo moderari* Wes.; *hoc modo rem moderari* Bengel.
ut] H; *et* M.
quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset assequeremur, periculosum] libri; *triumpho . . . periculosamque* Boot.; *quantum gloriae ad triumphum opus esset* Pluygers.
porro] *vero* H.
2. accedit] *accessit* H.
visum est] H; *visus est* M.
Galliis] Manut.; gallis MH.
decernere] *discernere* H.
moretur] H. Orell.; *moreretur* M; *moremur* Ern.: vid. Comm.
3. in quodam incili iam] Manutii emendatio palmaris; *in quodam in cilicia* MH.
urget, neque] *urget et neque* M.
senatum] *senatis* M; *senatus* H; *senatum is* Orell.
hoc si praeterito . . . introibit, quam] sic fere libri (*introī ut quam* M; om. *introibit* H) quos optime defendit Lehmannus (p. 38); *hoc sic praeterito anno Curio tribunus erit et eadem actio de provinciis introibit; quam* Wes.
tunc] Lamb.; *nunc* MH.
Caesar iique qui] Kahnt; *Caesari qui* MH Wes.
in sua causa] nos; *in* om MH: vid. Comm.
sperent] Orell.; *superet*, libri quos Ern. frustra defendere studet.

Ep. ccxi. (Fam. viii. 9).

1. minimae] *minime* M; *minimum* H.
Caesarem] *Caes.* M; om. H.
exspectationem corripit: †Curionem prorsus curionem non mediocriter obiurgat] H, quod nos, altero *curionem* eiecto, sequimur; *exspectationem corripit curionem prorsus curionem non mediocriter obiurgatus ac* M.
hac (*ac* MH) repulsa se mutavit] *ita notatus hac repulsa se mutavit* Wes.; *scilicet hac repulsa se mutavit* Manut.
causas liberales] Vict.; *causam liberalis* MH; *causas Cvirales* (*centumvirales*) Pluygers.
2. res reiecta est] *reiecta est* MH; Orell. Btr. inseruerunt *res* ante *reiecta* ut pateat corruptelae causa; *reiecta res est* Wes., ordine Tulliano quidem neque tamen idcirco Caeliano: vid. Comm.
potuerunt] Vict.; *potuerant* MH.
transferetur] *transferretur* H.
relinquendus] Crat. Wes.; *relinquendum* MH.
tibi] *ut ibi* H.
quam] libri; *in quam* Bentiv., parum recte: vid. Comm.
parares] *pararis* M; *praepares* H.
3. Turpe . . . Curioni] *turbe tibi erit parthis cum curione* H.
tenueris] *teneres* MH.
Cibyratas] *Cybiratas* M; *cibiratas* H.
capi aiunt] *capiunt* H.
qui alant eas] *qui lanteas* H.
spem] In hoc verbo H subito se explicit ne pagina quidem manuscripti finita.
4. equitem Romanum] *e. q. r.* M.
habeas] *habeat* M.
habent] *habet* M.
factu est] *factum est* M; *factu sit* Kleyn., Wes. At Caelius aperte dicit rem honestam factu esse, non rogat ut id tantum modo fiat quantum honestum factu sit.
5. consulem . . . Ipse] Klotz; *consul ipse* M; *consulem esse non vult. Ipse* Btr.; *non vult Caesarem et provinciam tenere cum exercitu et consulem esse; ipse.*
consultum] *consultus* M.
eum questum] *eum quaestum* M; *conquestum* H.

Ep. ccxii. (Fam. xv. 3).

M. CICERO] Man.; M. CICERO IMP. MH. At Cicero non imperator appellatus est donec a. d. Id. Oct. Amanienses vicerat.
1. Commageno] *cum mageno* H.
Kal.] Man.; *Non.* MH: vid. Comm.
2. habuisset] H; *habuit se* M[1]; *habuisse* M[2].
tenere . . . teneamus] Nonius, p. 273, qui memoriter, ut videtur, hunc locum laudat, pro *tenere* dat *ferre*, pro *teneamus*, *teneamur* vel *tuneamur*, unde Kl. et Wes. *tueamur* eruerint; parum recte tamen cum M *tenemus*, H *teneamus* exhibeant.
possumus] M; *possimus* H.

Ep. ccxiii. (Fam. iii. 6).

1. Sidam] *Siciliam* H.
dixi esse] H; *dixisse* M.
2. L. Clodium] *lentulum Clodium* MH.
cum loquerer] *colloquerer* H.
decederes] H; *decedes* M.
3. ibi] *ubi* H.
ad decedendum] *ad cedendum* MH.
lenissime] H³ (manu prima), Martyni-Laguna; *levissime* MHH³ (manu secunda).
videatur] H; *videbatur* M.
4. et est in] *et est enim* M; om. *et est in multis* Man. Graev. Sch.
solerent] *deberent* H, quod nobis nonnihil arridet.
sibi] *tibi* MH.
5. videretur] H Crat.; *videtur* M: vid. Comm.
tres cohortes] *tris cortis* M.
fero] *perfero* H.
quae me] H; *quae de me* M.
visurus essem] *visurus sim* H; *visurum* M.
Itaque virum] om. H.
D. Antonium] Btr.; *dedit Antonium* M; sed *d* in compendiosa scriptura *dedit* significat, vide Chassant. (*Lex.* p. 19); om. *D* H.
evocatorum] M; *evocaturum* H.
si tibi videretur] H; *sit tibi videtur* M¹.
6. de tuo] libri; *tu de tuo* Wes.
quo loco] *quo in loco* H.

Ep. ccxiv (Fam. xv. 7).

Epistolas septimam octavam nonam libri quinti decimialio ordine dant mss, scilicet nonam, septimam, octavam; unde fortasse acciderit ut haec epistola pro C. MARCELLO inscribatur M. MARCELLO cui epistola nona datur. De Marcellis horum annorum consulibus vid. Comm.
tum mei] MH; *cum mei* Wes., cum codice uno, fortasse recte.
amantiorem te cognovi] H; *te* om. M.
defensus tristibus] *defensis suis tristibus* H.
vester] *ut* H. At in compendiosa scriptura minime inter se differunt.

Ep. ccxv. (Fam. xv. 8).

consuesti] H Crat. Wes.; *suesti* M.

Ep. ccxvi. (Fam. xv. 9).

1. te tollimus] Kayser; *tollimus* MH.
virisque] *utrisque* H.
2. addis] libri; *addideris* Wes., at vide Lehmannum (p. 89).
3. scribenda esse] H; *scribendas esse* M.
propterea . . . publice] om. H, ex homoeoteleuto.

Ep. cxvii. (Fam. xv. 12).

PROCOS] Wes.: vid. Comm. ad Fam. xv. 3, Ep. ccxii.; *IMP.* libri.
1. a teque] M; *atque* H.
maiorumque] H; *malorumque* M.
2. des efficias] M; *des efficiasque* H Erf.; *des et efficias* Btr.
ne quid] H; *nequit* M.

Ep. ccxviii. (Att. v. 18).

1. *cum*] ins. Btr.
Antiochea *est*] *anthiocie* M; *Antiochiae* Kl. Btr., vulg. Sed 'genitivus definitivus sic positus ut in *tellus Ausoniae* et *Buthroti urbs* (Verg.) et *promontorium Pachyni* (Liv.) Tullianae aetatis non est: cp. Madv. § 286, n. 1.' Wes. Em. Alt., p. 105: *est* addidit Heraeus. Hinc orta est corruptela.
κεφάλαιον] ΚΕΦΑΜΟΝ M.
porrecta] Asc.; *proiecta* MC.
2. copioso] marg.; *quo piso* M.
loco] Bos.; *locum* M.
exercitu] *exercito* M.
usus est] F; *usus esset* M.
videtur] *videretur* M.
dilectus] *delectus*.
3. συμπάθειαν] CΥΝΠΑΘΙΑΝ.
sis] *esses* M²; *essent* M¹.
nostrum] Man.; *nostros* M.
4. ut et tu] *et ut* M.

Ep. ccxix. (Fam. xv. 2).

1. B] om. M.
faciendum] H; *adficiendum* M.
eos] libri; *eo* Ern.
2. Artavasdes] Wes.; *Artuasdes* libri.
4. Eusebem] M; *Euseben* H.
salutem incolumitatemque regni] Wes.; *incolumitatem regnumque* MH.
populo senatuique] Hic ordo nullo modo est sollicitandus, vide Hirschfeldium (*Hermes*, v. p. 298) et Comm.
5. essem] *esset* H; *esse* M.
commendationis] H; *commendationi* M.
ille] *illo* MH.
dixissem et tamen adolescentem essem

cohortatus] H, Erf., alii, Wes. sine dubio recte, vid. Comm.; *dixissem cohortatus* (mediis omissis) M; *dixissem cohortatus sum* Btr.

tueretur] H; *tuetur* M.

6. indicia manifestarum insidiarum] libri; *indicia manifesta insidiarum* Kleyn., qui confert Brut. 277, Curt. vii. 1, 2, quae loca nihil ad rem sunt, neque Halmius ad Vell. ii. 83, 2, *ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia* aliquid novare audet.

is quoque me] H; *me is quoque* M; *me quoque is* Wes: vid. Comm.

accipere] *accidere* MH.

patris eius atque avi iudicio] Popma Btr.; *in patris eius atque avi iudicio* H; *iam patris eius atque avi iudicio* Lamb.; *in patris eius atque iudicio* M[1]; *in patris eius fide atque iudicio* M[2].

probatos] H Vict.; *probato* M.

hortatus] libri; *cohortatus* Wes.

7. consulto] *consilio* MH.

populi Romani] *p. r.* MH.

posse] libri; *posse se* edd., sed Lehmannus *se* non necessarium esse demonstrat, conferendo, Fam. vii. 32, 1, Ep. ccxxix.

8. discederem] *discerem* M.

decressetis] *decrevissetis* H.

liberasset] Wes.; *liberaret* MH.

ut] om. MH.

Ep. ccxx. (Att. v. 19).

1. Appii] *appelli* M; *appellit* C.

Roma] *romam* M.

hui!] Vict.; *ivit* M.

quin tu] Vict.; *quin ut* M.

et iam] k; *etiam* M.

2. †iam Romae†] sine obelis Btr.; *tantopere* Or.; *natam Romae* Luenemann. Fort. *quadrimam* vel *tanta ῥώμῃ* vel *moratam iucunde*. Pro *Roma* coni. *natura* vel *amore* Lehmannus (Zeitschr. fur das Gymnasial-Wesen xlii. p. 257, 1888), collato Att. vii. 2, 4. Des modo, lector, illo loco collato, hic latere *στοργῇ* sub *Romae*, et omnia erunt prolixa.

vale. De Patrone] Man.; *valde patrone* M.

3. parietinis] Man.; *tarentinis* M.

in Melita] Gassendus; *in militia* M.

libente te] Lipsius; *libenter* M. Fort. *libenter te repulsum tulisse eum*.

certarat] marg. ed. Lamb. 1584. Btr. Wes. Boot.; *certaret* M; *certasset* K; *certarit* Kl. Huius modi corruptelas illustravit Wes. *Emend.* 27–29.

Ep. ccxxi. (Fam. xv. 1).

1. factus] *facitis* H.

2. nuntiarunt] *nuntiaverunt* H.

regi] *rei* H.

populi Romani] H; *p. r.* M ut semper in hac epistola.

Pacorum] Vict.; *pacorem* MH.

ab Iamblicho] *abiamblico* M; *ababiamphico* H.

phylarcho] *philartho* H.

3. rerum] om. H.

mansuetudinem] Man. Btr. Wes.; *consuetudinem* MH.

amiciores populo Romano] *amicioris p. r.* M; *amicitiores p. rei* H (*ti* punctis notatis).

cedere] libri; *recedere* Kleyn: sed confer Quintil. vi. 4, 16, Cic. N. D. ii. 83, qui *cedere* pro *recedere* utuntur.

4. quas vos audistis ego] *vos audistis* omissis *quas* et *ego* H; paullo post *ego* ante *negotium* om. H.

nos] *vos* MH.

5. permisissetis] *permisistis* MH.

iuvare] *tutare* H.

ne] om. H.

Ep. ccxxii. (Fam. iii. 8).

1. Etsi] H; *ut si* M.

ad me . . . oratione] *adde improborum hortacione* H.

2. vultu et taciturnitate] H Wes.; *vultu taciturnitate* M.

hoc . . . intellegere] om. H.

quid] libri; *qui* Orell.

aequo] *quo* H.

magna sollicitudine significatione] MH; *magna sollicitudine significationis* Pal. tert., ed Neap. Orell.: vid. Comm.

ad legatos] *allegatos* M; *allegato* H.

totum genus] *gneus* (om. *totum*) H.

3. nunc] H; *num* M.

me] om. H.

Appium Claudium] *apud Clodium* MH.

Midaeensium] *mideaesium* M; *mihi de aesium* H.

ita] *ista* MH.

meminisse] *meminissem* MH; *meminisse me* Orell.

aut locum . . . mihi] om. H.

si qui] *qui* H.

functus] *fructus* H.

reprehendi] om. H.

non tantum] MH; *non tam* Vict., Wes.

4. ad me venissent] advenissent H.

magno opere] *magnopere* H, ut semper.

te] om. H.

tralaticium] *translatum* H.
ut privatae rei causa legari] *si pravitate rei causa legari* (corr. ex *legare*) H.
et pro re . . . privato] om. H.
possent] *possient* M.
Taurumve] *taurum ut* H.
fecerim] corr. ex *facerem* H.
5. cum Apameae cum Synnadis] *cumpameae cum synadeis* M; *cum apameae cum sinadis* H.
Philomelii] *philomeli* MH (item infra).
a me] *mane* M.
Tu si . . . non debuisti] H[3]M (sed omittit *si*); *tu istiusmodi sermonibus ad te delatis de me non debuisti* H, fort. recte.
cogitassem] *cogitasse* M[1].
non generum tuum libertum] MH; *non ad generum tuum *neque ad libertum,* Vict. Excidit aut *Romae* aut *Tarenti*, ut Wes. demonstrat: vid. Comm.; *neque ad libertum tuum,* Martyni-Laguna, in quo acquiescet si cui, ut Baitero, generi mentio ab hoc loco aliena videbitur.
negabam] *notabam* H.
6. quod] *quo* M[1].
me iam] H; *meam* M; *me* Btr.
meus] *metus* H.
Synnadae] *Synnade* M[1] (*sinnade* H); *synnadae* M[2]: sed inveniuntur et *Synnada -orum*, ut persaepe, et *Synnada -ae* (Claud. in Eutrop. ii. 273).
sin . . . non nulla est] om. H.
callidius] MH; *calidius* Schütz Wes.: vid. Comm.
semper . . . absens] om. H.
committere] *committerem* MH; *committere me* Orell.
possis] Martyni-Laguna; *posses* M; *possem* H. Sed post *potest—defenderim—nunc* opus est tempore praesenti, ut Wes. (*Em.* 51) docet.
7. cuipiam] *quipiam* M; *quippiam* H.
in plures] MH; *liberius* Wes.; *impurius* H[3] (in rasura).
mecum Corcyrae] *me cortire* H.
nunquam] *unquam* H.
posse] M[2]H; *posses* M[1].
putat] *putant* H.
8. patuit] *potuit* M; *posuit* H.
angustior est—etsi] Lamb.; om. *est* MH.
limabit] *limavitabit* MH.
propter] *ter* H.
temporum] *temporis* H.
fuerim] om. H.
med esse . . . mihi] Haec verba ut versum scripsimus cum Martyni-Laguna; *uti sim dulcis mihi* poeticum sonat: vid. Comm.; *me esse acerbum sibi ut sim pulcis* (*dulcis* H) *mihi* MH. Post *mihi* est in M lacuna circiter quattuor litterarum.
9. oneris accedat aut] *honoris accedat aut* H.
10. ad Amanum versus] om. *ad* libri. At vide Madvigium (*Em. Liv.*[2] 161) et Wesenbergium (*Em. Alt.* 6). Hic confert Fam. viii. 15, 2, *ad Alpis versus.*
profecti sumus] *profectissimus* M.
agro Mopsuhestiae. Si quid] *agro moshestie sisi quid* M; *agro. Hostiae si quid* H.
ad me] M; *ad te* H; *ad meos* Crat. Sed nihil mutandum: vid. Comm.
magis quod] *magis ut quod* (littera *d* puncto notata) M.

Ep. CCXXIII. (Fam. viii. 8).

1. scito] *sit* H.
Rufum] H; *Rufum Rufum* M.
Quaeris qua in causa] *quaeris an causa* M; *an quaeris causas* H.
rerum] *rerum* H.
deferre] H; *differre* M.
Tuccium] *tuncium* M; *tuctium* H.
rei] *regi* H.
Vestorium] *vestrorum* H.
† si quod iniuriis suis esset] MH; *si quid iniuria ipsius esset* Wes.; *si quid iuris sui esset* Vict.; *si quid iniuriis suum esset* Hofmann.
2. Haec . . . tenet] om. H.
quoiquam] M Becher.; *quo inquam* H; *quicquam* Lamb.
maximaeque . . . invidiae] Becher.; *maximequae* (*que* H) . . . *invidiae* MH; *maximaque . . . invidia* Man. Btr.: vid. Comm.
praetor postulante] Kl.; *praetore* (*praetorae* M) *postulante* MH; *praetor expostulante* Btr.
Q.] Madv. (Fin.[3], p. 807), Wes. *Em.* 38; *quae* H; *q'* M; *quod* vulg.
de] om. H.
Appius minor] *apius miror* H.
indicaret] Wes. Btr.; *impicet* MH.
pecuniam] *depecuniam* M; *de pecunia* H Orell.; *DC* [*pecuniam*] (ut glossema sit *pecuniam*) Mendelssohn.
patris] MH; *patriis* Orell.
pervenisse ad] *pervenis ad* MH.
causa] *causam* MH.
LXXXI] LXXXN (= nummum) Mendelssohn, sed parum probabiliter.
patre] H; *patris* M; *patriis* Orell.
3. aestimarant] M; *aestimaverant* H.
coeptus legisque] *coeptus est legisq* Lamb.; *coetus legesque* M; *coeptus legensque* H.
EORUM IUDICUM] H; *eorum iudicium* M.

ID IUS RATUMQUE] *id ius* (*idus* M) *iuratumque* MH.
postulante rusus] Becher; confer Baiterum quoque ad ix. 9, 3; *postulanter usus* M; *postulantur* (om. *rusus*) H.
L. Lollio] *lutio Lollio* H.
transegisset et rem relaturum] nos; *transegisset relaturam* MH.
repetundis] *repetendis* MH, itemque infra.
emissario Sex. Tettio] Manutii amicus quidam; *emissa rustetio* MH.
4. est] om. H.
graviter acta] libri; *ignaviter acta* Pluygers.
perspecta] *perfecta* H.
Cn. Pompeii] *G. N. Pompeius* H.
5. S. C. Auctoritates] Manut., vid. Errata; *senatus consultus auctoritas* M; *auctoritas* H.
consultum (§ 4) . . . senatus (§ 5)] om. H, ideoque scribendum *senatus auctoritates*, putaramus, et inconsulte in textum recepimus. Sed unum e scriptis tribuni non intercesserant. Itaque lectio Manutiana est retinenda, ut in Praef. docuimus.
Fab.] = Fabia tribu; *Fabius* MH.
Ahenobarbus . . . Fab.] om. H.
Villius] *vil* M; *vilus* H.
Lucilius] Nipperdeius: vid. Addenda; *lucius* MH; *Lucceius* vulg.
Atteius] *Vatteius* H.
Eppius] *Oppius* MH.
Ter.] (= Teretina tribu) Btr.; *ter sal* M; *Tullio sal.* H; *Ter. Sal.* (= Salinator) Klotz.
v. f. . . . coss.] om. H.
ex Kal. Mart.] Wes.; *ad ex x Kal. Martias* MH; *o. d.* (= omnibus diebus) *ex Kal. Mart.* Hofmann.
quid coniunctim] *quis coniunctum* M; *quid iunctum* H.
referretur a consulibus] *referrentur* (*referretur* H) *a consiliis* MH, itemque infra.
senatum haberent senatusque cons. facerent] *senatum haberes sane tumque cons. faceret* M; *senatum haberet nesene natusque confaceret* H.
in CCCLX] Orell.; *in occ* H; *in ccc* M: vid. Comm.
s. f. s.] (= sine fraude sua) Hirschfeld. egregie; *ses* MH; *eos* Man.; *ut* (VI = sex = VT) C. F. Hermann., ingeniose, non negamus.
si quid de ea re ad populum plebemve lato opus esset] *si quid der . . . ad populum pl. ve latopus esset* M; *si quid de P. ad populum p. l. vel ad opus esset* H.
uti Ser. Sulpicius M. Marcellus coss.] *uti Ser Sulp.* (sic) *marcus marcus* (om. alterum *marcus* H) *marcellus cos.* MH.

quod si ii] Crat.; *quod ii* M.
quod si ii . . . ferrent] om. H.
†I. N.] MH; *Cens.* (= censuere) Momms.: vid. Comm.
6. scrib.] (= scribendo); *scripta* MH.
Cn. F. Fab. Ahenobarbus] *Cn. Fab. Athenobarbus* M; *C. N. Fabius Atenobarbus* H.
Q. Caecilius Q. F. Fab. Metellus] Btr. (cp. § 5); *q. Metellus q. f.* MH.
Pius] *plus* M; *P.* H.
Villius] *Iulius* MH.
C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus] Wes.: om. MH.
Pop.] *Pom.* MH.
Ateius] *Atilius* MH.
Teretina] Haec forma usitatior; *Terentina* MH.
v. f.] (= verba fecit); *ut* MH.
d. e. r. i. c.] *d. R. I. C.* H.
de r. p. p. r. q.] (= de republica populi Romani Quiritium) cp. Varr. L. L. vi. 9, p. 263 Orell.; *de republica q. p.* M; *de R. p. q. p.* H.
referri] *referre* MH.
senatique] M; *senatusque* H.
consultum] om. H.
possit] *posse* MH.
eum] *tum* MH.
existimare] *existimari* MH.
s. c.] *senatus consultum* H; *senatus consultus* M.
senatui] *senatu* H.
populum] MH; del. Mommsenus: vid. Comm.
referri] *referre* MH.
s. c.] *senatus consultum* H.
Vinicius; P. Cornelius] *Vicinius publicus cor.* (*corn.* *M*) MH.
tribuni plebis] om. MH, sed confer § 7.
7. referri] *referre* MH.
de ea re] *de ea republica* M; *de ea re. p.* H.
ad hunc] H; *adhuc* M.
s. c.] *senato c.* MH.
C. Caelius] *Caelius* (om. C.) MH.
tribuni pl.] *tribunus pl.* MH.
8. obtinerent] MH; *obtinent* Wes., fortasse recte.
in provinciam] MH; *in provincias* Wes.
fuerunt] MH; *iverunt* Wes.
ex s. c.] *ex senatu consultu* M.
oporteret] H; *oportere* M.
ex s. c.] *s. c.* M; om. H.
ire] *iri* H.
praetorum] *p. r.* M; om. H.
sorte in provinciam] M; *sorte in provincias* H, Crat.
si ii ad numerum] *sed si iii ad numerum* H.

effectus] om. H.
tribuni pl.] *tribunus plebis* MH.
9. Caesaris] *Caes.* M.; *censum* H.
tum] *tunc* H.
inquit] *inquis* M.
esse] *esset* H.
volet] *vellet* H.
At . . . volet] om. H.
At] *ad* M.
existimarent] *existimarem* H.
effecit] H; *efficit* M.
sua ratio] H; *sui ratio* M.
10. quid adsequi] *quod an assequi* H.
Curio et mihi] MH; *Curio sed mihi* Pluygers.
dedisset eas, quae] *dedisset easque ad* M; *dedisset quae* H.
advectae] *advecti* M; *advecta* H.
quoniam] M; *quomodo* H, sed utrumque eisdem litteris in uncialibus, ut vocantur, descriptum (QM).
potuit supersederi] *potuit supersedere* MH; *potui supersedere* Pluygers: vid. Comm.
dare] MH; *dari* vel *dari me* Btr.; confer Becherum, p. 17.
istoc] M; om. H; *istuc* vulg.
perscripsi] Wes.; *descripsi* MH: vid. Comm.

Ep. ccxxiv. (Fam. ii. 9).

Alterum huius epistolae exemplum quod Baiterus littera N significat, exhibet M inter quintam et sextam libri octavi epistolam. Neque aliter H, cuius exemplum in libro octavo littera n significamus.
M. Caelio] N. Marcellio M. Ut solet H pro superscriptione nihil nisi *Edili curuli designato* praefert.
praesenti tum] MT. om. H; *praesentium* n.
sperata tua] *sperata* T.
ignoratione] MHNT; *ignorantiae* n.
agam] om. H.
sis] MHNT; *sit* n.
me quod semper] Nn; *me quem semper* MH.
ridere] MNHT; *redire* n.
ipse] MH; om. Nn.
factus sum] M; *sum factus* n; *facturus* HT.
quem] om. T.
iactitat] libri; *actitat* Lamb. Wes.
2. et quasi] MT; *et quas* H; *ut quasi* n.
rem egeris] Nn; *egeris rem* MHT.
praeter] om. n.
referebam] MNTH; *referam* n.
incredibile] MHT; *incredibilem* Nn.

factu] *facto* HTNn.
laetitiis laetus] Martyni-Laguna, coll. Fin. ii. 13; *laetitiis* (om. *laetus*) MHT; *laetus* Nn.
obiurgarer] MHHT; *iugarer* n.
nimio gaudio] MHTn; *nimium gaudeo* N.
desiperem] MHT; *desiderem* Nn. Archetypum litteris maioribus descriptum esse liquido patet.
voluptatem] MHT; *voluntatem* Nn.
animi] Vict. coll. Tusc. iv. 35, Fin. i. 13; *homini* libri.
3. cum primum] Nn; *quam primum* MHT.
ero aliquid nactus otii] HMT; *ero nactus aliquid doti te* N.
mi Rufe] MN; *mirifice* HTn.
amplificatorem dignitatis] MHNT; *amplificatorum rem dignitatis* n.
ut eos] MHNn; *sed eos* T.
scelerum suorum, partim] om. T.
paeniteret] N; *pertineret* M¹; *poeniteret* M² HTn.

Ep. ccxxv. (Fam. ii. 10).

M. Caelio] M corr. ex Marcellio. Nihil superscriptionis nisi *Edili curuli designato* exhibit H.
1. quam] M¹H; *quam timide quam* M²; *quamobrem* Man. ex libris nonnullis; *quare* coni. Schütz. At confer sis Cic. Sull. 33, De Orat. ii. 180.
perferantur] MH; *perferentur* T.
aedilis es factus] HT; *aedilis effactus* M¹; *aedilis effectus es* M².
nullas] HT; *nullus* M¹.
gratulationis] HT; *gratulationes* M.
de Hillo] egregia Manutii coniectura; *de nihilo* libri.
quia quod] Wes.; *quod* libri: vid. Comm.
putaram] MH; *putaremus* T.
Atqui] *atque* MHT.
comitia] MH; *omnia* T.
me] MH; *mea* T.
nunquam] M; *nullam* H.
sumus] M; *simus* H.
2. natura] *nara* MHT.
Hicine est] Post *urbem* et *senatus* lacunas notavimus; quas Caelio explendas, modeste scilicet, relinquit Cicero. Non possumus assentiri L. Müllero de versiculo ex libro in honorem Ciceronis composito cogitanti. Hic agitur de sermonibus provincialium inter se colloquentium.
qui mons] Hic T introducit verba *id quod non solum mente atque voltu* usque ad *par pari*, Fam. i. 9, 17–19, Ep. cliii.

divisus] M ; *divisis* H.
divortiis] H ; *divertiis* M.
Antiochea] M ; *Antiochia* HT.
3. Issum] MH ; *ipsum* T.
Clitarchus] *Clitarcus* H ; *detharcus* T.
Dareum] M. coll. Fin. v. 92 ; *Darium* HT.
esse] om. T.
infestissimam] *infectissimam* MHT.
Ciliciae] M ; *Siciliae* H.
aggeribus] MH ; *a gregibus* T.
opibus] M^1HT ; *operibus* M^2.
tantoque] MH ; *tanto* T.
4. sperares] HT ; *speras* M^1 ; *speres* M^2.
vigila] H ; *vigilia* MT.
ut antea] M ; *antea* HT.
tibi] om. T.

Ep. ccxxvi. (Fam viii. 10).

1. C. Cassii] *C. Caesaris* M ; *G.C.* H^3.
Commagenen] Wes. ; *commaginem* M.
quam paratus] MH^3 ; *quam imparatus* Lamb. Btr. At idem re ipsa significant et *paratus* et *imparatus* : vid. Comm.
dignitati] *dignitatis* M.
esses timuissem] *esset timuisset* M ; *esses timuissem* H^3 (manu prima) ; *esses timuisset* H^3 (manu secunda).
tetigisse te Italiam] *tetigisset Italiam* M.
2. excitarunt] H^3 ; *exercitarunt* M.
consulto] *consultu* M.
consultum] *consultus* M.
paludati] H^3 (manu prima) ; *plaudati* MH^3 (superscriptum manu tertia).
veniebat] Ambros. 13, Btr. ; *veniat* M ; *venerat* H^3, fortasse recte.
ab] *ad* M.
renuntiasse] *renunciasset* MH.
velificatus alicui] *belificatus aliqui* M ; *bellificatus alicui* H^3 (*alicui* in rasura). Legere debuimus *aliquoi*, non *alicui*.
referret scire reticuisse] *referretur sciret reticuisset* M ; *referret* (man. prim. ; *referretur* man. sec.) *scire reticuisset* H^3.
3. hos] *hoc* M.
agunt] *aiunt* M.
novis] H^3 (man. prim.) ; *nobis* MH^3 (man. sec.)
sin autem aut non erit] Kl. ; *sin aut sit aut non erit* M ; *sin autem sit aut non est* H^3 ; *sin aut non erit* Btr.
aut tantum] *autem tum* M ; *aut tamen* H^3.
iactaturum] *iastaturum* M ; *tractaturum* H^3.

quodvis] *quidvis* MH^3.
quamlibet tenue] *quodlibet tenue est* H^3.
munusculum] *munuculum* M.
4. accidere] *occidere* M.
mutare scio] C. F. Hermann. Btr. Wes. ; *multa rescio* M ; *multa esse* (in marg. *mutare re*) *scio* H^3.
vertentur] *verterentur* M.
nolle] H^3 ; *nole* M ; *velle* Lamb. Wes. Sed Pompeium nolle auferri agrum Campanum militibus suis olim divisum valde credibile est.
5. decessum] *accessum* H^3.
illud certe] *illuc certe* M.
est, si] *et si* MH^3.
velisne] *velne* H^3.
mei] *me* M.
discedens] Orell. Wes., *decedens* H^3 ; *decendens* M. : vid. Comm.

Ep. ccxxvii. (Fam. ii. 7).

IMP.] Wes. ; *PROCOS* M ; superscriptionem om. H.
1. sera] MH ; *vera* T.
reprehendi] HT ; *repraehendit* M.
gubernes et moderere] *gubernes ut moderere* M ; *gubernes et moderare* HT.
labere] M ; *labare* H.
consilium] MH ; *animum* T.
facias si] MH ; *facis* T.
ipse] H ; *ipsa* M.
esse] om. T.
senties] MH ; *sentias* T.
2. quod in reipublicae] Wes. ; *quod reipublicae* M^1HT ; *quod in id reipublicae* M^2.
rerum] om. T.
dubito] om. H.
cogita, Curio] *cogitationi* M^1 ; *cogitatacione* HT ; *cogitatio* M^2 ; *cogita iam* Kl. ; *cogita* (om. *Curio*) Wes. Fort. *cogita tecum* aut *cogita, mi Curio*.
loquere, te] *loquere et te* MHT.
alteri] H ; littera *i* in M erasa est.
non adsum] *apsum* M ; *absum* H, fortasse recte.
tametsi] *iametsi* MHT.
deest] MH ; *deessemus* T.
et vis] H ; om. *et* M^1.
3. unis] corr. ex *unius* M ; *unius* H.
quamque] ed. Neap. ; *quamquam* libri : vid. Comm.
difficili in re atque causa] M ; *difficillime in re atque in causa* HT.
Thrasoni] corr. ex *tharsoni* M ; *trasoni* H.
4. meaque item in te] *meaque . . . item in te* M ; *meaque in te item* HT.

patiare] M; *pati* H.
tribunum pl.] *tyrranus publio lentulus* MHT.
sectatore] Streicheri luculenta emendatio; *senatuore* MH: vid. Comm.
tribuno pl.] *tiranno publio lentulo* MHT.
Curione] M; *centurione* H.
ut et] M; *sed ut* H.
senati] M¹; *senatus* M²H; *sunt* T.
profectus] M; *profecturus* HT.
te vehementer etiam] MH; *vehementer per etiam* T.
rogo] *rogo. Vale* H.

Ep. ccxxviii. (Att. v. 20).

1. Pindenissitae] Lamb.; *pendentisse* et mox *pendenti* M.
nec] ins. Wes.
celebritatem] codd. Mal.; *celebritate* M.
iis que erant] M; *iis qua ieram* Bos., *iis quae intererant* Kl.; *iis quae erant in itinere* Wes.; *iis per quae erat iter* Kays.; Sed unde orta est depravatio? Nobis *iis* quoque suspectum est. Fort. latet nomen oppidi, *usque Hierapolim* sive *usque Hieram*. Aut forsitan Graecum aliquod excidit, ut *quae erant πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ*.
fuimus] *fuerunt* M.
superioris *quadriennii*] Corrad.; *superioris quod idem* (spatium vacuum septem fere litterarum) *dein apame* M; *superiores. Quod idem dein Apameae* vulg. Sed *dein* ex dittographia post *idem* ortum est. Non dissimili ratione pro *eiusdem* § 4 *eius dein* exhibet M.
Iconii] *Icone* M.
2. [Cappadociae]] secl. Ern.
3. in aquarum divortio] MZ; *ima aq. div.* Bos.; *aquarum divortio* vulg.
Issum] *ipsum* M.
discessimus] *discessimus. Interim (scis . . . πολέμου) rumore* Asc. Wes.; *scis . . . πολέμου* post verba *de Parthis nuntii venirent* supra § 2 transponit Sch.; sed leviore mutatione post verba *timor iniectus est* transposueris.
κενὰ] CM; *κοινὰ* R.
accessit] *cessit* M.
4. loreolam in mustaceo] CM²; *loreola minus taceo* M¹.
eiusdem] *eius. dein* M.
5. Eleutherocilicum . . . memoria] *eleuthero cilicum omnium cilicum memoria* M; *omni memoria* Lamb.; *hominum memoria* Or.
quibus *mancipiis* exceptis] nos; *quibus captivis exceptis* Wes.; *equibus exceptis* M; *equis exceptis* marg.; *quibus equis exceptis* Btr., quod a Tullio scribi non potuisse demonstravit Wes. (*Em.*, p. 34).
venibant] *veniebant* M.
tertiis] *ter tis* M.
6. nec iam] Bos.; *nec tam* M.
πεφυσίωμαι] ΠΕΦΕϹΙΩΑΙ M.
λαμπρά] ΑΑΜΤΙΡΑ M.
regnat] *regna* M.
ἐν παρόδῳ] ΕΜΠΑΡΟΑΩΙ M.
ἀδωροδόκητον] Crat.; om. M.
pilum] *pilleum* M.
7. quam si] *quasi* M¹; *quas si* M².
at te] *acte* M.
totum quod] *totum quid* M; *totum in eo quod* Boot.
8. xv] nos; *v.* vulg.
iucunda] Ern.; *iucunde* M.
Seius ambustus] Ern.; *Leius adustus* M.
aveo] M²; *habeo* M¹.
9. Deiotarus] Zb; om. M.
Phemio] Vict.; *Phameo* CM.
κέρας] ΚΕΡΑ M.
10. ut quod] M; *et quod* Boot.
cum honestum] ins. Buech.
existimo tum] M²; *ex his motum* M¹.

Ep. ccxxix. (Fam. vii. 32).

1. addubitavi] corr. in *abdubitavi* MT; *habui dubium* H.
nonne defendis? nonne resistis?] H, nisi quod *defendes* habet; *nonne defendis, non resistis* M; *non me defendis* Benedict. quod probat Wes., cui *me* omissum valde displicet; at *defendere* saepe absolute ponitur: vid Comm.
meorum ut] H; *meorum ita ut* M.
2. per Antonii personam] del. Schütz.: at iniuria; Cicero enim is erat cui memoria nonnunquam titubaret: vid. Comm.
urbanitatis] H; *verbanitatis* M.
3. nostrum illum] *nostrus illum* M; *illum nostrum* H.
id cum] MH; *idque cum* Man.
valde ei cupio] conj. Orell.; *valde cupio* MH.

Ep. ccxxx. (Fam. xiii. 53).

1. L. Genucilio Curvo] M; *Genucilio curudiano* H.
ei commodes] Man; *ei te commodes* MH.
2. Pariana] M; *partana* H.
debere] H; om. M.
illa est] Müller; *illa sit* MH.
officii] M; om. H.

Ep. ccxxxi. (Fam. xiii. 56).

1. is ita] H; *ista* M.
officiis] M; *officiis vel beneficiis* H, scilicet varia lectio quae in textum se inseruit.
nolim] H; *nolem* M; *nollem* H².
Μυλασεῖς et Ἀλαβανδεῖς] Wes.; *Mylasis et Alabandis* MH.
Mylasinis] H; *mylas. u.* M.
Ἀλαβανδεῖς] Wes.; *Alabandis* MH.
2. Philocles] Orell.; *Philocies* MH.
Bargylietae] Ern.; *bargiletae* MH.
3. cui] M; *cuius* H.

Ep. ccxxxii. (Fam. xiii. 55).

1. de re M. Anneii] edd. *derenannehi* H; *de re m. nanneii* M.
cumulus] H; *cumulis* M.
commendationis meae] libri; *commendatione mea* Schneider, frustra: vid. Comm.
declarat, qui] Kl. Btr.; *declarat ut qui* Orell.; *declarat quae* MH; *declarat quod* vulg., quam lectionem sequeretur *detuli* non *detulerim*.
2. iam] libri; *nam* Müller.

Ep. ccxxxiii. (Fam. xiii. 61).

qui] M; *cum* H.
mei] Orell.; om. MH.
dederis] M; *dederit* H.
quam plurimum pecuniae] MH Wes.; *quam primum pecunia* Crat. vulg.

Ep. ccxxxiv. (Fam xiii. 62).

liberasti] Ern. Wes.; *liberas* MH.
ut quem diligentissime] M; *ut quam diligentissime* H.
Quintum] *que* M; *Q* H.

Ep. ccxxxv. (Fam. xiii. 64).

1. ut tu agas] Btr. Wes.; om. *tu* MH.
ne] MH; *neu* Kl. Btr.; *nec* Orell.
tui] M; om. H.
2. summa huius epistolae] H; *summae huius epistola* M.
non ut haec nostra] del. Ern., sine causa; *non item haec nostra* vel *non ut haec nostra angustum* vel simile quid, coni. Wes.
ad] Bengel., edd.; om. MH.
a maioribus] M; *amatoribus* H.

sed mihi etiam] MH; *et mihi etiam* Orell. Btr.

Ep. ccxxxvi. (Fam. xiii. 65).

1. Ephesiis] H; *Ephesis* M.
a te] M; om. H.
laude] H; *laudem* M.
2. in tota tua] Kleyn. Wes.; *ex tota tua* MH; *tota tua* Btr.: vid. Comm.

Ep. ccxxxvii. (Fam. xiii. 9).

2. tribuerim plurimum] Kayser; *tribuerim* MH.
ordine ipso et hominum] H; *ordine, ipso hominum* M.
3. factu est] Kleyn.; *factum est* H; *factus est* M.

Ep. ccxxxviii. (Fam. xv. 4).

2. Philomelium] Orell.; *philomeleum* M; *philomeneum* H.
M. Anneio] edd.; *m. manneio* H, idemque § 8.
in unum locum] MH; om. *locum* Nonius (p. 264), Btr., qui affert Liv. xxx. 11, 4.
3. actum] M; *factum* H.
firmam] *firma* MH.
populorum] *populum* MH.
regumque] *regnumque* M.
III. Kal.] Manut.; *Kal.* MH: vid. Comm.
4. clam amici] Orell.; *etiam amici* M; *amici* (om. *clam*) H.
5. vir] M; *cur* H.
praestanti] Crat.; *praesentia* MH.
6. in maxima] Müller; om. *in* MH.
ego tuto] nos; *et tuto* H; *et toto* M; *omnino* Vict.; *et socius* Schütz; *et tot sociis* Btr.; *expositus iis* Kl. ed. 2; *iustus iis* Seyffert.; *et totus* Hofmann: vid. Comm.
discederet] H; *disceret* M.
communita] H; *comminuta* M.
7. atque] Wes.; om. MH.
ab equitum] *ab equitatum* M; *ab eo qui tum* H.
8. discedere] H; *discere* M.
aliis Q.] *aliisque* MH.
Tullius] *Tulleius* MH.
fuga. Eranam] *fugae ranam* M: *fugeram nam* H. Qu. *fuga. Amanam*, oppidum quod erat Amani caput fortasse ita appellatum.
repugnantes] Lamb. Btr. Wes.; *repugnantibus* MH; *repugnantibus hostibus*

Orell.; *repugnantibus oppidanis* Wes.: vid. Comm.
Pomptino] *pomitino* MH.
vi] Madv.; *sex* MH.
9. castra] M; om. H.
reliquiis] *reliquis* MH.
10. abduxi] Wes. (*Em. Alt.*); *adduxi* MH Wes. (ed.)
regibus] *geribus* MH.
ad existimationem] H; om. *ad* M.
vineis] *viniis* M.
Tebarani] MH; *Tibarani* vulg.
dimisi. Q.] *dimisique* M; *dimisi* H.
pacatis] *patis* M; *pactis* H.
11. referretur] M; *referetur* H.
12. putaris] M; *putares* H.
ut] H; om. M.
sunt in te profecta] Kleyn. Wes. coll. Fam. iii. 1. 1, Ep. clxxix.; *sunt profecta* M.
non pono] M; *pono* H; *ego non in beneficii loco pono* Cratand.
enim id] H; *enim te id* M[1] Wes.; *enim de te id* M[2]: vid. Errata.
non modo] H; *modo* M[1].
14. aliqua vis] M; *aliquid ius* H.
paribus] M[2]: *partibus* M[1]H.
aut non habendis] om. H.
imbecillo] M; *imbellu* H; *in bello* H[3] (in margine *imbecillo*).
ex alienissimis] *Ex* om. M[1]H.
15. qui uni tibi] MH; *qui unus tibi* Btr.
illustriores] Man.; *iustioris* MH.
16. communis est] H; *commune est* M.
dediti] M; *dedi* H.
contigisse] M; *contigisset* H.

Ep. ccxxxix. (Fam. xv. 10).

1. factu est] *factust* M; *factus* H.
honorificentissime] H; *honorificentis se* M; *honorificentissimum* vulg.
faciundum] *facundum* MH.
2. ignoret] H; *ignorat* M.
cuiquam] M; *cui nunquam* H.

Ep. ccxl. (Fam. xv. 13).

PAULLO] *PAULO* MH.
1. gerendo] M; *regendo* H.
navare] MH (*vel novare* superscriptum in H).
2. ad te remunerandum] Lamb. Wes.; om *te* MH vulg.
ac petam] *acceptam* MH.
honorificentissimum] *honorificentissimam* M; *horifificentissimum* H.
videar] M; *videor* H.
3. Paulle] *paule* MH.
cognosces] M; *cognoscas* H.
misi] H; *missi* M.
omnia quae spero] *omniaque quae spero* MH.

Ep. ccxli. (Fam. xv. 14).

1. Fadium] *fabium* MH.
quaestum] *questum* H.
meo est] *meost* MH.
te ab eo egregie] Erf.; om. *te* MH; *ab eo egregie te* Kl. Btr.
aliquid profecerunt] Wes.; om. *aliquid* MH vulg.: vid. Comm.
perspectus] M; *profectus* H.
2. de Fadio] *te fabio* MH.
ab utroque] *ab utraque* MH.
3. consequemur] vulg.; *consequeremur* MH Wes.: vid. Comm. Fort. *consequeremur, consequemur.*
animi] Orell.; *uni* M; om. H.
gratularer] M; *gratuler* H.
gratia] *gratiae* MH.
4. conficiamus] *conficimus* MH.
et hac tua recenti victoria] *et hac tua recenti gloria vel victoria* H.
Sed si quae] *sed si qua* H.
propera; nihil tibi] H; *propere nihil* (*certe* superscr.) *tibi* M; *prope nihil tibi* H[3].
5. contendo] H; *contundo* M.
Paullum] *paulum* MH.

Ep. ccxlii. (Fam. viii. 6).

1. quin] H; *quid* M.
a Dolabella] *addolabellam* MH.
reum] *rerum* H.
sane quam] MH; *sane* Crat. Wes.
qua] Lamb.; *quam* MH.
facto rettudit] Vict.; *factor et tulit* MH.
si simultas] Graev.; om. *si* MH.
de tota re] *de tota res* M; *devotas* H.
esset] libri; *esset iudicium* Pluygers.
candide] H; *candidi* M.
deposuisse] Cobet; *posuisse* M; *posuise* H.
uxor a Dolabella] *uxoreadobella* M; *uxore dolabella* H.
2. vide ne qua] Wes., optime; *denique* MH vulg.
si significatio] Orell.; om. *si* MH.
intercesserit] *intercessit* M; *intercesset* H.
3. laborare] M; *labore* H.
alterum utrum] M; *alterutrum* H.
foeda] *fodera* M; *federa* H; *foedere*

inhonesto conj. Müller. Nimis audacter in librorum scripturam grassatur Streicherus, talia legendo, *Hic nos omnes obsolevimus, consopita omnia foede et inhoneste:* vid. Comm.
conglaciat. Sed] MH; *conglaciat se* Lehmann.
4. iaceant] *iaciant* M; *lateant* H.
calfaciunt] H; *calficiunt* M.
hic] edd.; *nihil* MH; *non nihil* Btr.
rigescimus] Gulielmus; *frigescimus* MH.
quoquo modo potuit] Madv. Kl. Wes.; *quoquo modo hic omnia iaceant potuit* (*putavit* H) MH: vid. Comm.
Hoc sic] vulg.; *hoc si* MH; *huc sic* Orell.
5. frigere] M; *frigescimus* H.
calet] *calent* MH.
intercalando] *intercalendo* MH.
obtinuerat] M; *optinuerit* H.
viariam] M; *variam* H.
agrariae] M; *agitare* H.
quae] H; *quas* M; *qua* Le Clerc. Btr.
me in gratia] M; *me in gratiam* H; *me ei in gratia* Orell. Btr.
opinioni] *opinione* MH.
me non] M; om. *me* H.

Ep. CCXLIII. (Fam. VIII. 7).

1. aliqui] M; *aliquis* H.
2. adolescens Orestillae filiam] *adulescentior est illae* (*ille* H) *filiam* MH.
Paulla] *paula* MH.
nondum rettulerat] vulg.; *nondum rettuleras* M; *non modum rettuleras* H; *mundum rettulerat* Pantagathus; *rettuleram* Btr. Kl.: vid. Comm.
Servius] *seuius* M; *se-vius* H.
bis] *vis* M; *vix* H.
ubi? ubi hercules] Wes.; *ibi ubi hercules* Kl.; *ubi hercules* MH.
minime] M; *memini* H.
relinquo] H; *relino* M.
percontari] *percuntari* H; *percontrari* M.
aliqui deprehensus] M; *aliquid deprehensus* H.

Ep. CCXLIV. (Fam. III. 7).

1. Laodiceae] H; *laudiceae* M.
2. possem] om. MH.
me ex Cilicia recepissem] H; *me exciliare cepissem* M.
4. accenso] *accesso* M; *accessu* H.
incertumque esset] Streicher; *incertumque* (om. *esset*) MH.

A. Varronem] Wes.; *varonem* (om. *A.*) MH.
altera Q.] *alteraque* M; *alteramque* H.
currerent] Wes.; *excurrerent* MH; *recurrerent* Ern.
Appio] H; *apud* M.
cum] H; *qui* Wes.; om. M: vid. Comm.
5. Ampio] C. F Hermann; *Appio* M; om. H.
ut Stoici] *et Stoici* MH.
Appietatem] M; *aut pietatem* H.
eram] H; *erat* M.
acquirendum] *adquirendam* MH.
Cn.] *gneum* M; *neum* H.
6. absim] MH; *absum* vulg.
videaris] H; *videris* M.
ἔμοιγε] EMOTTE MH.
benevolentiaeque quam] M; *benevolentiae copiam* H.

Ep. CCXLV. (Fam. II. 14).

Exempla huius epistolae in manuscriptis inveniuntur et in libro secundo (MH) et post quadragesimam nonam libri tertii decimi epistolam (mh).
Fadio . . . Fadius] Orell.; *fabio* . . . *fabius* libri.
viro] MmHh: *miro* T.
optimo] MHmT; om. h.
propter] Mmh; om. HT.
in primisque quid agas] Mmh; *in primis quidquid agas* HT.
iam diu] MmhT; *iam* H.

Ep. CCXLVI. (Fam. IX. 25).

1. Parthum] *phartum* MH.
contriveram] *contrieram* MH Wes.
explicavi] M; *implicavi* H.
2. Fadio] Orell.; *fabio* MH, ut semper.
Epicuriis] *Epicuris* MH.
3. iudiciis] M; *iudicibus* H.

Ep. CCXLVII. (Fam. XIII. 59).

Fadium] Orell.; *fabium* MH.
te vehementer] M; *etiam vehementer te* H.

Ep. CCXLVIII. (Fam. XIII. 58).

sentiatque meam] H; *sentiatque tequε meam* M.

Ep. ccxlix. (Fam. iii. 9).

1. Appio] H; *apud* M.
Claudio] *clodio* MH.
egressus es] M; *egressus esses* H.
unas] M; *unum* H.
Appianorum] *appiorum* MH.
meae] *mea* MH.
fieri possit] H; *fieri posset* M.
2. litteris] om. H.
sed mehercule] *sed* om. H.
3. ipsam cognitionem] *ipsam pre cognicionem* H.
negligens in scribendo] Lamb.; om. *in* MH.
4. fide] om. H.
cures et enitare] Kayser; *cures enitare* M; *cures. Enitere* H, fortasse recte.
tum in ipsum] *tum ipsum* MH.

Ep. ccl. (Att. v. 21).

1. uno] Madv.; *non* M.
2. pudentiores] Vict.; *prudentioris* M.
Orodi] Ern.; *orode* M.
datae] Hofm.; *id est* M.
3. nodus] M[1]; *modus* M[2]; perraro M[1] meliorem lectionem exhibet.
expediatur] I; *experiatur* M.
Cogor ut velim] Lehmann; *cogor et velim* M.
ἀκροτελεύτιον] C; ΑΚΡΟΤΕΛΕΥΤΙΟΝ M.
4. triumpho] *triumphos* M.
γλυκύπικρον] ΤΑΤΗΙΠΙΡΟΝ M.
addis si] *addita* M.
ad me esse] CFA; *ad me fere* M.
angunt] *ungunt* M; *pungunt* I.
caculae] Gron.; *canule* M; *camulae* codd. Mal.; *Canulei* marg. ed. Lamb, 1584; inde *Hermoni, centurionis Canuleii liberto, scribis* Wes.; *Hermoni centurionis Canuleii servo scribis* Kl.
ipse] M; *ipsi* Or.
5. certa] M; *recta* CZ.
nostra sponte] M[2]; *nostras pompei* M[1].
miratos] M[2]; *iratos* M[1].
nullum] M[2]; *nulla in* (communi inter *m* et *in* errore) M[1].
sumptus] C; *sumptum* M.
meorum] *eorum* (per lipographiam post *quemquam*) M.
legatum. Is ceteroqui] Vict.; *legis ceteros qui* (i. e. *leg. is ceteros qui*) M.
est] ins. Boot; facile potuit ante *sed* excidere.
†transitam†] M; *transita* Asc., sed *transita* pro *violata* Latine non dici potest; *transitans* Man., quod non est Tullianum; *prandia* Madv.; *pransitans* Peerlkamp, Nos credimus ortam esse corruptelam ex gloss. *in transitu*. Fac scripsisse Tullium ἐν παρόδῳ (ut in Att. v. 20, 6, Ep. ccxxviii.), nonne sequetur, ut diem nox, gloss. *in transitu?* De quo errore facillime potuit oriri depravata Medicei lectio.
tamen] M, recte; *tantum* cum Ursino K.
ita] ins. Boot.; excidit per lipographiam post accep*it*.
6. sed mirifice] M; *et mirifice* Corrad. et Man.
etiam] addunt codd. Mal.
dies esset] *dies. Sed ne* M.
7. Nonis Ian.] *nonas ianuarias* M.
qua ex] *que ex* M.
erogabatur] M; *erogabitur* A.
statuas fana τέθριππα] *statuas ea nate* ΘΡΙΠΠΑ.
9. quo die] M; *quotidie* marg.
tum] Lamb.; *cum* M.
Phemio] *semio* M.
κέρας — Lycaonium] Mongalt.; ΚΕΡΑCΑ *omnium* M; *κέρας Aonium* C.
Iunius] *in ius* M.
Quinctilis] *Quintius* M.
sed aliter] *et aliter* M.
10. tuus] *tuos* M.
11. consuessent] *consuessem* M.
anatocismo] Corrad.; *antiochis* M.
quaternas] Vict.; *illo* (lect. ortam ex IIII) M.
edictum] *dictum* M.
consulibus] *consule* M; fort. *cons.*
obtineret ius] *obtineret et ius* (corr. ex *eius*) M.
12. volebant] Aldus; *solebant* M.
quaternis] *quatuor* M.
senatus consulto . . . senatus consultum] *senatu consulto* M.
S. C.] M, item mox, sed supra plene *senatu consulto*.
ut . . . eodem] Boot., coll. Att. vi. 2, 7, Ep. cclvi.; corruptio *ex homoeoteleuto* orta est; verba omnia inter *syngrapha* et *syngrapha* interciderunt.
voco] *volo* M.
CVI] *cui* M.
clamare] marg., C; *amare* M.
alii] *aliis* M.
13. meam] M[2]; *in eam* M[1].
creditorum] *creditum* M.
ὁδοῦ πάρεργον] ΟΔΙΟ ΠΑΡΕΡΤΟΝ.
duxerit] Corrad.; *dixerit* M; *prodixerit* Kl.
rei publicae] Sch.; *resp.* M.
potest] *posse* M.
14. quod tu] *cum tu* M.
a se sustentari] K; *se sustentari* M; *se sustentare* R.
ut sciam] Bootio auctore inseruimus.

Ep. ccli. (Fam. xiii. 63).

1. M. Laenio] Aldus; *in c lenio* MH.
desunt] MH; *deerunt* Kleyn. Btr. Wes.
sed tamen ut] libri; *sic tamen ut* Bengel.; *ita tamen ut* Bengel.; *ita tamen ut* Lamb.
2. me eum de quo] Lamb. Wes.; *me quo* MH.

Ep. cclii. (Att. vi. 1).

1. Terminalia] CZl; *ter milia* M.
non *χρύσεα χαλκείων*] ins. Wes. coll. § 22; primus Vict. defectus signum posuit; *eodem ordine respondebo* ins. Kays; facilius tamen voc. Graecum excidisse credideris; fort. *κατὰ μίτον* quod coniicit Boot.; vel *κατὰ λεπτὸν* vel *ἀκριβῶς*.
2. [in] uncinis inclusimus: vid. Comm.
tibi] deletum est in M.
libertatem] Vict.; *liberalitatem* M.
probo] M^1; *probari* M^2; fort. *probavi*.
constituerit mutet] marg.; *constituerim ut et* M^1; *constituerit ut et* M^2.
eam a me] C; *et ama me* M.
videt] Man.; *vidi* M.
erogatum] M; *rogatum* C.
haec non nulli] Ursin.; *hanc non nulli* M.
3. illico] F; *dico* M; *idcirco* vel *ideo* Kahnt.
efficit] Ern.; *efficitur* M; *nec ita satis efficitur* Or.
sorte] *forte* M.
ii suum] *usum* M.
4. praefecturas] M^2; *praeterea* CM^1.
5. illam] *ullam* M.
confeceram] M^1; *confecerant* M^2.
6. cum tota] *quin* (corr. in *cum* et *qui in*) M; *qui in* K fort. recte.
itaque edixissem] *itaque dixissem* M^1; *idque edixissem* M^2.
feret] *ferret* M.
7. ἀκοινονοήτως] M; *ἀκοινωνήτως* vulg.
meo . . . stat] Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii. 176) *meo decreto soluta res Scaptio statim* MZl; *solvatur* Man.; *igitur ut meo decreto solvatur Scaptio statim* Wes.
quam id rectum] Corrad.; *quam decretum* M.
8. profecit] *proficit* M.
actiones] *auctiones* M.
οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε] Mal.; ΟΤΚΕΜΘΕ CM.
9. casus] Wes.; *casum* M.
10. Saufeium] Buech.; *aufium* (lipogr. post *adiunges*) M.
amantem mei] codd. Mal.; *amantem me* M.
11. illud] Mal.; *illum* M.
12. amoribus] Vict.; *moribus* M.
13. laudari] *laudare* M.
ceteri infirmant] *ceterum firmant* M.
cum] ins. Lamb.: vid. Lehm., p. 107; *tum cum demo erit tuo locatus sum* M^1; *tamen cum democrito tuo locutus sum* M^2.
Rhosica vasa] Z; *rhosi causam* M; *Rhosiaca vasa* Lamb.
in felicatis] Fr. Junius; *infelicitatis* M.
14. sum in magna] C; om. *in* M.
15. novi] M; *movi* Lamb.
tectiorem] M^1; *certiorem* M^2.
Mucii P. F.] Vict.; *municipi* M.
in iis] Man.; *nisi* M.
διαίρεσιν] ΔΙΑΡΕCΙΝ M.
vendendis magistris faciendis] Lamb.; *magistris faciendis vendendis* M.
quod peregrinis] M^1; *quod non peregrinis* M^2.
16. ducturum] corr. in *dicturum* M.
17. *ὦ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων*] ΩΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΝ ΑCΤΤΚΑΩCΤΩΝ M.
Cos. . . . Cens.] Inverso ordine Cens. . . . Cos. habet M; transponenda esse verba monstravimus in Addendis.
ad Opis] K; *ab Opis* M; *ad Opis Opiferae* Jordan.
†per te†] *parte* I.
posita] *postica* Urlichs.
Πολυκλέους] ΠΟΔΑΤΚΛΕΟΤC M.
ipsa declarat] "A verbis *ipsa declarat* incipit fragmentum Wurzeburgense (W)" Btr.
turma inauratarum] CW; *turmam auratarum* M.
subscriptione Afr. imag.] W; *subscriptione ne affricanum agmen* M.
18. censorem non fuisse] CWM^1; *censorem fuisse* M^2.
19. aveo] *haveo* W; *ab eo* M.
20. *πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ*] ΠΟΛΛΕΤΤΕ M.
21. de M. Octavio] *dem Octavio* MW.
et de pantheris et a] W; *et de pantheris sed a* M.
22. Lepta] W; *Lecta* M; *laeta* marg.
[iam pridem] del. Man.
vidit] W superscr.; *videt* M.
dies] W; om. M.
χρύσεα χαλκείων] ΧΡΤΕCΕΔΚΑΚΕΙΩΝ MW.
[respondimus] secl. Boot.
23. alia autem] W; *autem alia* M.
potuit] MW; *proposuit* Bent.; *proscripsit* Kays.
qui sit] W; *quis sit* M.
adde sis] W; *addes iis* M.

in quibus] W; *quibus* M (lipogr. post *m*).
curat] M; *cura* W.
aegrum . . . dum] om. W.
25. Et heus tu] M; *sed heus tu* Man.; sed vid. Lehmannum, pp. 63, 64.
iamne vos] Bos.; *genuarios* CM; *Genuae vos* Turneb.; *larios mittas a Caesare* (sed erasa) W.
in quo . . . Pompei sus] erasa sunt in W.
in Nemore aedificando] Turneb.; *in mentor edificando* M[1]; *in merito reedificando* M[2].
com*edisse* . . . *dili*gentiorem] *-edisse* usque ad *dili-* in W omissa sunt.
haec ego] W; *hoc ego* M.
nebulone . . . fam.] in W, omissa sunt.
centenos] WA; *centenas* M.
deerant] M; *aderant* W.
Vindullum: ibi sua] Vict.; *vidi illum ibi. Sua* M; *vidi illum. Ibi sua* W.
imagunculae] Vict.; *iam gunculas* W; *languncule* M; *plangunculae* Bos.
26. inepti] C; *in epi* W; *in epiro* M.
meum] inserere voluit Boot.
Romana incidant] *romanum cadunt* W.
Leuctricam] *lectricam* MW.

Ep. ccliii. (Fam. xiii. 54).

amici] libri; *accensi* Orell.
apparitione] H; *apparatione* M.

Ep. ccliv. (Fam. xiii. 57).

1. eo] H; *et* M.
M. Anneium] *m. manneium* MH.
opera consilio] M; *opera et consilio* H.
diem M. Anneius] *diem manneius* MH.
2. egi id et] MH Wes.; *egi id te* Lamb. Kl.; *egi te* Btr.
illum suum] Wes.; *illum ipsum* MH vulg.

Ep. cclv. (Fam. ii. 11).

Alterum huius epistolae exemplum (N) exstat in Mediceo post octavam libri octavi epistolam.
1. Putaresne] MNH; *putarasne* Wes. Btr.: vid. Comm.
accidere] MH; *occidere* N.
posse] M; *posset* HT.
levia] MH; *devia* N.
nostratia] MHN; *nostra* T.
tenet urbis] MH; *tenetur vis* N; *tenet turbis* T.
tui, satietas] MHT; *tuis atletis* N.
quia] MHN; *qui* T.
tam accessio] HTN; *iam accessio* M.
sit] om. N.
et possimus et soleamus] Lamb.; *et possim et soleam* MH; *et possum et soleam* T; *et possemus et soleamus* N.
belli] MH; *velli* N.
decedemus] MT; *decedamus* N; *descendissemus* H.
2. venari] MHN; *venerari* T.
mandatu meo] Lamb.; *mandatum eo* MN; *mandato meo* HT.
eas] M[2]; *ea* M[1]HT.
decedere] MHT; *dicere* N.
fit et] MHT; *fiet* N.
a] MHT; *ad* N.
aedilitas] MHN; *aedilis* T.
ipse dies] M[2]; *ipse es* M[1]HT; *ipsa dies* N.
perscribas] MH; *scribas* NT.
ea] om. N.
cognoro] M; *cognosco* N; *cognovero* HT.

Ep. cclvi. (Att. vi. 2).

1. ad me . . . venisset] *laodiceam salutandi ad me causa venisset* W, qui desinit in verbo *venisset*.
quod ad te scriptum est . . . dixerim] *probari* om. M; de tota sententia vid. Comm.
etsi sunt] Pius; *et sint* M.
amoris] *amori* M.
2. valde ut debet] Man.; *ut valde debeat* M.
in quo ego] marg. ed. Lamb., 1584, *quod* M; sed *quod . . . regendo* recte negat Ern. Latine dici. Sexcenties vidimus *in* post *m* excidisse.
3. tantum] Or.; *tum* M; *tam* K.
etenim] vulg.; *enim* M.
adcredens] Bos.; *adgredens* M[1]; *adgrediens* M[2].
tum de isto] K; *cum de isto* M[2]; *de deo cum isto* M[1].
de M. Cluvio] Man.; *de incluvio* (*in* pro *m*) M.
Tenea] Crat.; *tene* M.
'Οπούντιοι Σιπούντιοι] ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΟΙ-ϹΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΟΙ M.
4. usae] C; *sue* M.
ad se] *ab se* M.
5. sui] *vi* M.
reliqua] Wes. coll. Fam. ii. 13, 4, Ep. cclvii.
inambulabam] *inambulando* M.

6. ergo] M^1; *ego* M^2.
7. aut in mea] *autem in mea* M.
enim triduum quatriduumve] C; *enim quadriduum nec* M.
litteris] F; om. M.
scio] *sciam* M.
tu quis qui ais] nos; *tu qui ais* M; *ubi tu qui ais* Boot.; *tun' qui ais* Lamb.; *quid tu qui ais* Sch.
Auli lex ius] Vict.; *alexius* M.
8. haec] *hac* M.
si vellem] M; *si vellent* C.
probaveramus] Vict.; *probamus* M.
9. sumptu . . . evadit] C; *sumptuiam ne posse vadit* M^1; *sumptu iam non posse vadit* M^2.
tum] *eum* M.
Salaminii nos] *salaminos* M.
quos tu dilaudas] *quo studi laudas* M^1; *quos tu laudas* M^2.
nimis] ins. Mal.
10. facimus] Man.; *faciamus* M^1; *faciemus* M^2.
tempora] *tpr.* M.
εὐήθειαν] ΕΥΘΕΙΑΝ M.
igitur] *g̃* M.

Ep. cclvii. (Fam. ii. 13).

2. consul fuit] *cosi fuit* M; $\overset{\textit{cum}}{\textit{con}}$ *fuit* H; *confluit* T.
tu es] M; om. *es* HT.
cui iam] Martyni-Laguna; *quoniam* MHT.
κωμικὸς] edd.; *comicos* MHT.
accedit] Lamb.; *accidit* MHT.
nonnihil] Vict.; *nihil* MHT; *mihi* M (in margine) Wes.
te] Ern.; om. MHT.
discrepare] T; *increpare* MH.
3. veternus] *veteranus* MHT.
nunc] *non* MHT.
putarat] Wes. Btr.; *putaret* MH.
vivam] H; *viva* MT.
confeceram] *conferam* MHT.
locupletaram, publicanis] *locupletar in publicanis* MHT.
superioris] *superioribus* MHT.
conservaram] *conservatam* M; *conservem tam* HT.
summis infimis] MH; *summis, mediis, infimis* Kleyn.
primum] Man. Wes.; *prima* MTH, quae lectio nescimus an vera sit.
militemque] HT; *militaremque* M; *remque militarem collocassem* Wes.: vid. Comm.
collocassem] Wes.; *collocarem* MHT.
decedere] MH; *discedere* T.

Ep. cclviii. (Fam. ii. 18).

PRO PRAET] *propter* MH.
2. tuis] M^2H; *studiis* M^1.
3. quis] M; *qui* H.
quaestoriis] *quaestoris* MH.
si se dignum] Btr.; *si dignum* MH.
sin quid] M; *si in quod* H.
di] M; *disprodii* H, glossa in textum illata.

Ep. cclix. (Fam. xiii. 2).

Avianio] M; *Aviano* H.
sacrario] M; *sacratario* H.
tua] H; *tu* M.
accommodes] MH; *commodes* (Wes. cum uno libro).
remigrare] M; *remigare* H; *demigrare* Lamb. Wes.

Ep. cclx. (Fam. xiii. 3).

ita tractes] M; *ita te tractes* H.

Ep. cclxi. (Fam. iii. 10).

1. victor ex] H; *victor et ex* M.
opibus] MH. Fort. *opus et*: vid. Comm.
tibi sic contestans] *tibi si contestans* M; *tibi sicut contestans* H; *tibi contestans* Martyni-Laguna.
malo enim ita] Wes.; om *ita* MH: vid. Comm.
et exspectes] *et spectes* MH.
2. quanti te] M; *quantitate* H.
perspexisses] M; *perspexisset* H; *perspexisti* Wes.
3. Pomptinus] *pomitinus* MH.
efficis] MH; *effeceris* Lamb.; *efficies* Kayser.
ut censores creentur] MH; *ut censor creeris* Lamb.; *ut censor creere* Wes.: vid. Comm.
4. non solum ampla] vulg.; *non solum etiam ampla* MH.
5. salutem in duobus] Wes.; om. *in* MH: vid. Comm.
patroni] *pro* MH.
ipsi] om. MH; *illi* H^3.
levissime] MH; *lenissime* Btr.
6. si clam] *sit iam* MH.
nimirum ex Epicteto] del. multi, sed parum recte: vid. Comm.
in quas] Wes.; *in quibus* MH: vid. Comm.
7. repetitos] H; *repertitos* M.

et insidiosum] om. H.
fallax in amicitia] *fallax inimicicia* MH.
8. libet] Vict.; *iubet* MH.
Puteolis] MH; *Puteolos* Or. Wes.
9. ne cooptari] *nec optari* MH.
10. ornatum esse] Or.; *ornatissimum* MH: vid. Comm.
Milone, adversantem] MH; *Milone adversante* Vict.
intellegam] H; *intelligebam* M.
me ad eius] H; *mea de eius* M.
11. quae a me profecta] Wes.; *quae me profecta* M; *quae ante profecto* H; *quae a me perfecta* Or. Btr. Libri nullam lacunae significationem praebent.
sunt] H; *sint* M.

Ep. ccLxii. (Fam. ii. 19).

consule coelio lentulo filio gneus caldoque M; *consuli celio lucio figulo C. N. Caldo quinto* H.
1. accedere] *accidere* MH.
postea cum] H; *postea quam* M.
aut quo] H; *atq.* M[1]; *at quo* M[2].
tempore te] H; *temporatae* M.
essent] om. H.
2. si ad me] H; *si me* M.
Curius] *curis* MH.
C. Vergilius] *consul virgilius* MH.
in te] Manut.; *ad te* MH.
proficisci poterunt] Madv. om. MH, *elaborabo* add. in marg. M. Legere debuimus *proficiscentur, ita proficiscentur* ut iam sero videmus. *Marcus Tullius Cicero Epistolarum ad Curionem consulem et ceteros explicit. Incipit ad App. Claud. feliciter* M; *Finiunt epistolae M. T. C. senatoris et censoris ad Curionem consulem ad ceterosque. Incipit ad Appium Claudium feliciter* H.

Ep. ccLxiii. (Fam. ii. 12).

Alterum huius epistolae exemplum (N) exhibent M et eius familia post nonam libri octavi epistolam.
1. ita] MT; *iam* H.
citeriora] MH; *certiora* NT.
2. Pessinuntem] *pessinuncte* M; *pessi nunc ante* H; *pessi non ante* T; *Pessinunta* Martyni-Laguna.
ad Adiatorigem] Taurellus; *adiatoregem* M; *addiatum regem* HT; *ad Deiotarum regem* Ern.; *ab Adiatorige* Martyni-Laguna Btr.
qua omnia nec benigna nec copiosa] nos; *quamquam omnia* (*nec* ante *omnia* sed linea subducta, scilicet ut deleretur) *nec benigna nec copiosa* MHT; *qua nec benignam nec copiosam* N; *quem nec benignum nec copiosum* Martyni-Laguna Btr. Pro *omnia* Klotzius ingeniose *Comana* coniicit: vid. Comm.
urbem urbem] MH; *urbem* non iterat T.
ambulatiuncula] MH; *ambulat ungula* T.
3. spem] M[1]N; *spes* M[2]HT.
inquis. Satis] N; *in qui satis* M[1]; *in quo satis* HT.
triumpharam] N; *triumpharem* MH: vid. Comm.

Ep. ccLxiv. (Att. vi. 3).

1. decedendum] *descendendum* M[1]; *discendendum* M[2].
convento] Lamb.; *conventu* M.
tagax] M[1]; *rapax* M[2].
2. praeficies Thespr.] *prefeci est hesprotie* M[1]; *prefeci thesprotie* M[2].
scirem] *scire* M.
3. quos tu dilaudas] Or.; *quos dii laudas* M[1]; *quos tu laudas* M[2].
4. doleo non] Ab his verbis incipit alterum folium Wurzeburgense (W).
praemeditari] W; *preditari* M (sed marg. *premeditari*).
5. pecuniae liberalius] Vict.; *pecunia liberius* M.
talenta] *tanti* MW.
in eo] Ursin.; *in quo* MW; *id quod tibi Romae ostenderam me servaturum, in quo perseveravi* Corrad.
qui auferre] *qui auferri* W; *quin auferre* M.
noluit? Scaptio] Man.; *noluit scaptius* M; *noluit aut scaptius* W.
postea . . . detulissem] om. W.
6. Gavius] Corrad.; *Gaius* M.
P. Clodii canis] M[1]W; *P. clodicanus* M[2].
Apamea] Boot.; *apame* M[1]; *Apameam* M[2]W.
adseculae] *asseculae* C; *adsecule* M; *ad secule* W.
ut] Sch.
praefecti] WZ; *profecto* M.
7. oratione] Lamb.; *operatione* M, et W ut videtur, qui *operati* exhibet: *-one . . . potest* abscissa sunt; *obiratione* Bos.
solus] W; *solum* M.
aemulum] M; *multum* W.
nullas umquam] M; *nulla sunt unquam* W.
Granius] Corrad. et W; *gravius* M.
8. solet] *soleo* MW.
9. quo die] M[1]W; *quotidie* M[2].

ne quid eum] W; *ne quidem eum* M.
10. *nihil*] ins. Bos.

Ep. cclxv. (Fam. iii. 11).

2. enim a cuncto] om. *a* MH.
adsentor] edd. vett. Wes.; *assentior* MH Kl. Btr.
ea] Lamb. Btr. Wes.: om. MH.
etsi Sulla noluit] nos; *etsi sulla voluit* M; *et sic si illa proprium nomen fuit illa voluit* H (cum glossa in textum inculcata); *ut sulla voluit* Lamb. Btr. Wes. Fort. *etsi sic sulla noluit.*
ut] Lamb. Btr. Wes.; *ne* MH.
qui enim] *quod enim* MH; *quomodo enim* Wes.
necne] H, Streicher; *et non* M: vid. Comm.
3. laudas] *laudat* MH.
4. temporum] H; *tempus eorum* M.
per te] H; *perite* M.
confectas] MH; *conlectas* coni. Or. Btr.
5. D. Tullius] H edd.; *dicit Tullius* M.
disertae . . . disertum] H; *desertae . . . desertum* M.
es censor] H; *est censor* M.

Ep. cclxvi (Fam. xv. 5).

1. administrari] MH Wes.; *administrare* Btr. Kl. coll. Sall. Jug. 92.
2. decretam] M; om. H.
continentia] M; *conscientia* H.

Ep. cclxvii. (Fam. viii. 11).

1. quoi] *qui* MH^3 (= Harl. 2591): vid. Comm.
dies] Wes. Btr.; om. MH^3.
adeptus] H^3; ademptus M.
ei spem] M; *eidem* H^3; *ei se spem* Lamb. Btr. Wes.
2. hostibus] H^3; *hostis* M: vid. Comm.
de te] *et* MH^3.
Decrerant] Manut.; *deserant* M; *decrant* H^3.
quidem] MH^3; *quidam* Wes.; om. Graev. Lamb.
qui inique] H^3; *quinique* M; *qui neque* Sch. Ern.; *qui neque * ** Wes.
3. in qua adhuc incubuisse] Wes.; *in quam adhuc est incubuisse*, MH^3; *in qua adhuc est. incubuisse* Btr. coll. Fam. x. 19, 2.
audebant] Kl.; *audeant* MH^3 Btr.; *audebunt* coni. Wes.
provinciam] MH^3; *provincias* Wes.: vid. Comm.
consulatus] *consul* MH^3.
defendet intercessorem; si] Wes. Btr. *defenderet intercessorem si* H^3; *defendetur intercessorem si* M: vid. Comm.
videntur] M; *videretur* H^3.
reformidarint] Ern.; *reformidarunt* MH^3.
quoad] *quodad* M.
ludorum explosiones] libri; fort. *explosorum expositiones.*
utilia] H^3; *illa* M; *futilia* Sch. Weiske; *inutilia* Kl.: vid. Comm.
eos esse quos tibi misi tu] Wes; *eos tibi visos* MH^3; *eos quos tibi misi usos* Kl. ed. 1.
agas] H^3; *agros* M.

Ep. cclxviii. (Att. vi. 4).

1. venimus] M^1; *veni* M^{2}C.
reliquos] W; *aliquos* M.
relinquendus erat ex] In his verbis desinit W.
2. de honore] *cum honore* M.
tu afuisti] Lamb; *tua fuisti* Zl; *tu abfuisti* M.
3. non queo] *non quo* M.

Ep. cclxix. (Att. vi. 5).

1. afuisti] Man.; *abisti* M.
aliquantum iam viae] Or.; *alio quantum tamen vie* M; *aliquantum viae* R.
ξυναόρου] C; ΞΥΝΑΟΠΟΥ M; *ἀλόχου* R.
ἐν] ins. Wes.
ταῖς λέσχαις] TAICA ΛECXAIC M.
2. *ἑπταλόφου*] Corrad.: ΥΠΓΑΛΟΦΟΥ M.
μνῶν κδ' μη'] HΩMNKAMN M.
ὀφείλημα τῷ] Lamb.; ΟΦΙΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ M.
κδ'] HΔ M.
μη'] MN M.
μνᾶς] TNAC M.
κληρονομῆσαι] Mueckius; AHPONOMHΣAC M.
διευλυτῶσθαι] ΔIETAYTHCΘAI (errore inter Λ et A creberrimo) M; *διευλυτῆσθαι* marg.; sed *διευλυτόω* apud Josephum occurrit, *διευλετέω* nusquam; *διαλύσασθαι* K; *διαλελύσθαι* Kays.: *διευθετῆσθαι* auctore Mueckio Boot.
προεκκειμενης· ἡμέρας ὅσας] nos; *προεκκειμενης ἡμέρας· ὅσας* vulg.

αὐτὸν] ΑΤΤΟ M.
δ' ἀλόγως] ΔΑΛΛΟΓΩC M.
ἀπέστη] ΑΠΕΗ M.
εἴκω] ΙΚΩ M.
meque obiurgavit vetere] MC; *neque obiurgavit. Utere* I.
3. prospice. Nos etsi] Or.; *perspice. Nos etsi* C; *perspiciamus. Etsi* M.
prope iam emeritum] *prope tamen meritum* MC.
reliqui] *reliquis* M.
praeficiam] *presim* M.
4. Atticulae] Mal.; *asticulate* M[1]; *articulate* M[2]; *articolate* aut *atticolate* Zl; *Ἀττικωτάτῃ* Madv., quam lect. veram esse censenti Bootio adsentimur.

EP. CCLXX. (ATT. VI. 7).

1. Quintus filius] *Q. filius* marg.; *Cicero Q. F. pie sane* C; *Cicero Q. fratri. Pie sane* M.
eum valde et me] *eum valde* M[1]; *eum valde me* M[2].
recepit] *receperit* M.
tu proficies] Ern.; *aut proficies* M.
2. iussi] *misi* M; *missi* Zl.
possim] M; *possem* Wes.
etsi Etesiae] *et si et asie* M.
reflant] *reflavi* M.
aegrum Issi reliquissem] Man.; *egrum esse reliquissem* M; *aegrum reliquissem* FA.

EP. CCLXXI. (FAM. VIII. 13).

1. decussa] Coluccius Salutatus; *de causa* M; *decursa* H[3], quod non vehementer displicet.
melius est] *melius sit* MH[3].
2. intercessionis] *intercessiones* MH[3].
cum de intercessione] H[3]; om. *de* M.
rationem *esse* eius habendam] Wes.; *ut ratione eius habenda* MH[3]; *ut ratio esset eius habenda* coni. Or.: vid. Comm.
traderet] *tradere* MH[3].
cum cognoro scribam] Wes.; *cum cognoscam* M (sc. *tum scribam*); *cum agnoscam* H[3].
aut armis resistat] Wes.; om. MH[3]: vid. Comm.

EP. CCLXXII. (FAM. II. 17).

CANINIO] *Canini* MH.
1. neque quemquam] Bücheler; *ne quemquam* M; *nec quemquam* HT.
2. nullam] MH; *nullas* Martyni-Laguna.
3. item] M; *idem* H.
4. tum] edd.; *tamen* MH.
Apameae] libri. Fort. *Apameae et Laodiceae* coll. Fam. v. 20, 2.
tacturus] MH; *attacturus* coni. Wes.
drachmum] *dracchum* MH; *drachumum* Bücheler; *dragmis* H[3]; *drachmis* Kl.
6. cum] *quam* MH.
Antiocheae] M; *antiochiae* H.
quam humanissime] H; *qui humanissime* M[1].
si in omnes] Btr.; *si omnis* MH.
uti negarem] M; *uti megarem* H; *uti me negarem* Lamb.
se populo] Wes.; *populo se* MH: vid. Comm.
sed tibi] *sed ibi* MH.

EP. CCLXXIII. (FAM. II. 15).

1. supplicatione] M; *duplicacione* HT.
competitor] MT; *cum petitus* H.
est ei] M; *sed ei* HT.
2. Tulliae] MH; *Tu illum* T.
si] MH; *sit* T.
legas] MH; *legis* T.
actum] MH; *auctum* T.
3. ipsa republica] H; *ipsa respublica* M[1]T.
qua tu] MH; *quantum tu* T.
4. exemplo] M[1]; *exemplum* M[2]HT.
Pomptinus] M; *protinus* HT.
a Quinto patre] vulg.; *atque fratre* HT.
impetrari] *imperari* M; *imperare* HT.
dicerent] MH; *didicerent* T.
hominem] MHT; *nobilem* Ern.: vid. Comm.
nolui] MT; *non potui* H.
non potest] T: om. *non* MH.
5. parum] MH; *patrum* T.
Matrinio] M; *matrimonio* HT.

EP. CCLXXIV. (FAM. XV. 11)

1. exstiteris] *extiterit* MH.
studiose] *cum studiose* MH.
2. geris] H; *gesseris* M.
in ipsos etesias] M; *in ipso se te scias* H.

EP. CCLXXV. (FAM. III. 12).

1. Gratulabor] M; *gratulor* H.
ita . . . postulat] om. H.
virtutis *ingenii* industriae] Wes. coll.

Fam. iii. 11, 2, Ep. cclxv.; om. *ingenii* MH; *virtutis et industriae* Lamb.
2. Tulliaeque meae] om. H.
sed ita] MH; *et ita* Wes. Btr.
cecidisse] M; *accidisse* H.
omnino cum] M; *omnimodis cum* H.
quae gesta sunt] *gesta sint* (om. *quae*) MH.
3. sudare] *suadere* M; *suadeto* [re] H; *suadere me iamdudum* [*laborantem*] *quomodo et ea tuear quae mihi tuenda sunt, et te non offendam* Cobet.
leva me] *levam* M; *leva* (om. *me*) H.
4. decedenti] H; *decedendi* M.
commotus] H; *commutus* M.
expectaret] vulg.; *expectarent* MH.
stimulabat] H; *simulabat* M.
nova] *novam* MH; *nova novam* Bengel.; *nova nunc* Kayser Wes.

Ep. cclxxvi. (Att. vi. 6).

1. quin de T. Nerone] Madv. (Adv. Crit. ii., p. 236); *qui* M.
2. cum iam] Man.; *quoniam* M.
Eleusine] *fleusine* M^1.
3. ἐπέχειν te scripseras] Man.; ΕΠΕΧΕ *interscripseras* M.
pungebant] C; *pugnabant* M.
illud non utile] *illud* del. Ern.; *puero tradere me? tamen praeter fratrem nemo erat quem . . . anteferrem. Fratri autem? illud non utile nobis. Tamen dum impendere* Kays.; *illud* <*non reipublicae, hoc*> *non utile nobis* Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii., p. 177); sed vid. Comm., ubi lect. Med. vindicavimus.
4. fert vita] Man.; *fertuita* M; *fortuita* RI.
esset dolor] *esse dolor* M.
non] ins. nos: vid. Comm.
quid egerit] *quod egerit* M; *quod egeret* C.
sorte datum] M^2; *forte datum* M^1; *sorte mandatum* C.
in eum] *meum* M.
At te] *apte* M.

Ep. cclxxvii. (Fam. iii. 13).

1. auctoritate orationis] MH; *auctoritate oratione* Gron.: vid. Comm.
onus] M; *munus* H: vid. Comm.
2. mihi propono] M; *mihi nunc propono* H.
iis studiis] MH; *iisdem studiis* coni. Kl.
quam his artibus] H; *cum his artibus* M.
vellem] *velim* MH.
tanti] *uti* MH.
non despero] *nunc spero* H; *non spero* M^1.
quo] M; om. H.
Marcus Tullius Ciceronis epistolarum ad Appium Claudium explicit. Incipit eiusdem ad Servilium Sulpicium feliciter M; *Marcii Tulli Ciceronis epistolarum lib. ii. ad Appium finitur. Incipiunt capitula libri tercii ad Servilium Sulpicium* H.

Ep. cclxxviii. (Fam. xv. 6).

1. non modo] M; om. *non* H.
quam lauream] M; om. *quam* H.
a meis] *a miis* M; *amicis* H.
2. nimis] *minus* MH.
cuius de honore] vulg.; *cuius honore* MH; *cuius honor* Btr.

Ep. cclxxix. (Fam. viii. 12).

1. ipsum reprehenderem] M Becher.; *ipsumque reprehenderem* H^3; *ipsum ut reprehenderem* edd.: vid. Comm.
iniuriam, quem] *iniuriamque* MH^3.
2. cum eius] Wes.; *quasi* MH^3.
aliquot] edd. *aliquod* MH^3 (corr. in *aliquot*).
ne quoi] nos; *ne qui* M; *ne quo* H^3: vid. Comm.
resciit excanduit] *rescit scanduit* M; *resiit incanduit* H^3.
arcessere Polam] *accersere palam* MH^3.
3. ut ulla lege] MH^3; *ut alia lege* Pluygers; *ut ulla alia lege* Wes.
qua dicere] M; *qua ipsi dicere* Ern., fortasse recte.
insolentissimi] *insolentissime* MH^3.
curarunt] Wes.; *curant* M: vid. Comm.
Pola elocutus] *polae locutus* M; *prolocutus* H^3.
4. dies] Crat.; om. MH^3.
comitiorum] Weiske; om. MH^3.
timori esse] *tumorae est* M; *tu morare es* H^3.
solere] H^3; *sorore* M.

Ep. cclxxx. (Fam. viii. 14).

1. ut ne] H^3; *aut ne* M.
auguratum] Gronov.; om M.
quoius] M; *cuius* vulg.: vid. Comm.

furit] *fuerit* M.
unumque move] MH[3] (*mouē = mouere*); *unumque modo me* Btr.; *unumque modo me fuisse* coni. Wes.; *unum quemque* C. F. Hermann. Kl. Fort. *unumque vivere*: vid. Comm.
adolescentem adolescens ipse] Wes.; om. *adolescens* MH[3].
nunc in exspectatione est] *non exspectationem inest* M; *non expectatio est inest* H[3].
2. ad annum] Wes.; *annum* MH[3]; *annuam* Btr.; *animo* Müller.
si ab] om. *si* M; *nisi* H[3].
sic illi amores et invidiosa] vulg.; *siciliam mores et vidiosa* M; *sic illi in amores et indies a convicio non ad occultas recedit obtrectationes* H[3].
necessitudo est] Wes. Btr.; *necessitudinem cum* MH[3]. Fort. *necessitudo intima.*
non] *unde* MH[3]. Fort. *minime*, quod propius quam *non* ab *unde* abest; *non item* Wes.
3. certetur] *cernetur* M, fort. recte; *cernetur* (in marg. *certetur*) H[3].
satis spatii est] vulg.; *satis pati sit* M; *satis parati sit* H[3].
ad considerandas utriusque copias et eligendam partem] vulg.; *ad considerandas utriusque copias et eligendas* (*ad legendas* H[3]) *utriusque copias et eligendam partem* MH[3].
4. agri] Man.; *agris* MH[3].
nam sordes] MH[3]; *nam dum sordes* Lamb.
eluere] *ei vere* MH[3].
vult, venas] M; *vultus levat* H .
alter uter eorum] *alter ut eorum* M; *alter eorum* H[3].
iudicabit] vulg.; *iudicavit* MH[3]; *diiudicabit* Wes.
sine summo] Kl.; *sine suo* MH[3]; *sine tuo* Btr. vulg.: vid. Comm.

Ep. ccLXXXI. (Att. vi. 8).

1. pridie] M; II. Zl.
2. meros] Muret.; *miros* M.
Cassium tribunum] *cassius PR* M.
3. filii] *filio* M.
4. etesiae] *etesie* marg.; *et essae* M.
vehementissime] M; *vehementissimi* Gron.
aphractus . . . Octobr.] *aphractus prodi* (littera *p* deleta) *K. Oct.* M.
Tarquitio] FA; *tarquinio* M.
5. dispicias] *despicias* M.
me vocant] M[2]; *mei iocant* M[1].

hostis] Vict. (coll. Att. vii. 2, 6, Ep. ccxciii.); *hospes* M.
quam domi domo] nos; *quam olim* vel *consul domo* Sch.
adniteretur] *admiretur* M.
erimus] M[2]; *primus* M[1].
possimus] *ut . . . possumus* M[2]; *possumus* (om. *ut*) M[1].
sat] Sch.; *at* M (per lipogr. post *possimus*).

Ep. ccLXXXII. (Att. vi. 9).

1. quia] Kl.; *quae* M; *quae solent* [*tuae*] Btr.
ita scripseras] *ista scripseras* M.
te amavi] nos; *clamavi* M; *exclamavi* Or.; *amavi* Vict.; *adamavi* Kl.
et hercule] Crat.; *est hercule* M.
2. ille ne attingat] Bos.; *illa ne attingas* M.
3. *ἐπέχειν*] Vict.; ΕΠΕΙΝ M.
dubitatione] *de dubitatione* M.
relinqui] *reliqui* M.
ἐποχὴ] ΑΠΟΧΗ M.
τοὐμὸν ὄνειρον] ΤΟΥΜΟΝ ΟΝΕΡΟΝ M; *τοὐμὸν ἐρῶν* et *τοῦτο μόνον ἐρῶν* marg.; *τοῦτο μόνον ἔρον* C.
5. referaturne] Man.; *referanturne* M.

Ep. ccLXXXIII. (Fam. xiv. 5).

1. neque sum] M; *neque enim sum* H.
Acastus] H; *castus* M.
primum] H; *primus* M.
cupimus—veniamus] *cupiamus—venimus* MH.
prodeas] H; *propeas* M; *properes* H[3].
2. adiuvabunt] H; *adiuvabant* M.

Ep. ccLXXXIV. (Att. vii. 1).

1. accepisse: conturbatum] *accepisse: esse cont.* Kays.
eo] ins. nos; *conterruisse autem quod* Ern., qui vidit mancam esse sententiam, cui nos leviore medela subvenimus.
2. confer iam ad] Lamb.; *confer ad* M[1]; *confer te ad* M[2]; *conferam ad* marg.
audissem] Lamb.; *audisse* M.
idque effeci] Graev.; *itaque feci et* M; *atque effeci* Man.; fort. *itaque facio, et omni obsequio.*
3. nec . . . Pompeio] Mal.; *cesare* et *pompeio* transposita exhibet M.
4. illa ultima] C; om. M.
ubi . . . dexterae] M, recte: vid. Comm.

ubi locum poetae reddendum esse monuimus; *tensae* male Or.
ut illi] *utile* M.
adiuvi] *adiu* M[1]; *adiui* M[2].
etiam a Gnaeo] *etiam ac. n.* M[1]; *esset a* Cn. M[2].
ἀναθήσει] cum Lamb. Kl.; ΚΑΤΑΘΣΕΙ M; *καταθήσει* cum Vict. Btr.
5. ut †stultus primus] M; *esto: alius primus* Boot; fort. *ut stultior primus*; potuit esse Tullio in animo Homericum illud Il. xxii., 106, *μήποτέ τις εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμεῖο.*
ἐπίτηκτα] M; *ἐπίκτητα* Ald.
7. ille sententiae] *illi sententias* M.
8. *scripsi*] ins. Btr.
Crassipedem] *cassii fidem* M.
9. merus] Man.; *mirus* M.
quo accessit] Mal.; *quod accessit* M.
possem] *posset* M.
Iubebit] *iubebit* MC.
Epiro *an* Athenis] Lamb.; *epiro athenis* M; *epiro Athenas* Pius.

Ep. cclxxxv. (Fam. xvi. 1).

1. in eadem es sententia] H; *in eadem essentia* M.
videris] H; *videres* M.
2. intellegis] H; *intelliges* M.
nihil . . . valere] om. H.

Ep. cclxxxvi. (Fam. xvi. 2).

et mihi] om. H.

Ep. cclxxxvii. (Fam. xvi. 3).

2. properaris] *proberabis* H.
satis quo te die videro, si valebis] Or.; *satis quotidie* MH; *satis cito te videro si valebis* Ern. Btr. Wes.

Ep. cclxxxviii. (Fam. xvi. 4).

1. quoad] *quod* MH.
te mature] H; *me mature* M.
2. laudas. Tu] M; *laudasti* H.
4. quin] H; *qui* M.
et cum] H; *ut cum* M.
corpori servi] H; *corpori servire corpori servi* M.
tanti me] H; *tanti a me* M.

Ep. cclxxxix. (Fam. xvi. 5).

1. duas horas Thyrei] *duras horas thirrei* MH (man. prima); *duas horas thirrei* H (man. sec.).
quam si] M[2]; *quasi* M[1]H.
ut ibi] H; *ut ubi* M.
2. poteris igitur] M; *poteris igitur facere*, coni. Wes.: sed vid. Comm.
te totum] H; om. *te* M.
ut valeas] H; *ut tua valeas* M; *ut tu valeas* vulg.

Ep. ccxc. (Fam. xvi. 6).

1. scripsi eodem] M; *scripsi sed si eodem* H.
quod scriberem] Lamb.; *quid scriberem* MH.

Ep. ccxci. (Fam. xvi. 7).

istim] M: *istinc* H.
diligat] M; *diligit* H.
valeas. Etiam] M; *valeas. Q. etiam* H.
XV. Kal. Decembr.] Man.; *XV. Kal. Nov.* MH; *XV. Kal.* Wes.

Ep. ccxcii. (Fam. xvi. 9).

1. navigavimus] M; *navigamus* H.
usque ad a. d. xvi. Kal. Decembr.] om. *ad* MH.
Cassiopem] *cassioden* MH.
usque ad a. d. viiii. Kal.] om. *ad* MH.
2. nocte illa et die] M; *nocte illa et die illa et die postera* H.
tandem] H; *tantendem* M.
levarunt] M; *levaverunt* H.
Asclapo medicus] M; *Asclapometicus* H.
3. vellem] Schütz.; *velim* MH.
me cui] M; *metui* H.
curaturum. Ecum] *curaturum ecum* M; *curaturum metum* (superscripto *medicum*) H.
4. stiteris] Vict.; *steteris* M; *praestiteris* H.

Ep. ccxciii. (Att. vii. 2).

1. vendita] Gron.; *vendito* M.
2. valetudo] C; *invalitudo* M.
eam] Pius; *iam* M.
est] ins. Bos.
3. manum amabam . . . non valere]

Man.; *animum amabam ... quod tam prope accedebat ad sim. tuae litere. Manum non amabam quod indicabat te non valere* MZl; *manum amabam quod tam prope accedebat ad sim. tuae, litteras non amabam quod indicabant te non valere* Meutzner.

ut nosti] *doctum ut nosti* (coll. Att. x. 17, 1) Wes.

se] A; om. M.

sum] *sim* M.

est ... Eius] Lamb.; *est quam facile diligas αὐτ. in homine urbanitas est. Eius* M; *est quem facile diligas. Αὐτ. in hom. urb. est. Eius* Or.

deporto II. Cic.] nos; *de tortorio ciceronum* M; *detortorium ciceronum* C; *deporto Ciceronum* Ern.; *deporto Romam Cic.* Man.; *deporto mecum Cic.* Boot.; *deporto trium Ciceronem* Or. Wes.; sed quosnam statueris tres illos Cicerones fuisse, nisi numeraris ipsum M. Tullium, qui, ut ipse heres, testis certe non fuisset?

te ... teruncio] Crat.; *te ex libertu me ex taruacus* M[1]; *te ex libra me ex teruncii*s M[2].

Alexio me] *Alexiom me* (ex dittogr.) M; *Alexion me* Kl.

4. pudentius] cum edd. Ball. et Helmstad. Wes.; *prudentius* M; *pudens* et *prudens* saepissime inter se confundebantur.

Patro] *patroni* M[1]; *patrono* M[2].

numquam] ins. Or.

5. Quo modo] M; *commodum* Lamb.

6. gesta essent] Corrad.; *gesta sunt* M.

7. aveo] marg.; *habeo* M.

qui quidem] *quid equidem* M; *qui dum quidem* marg.; fort. *qui, Di, quam in me turpiter fuit malevolus!*

negavit. Itaque] Man.; *negavit. Id itaque* (per dittogr.) M.

dierum xx] *DXX* M.

8. necesse est. Iam] Vict.; *necesse. Sestium* M.

liberos] *libros* M.

disertissimae ep.] *disertissume epistole* M.

Ep. ccxciv. (Att. vii. 3).

1. a me est] Madv.; *a me sit* M.

et approbante te] M[2]; *et ad probante* M[1]; *et te approbante* C.

2. videtur ut in] M; *videtur in* Popma.

utriusvis] *utrumvis* M.

quid enim tibi faciam] *taceam* Moser., fort. recte: sed vid. Comm.

3. Consentiunt. Quae si] fort. *consentiunt quae si;* vel (quod tentavit Wes.) *consentiunt <quae de me acta sunt>. Quae.*

4. illo] Wes.; *isto* M; sed Caesar est *ille* in § 3, et mox *illi ille illum* eumdem demonstrant.

civi vires ... sint] Kl.; *civi res ... sit* MZl; *civi spes ... sit* Ern. Wes.

tantas ei vires] M[2]; *tanta se iuris* M[1].

5. cum erit] *dum erit* M.

haec video] C; *hec* M[1]; *hoc* M[2].

C. Cassio] M; *Cassio* Man.; *Q. Cassio* Boot.

premuntur] Kays; *premantur* M.

vero etiam] Pius; *etiam vero* M; *enimvero* Hofm.

non invidere] *non* del. Mal. et Lamb.; male, ut docuimus in Comm.

6. scripsisti] M[2]; "fort. *scripsti*" Btr.; *scripsi* M[1].

ei vici Lucceii sint] Zl et Vict.; *eivici lucceis sint* M.

7. esse tibi] Man.: *esse ibi* M.

sed amic.] *sed et amic.* M.

8. serperastris] *serpirastris* M.

integritatis] *in te integritatis* M; *vitae integritatis* marg.

neminem putas] *nemo putas* M.

meisque] marg.; *in iisque* M.

9. aveo] *habeo* M.

auctionem] *actionem* M; *autionem* marg.

10. quam '*in*' quod] Büch.; *quam quod* M[2]; *cui quod* M[1]; *quam quod* '*in*' K et vulg.

et] ins. Lamb.

noenu] Lachmann. ad Lucr. iii. 199; *noen* M[1]; *noenū* M[2]: vid Lachm. tom. ii., p. 149 sqq.

de eo videro] *de reo* M[1] (littera *r* deleta); *de re* M[2].

Heri ... Piraeum] marg.; *heria cum imus* MC.

11. ζήτημα] *zetema* M.

reperis] M[1]; *repereris* M[2].

12. Quid ... gener] *qui superest etiam gener* M; *quod superest etiam, gener* Crat.

satis *est*] *est* ins. Mommsen.

aperuerimus] RI; *aperierimus* M; *appetierimus* Mommsen.; *averterimus* Or.; *repudiarimus* Kays.

rem me facere rentur] Bos. Wes.; *reum facere rentur* M; *reum me facerent* cum Lallemando Mommsenus et Btr.; *reum me facere viderentur* Kl.

feret] Wes. cum ψ et marg. ed. Lamb. 1584: *ferret* AF; *offeret* M; *offerret* Corrad.

Ep. ccxcv. (Att. vii. 4).

1. concedendum] M^2; *non cedendum* M^1.
iam ante] M^2; *amante* M^1.
tum sanctum] M^2; *sanctum* M^1; *tum sane* I.
2. *et*] ins. Madv. (Adv. Crit. ii. 236).
3. cui] marg.; *quo* M.
dederit] Pius; *dederat* M.

Ep. ccxcvi. (Att. vii. 5).

1. Valetudine] C; *invaletudine* M.
3. Luscenio] Vict.; *Lusgenio* M; *Tuscenio* Man.; *de Q. Lucieno* Corrad.
summam] M; *sumam* cum Asc. Btr., qui confert *Capuam sumpsimus* Fam. xvi. 11, 3, frustra.
4. putatur] nos; *putaram* Wes.; *putant* M; *putavi* Man.
consentiunt] M^2; om. M^1, fort. recte; nam neque durior est haec ellipsis quam multae aliae in epp.; et *consentiunt* editoris manum sane redolet.
tyrannus] MC; *tyrannis* cum aliis Wes.
deest quod] *quid* M.
5. senties] Wes.; *sentis* M.

Ep. ccxcvii. (Att. vii. 6).

1. quod . . . quod] *quid . . . quid* M.
istuc] *is tunc* M^1; *istuc* M^2.
2. impudens] marg. M^2; om. M^1.
resistamus] *resistam* M; *resistimus* Lamb.
δὴ] A N M; "sed litterarum AΔΛ, HN, MΛΛ, IΓTΠ, OΘΦ constans in hoc codice est confusio" Btr. Mox EΠEI pro ἔπι habet M.

Ep. ccxcviii. (Att. vii. 7).

1. a te mihi] *a me tibi* M.
putato] M; *puto* Vict.; *puto tu* Graev.; *tu tamen* Kl.; *optatum* Boot.; *exspectatum* Kays.; fort. *puta te me;* sive πατητὸν (hoc est *tritum, vulgatum illud*). Vid. Comm.
tua est] *tu si* M.
3. venire] secl. Buech., et sane interpolatorem redolet.
ne] ins. Bos.
nolo . . . Nonas] Btr. (cum marg. Lamb. ed. 1584); *nolo eo die in Albanum venire molestus familiae. Veniam III. Non. Iam igitur inde ad urbem pridie Nonas* Kl.
4. defert] Junius; *refert* M.
mittat] M; *mittit* Z.
primam] Bos.; *primum* MKl.
5. facturus] CZ; *sensurus* M.
boni viri] *multi* addit cum Lamb. Wes.
coeptum esset] *ceptum est* M.
qui id] C; *quid id* M^1; *quod* M^2.
6. dies] Man.; *diem* M.
placet] ins. Ern.
7. facturus] Wes. Boot.; *acturus* cum M vulg.
ventum sit] Wes.; *est* MKl.
victi sint] R; *sunt* M.
συμπ.] Buech. Wes. Btr. Boot.; ἐμπολιτεύομαι MKl.

Ep. ccxcix. (Att. vii. 8).

1. opus fuit] Wes.; *opus est* MKl; *opus erat* Ern. Btr.
aliis] M^1; *malis* M^2.
4. quod quaeris] M^1; *quid quaeris* M^2.
ecquae] *et que* M.
ξυνδὸς Ἐν.] C; ENTΔNOΣ (ΔN pro ΛΛI) M^1; ὕπνος νήδυμος M^2 (marg.)
5. ex illa] M, nisi quod inseruimus cum Wes. *maxime*. Latet sine dubio sub *i* subiectum verbi *movet*. Hoc subiectum varie suppleverunt edd.: *ira* R; *causa* Kl.; *indignitas* Wes.; *infamia* Boot. Aliter Btr. qui auctore Ern. legit, *illa autem sententia* non *relinquendae urbis movet hominem, ut puto;* quod parum apte cum verbis quae sequuntur cohaeret. Ipsi malimus *metus relinquendae urbis* vel *mora rel. urbis.*
et instrumentum] *et in instrum* M.
ἀντιπολιτευομένου] C; AHTΠOΛET-TETOMENOT M.

Ep. ccc. (Att. vii. 9).

2. simul tu hoc] Vict.; *simul hoc* C; *si multo hoc* M.
consul] M^2; *eos* (sine dubio pro *cos.*) M^1; idem bis est error in § 3.
et] ins. Lamb.
paratis] M^2; *partis* M^1.
impetratum] M^2 (in marg. *imperatum* M^1.
urbs aut] M^2; *urbs ut* M^1.
quod] M^1; *quid* M^2.
3. obtinet . . . miror] cum M edd. omnes excepto Kaysero qui *obtineat . . . mirer* mavult.

ipsum SIC MALO] auctore Boot. nos; *ipsum sic.* .O.M; *ipsum* SIC *dico* Tunstall.; *ipsum, dico* Ern. quem edd. complures sequuntur; sed requirimus exempla certa verbi *dico* pro *inquam* positi.

putat] M; *putet* Bos.

at tum] *ac tum* M.

inquis] M² Wes. Boot.; *inquit* M¹ Btr. Kl.

4. non legis] C; *non legit* M; *non legitimum* marg.

sed . . . legis] C; om. M.

impedis et ais] *impedisset ais* M.

meam] M; *mei* Kl; sed *meam* et mox *nostram* defendunt Wes. Boot.

habe tu nostram] Wes.; *habet nostrum* M¹; *habe nostrum* M²; "*habe mei rationem.*" *Habe tu nostrum* Kl.; "*habe meam rationem.*" *Habe nostrum* Hofm. Btr.

in temporibus] M²; *sine temporibus* M¹.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA.*

[*The Editors mentioned very rarely are referred to in the Adn. Crit. by their full names.*]

corr.	= *correxit;* corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
fort.	= *fortasse* (i. e. perhaps the right reading is 'so and so'); *qu.* indicates less degree of probability.
om.	= *omisit.*
coni.	= *coniecit* or *coniectura* (in all its cases).
lect.	= *lectio* (in all its cases).
Comm.	= *Commentarium* (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
Adn. Crit.	= *Adnotatio Critica* (in all its cases).
del.	= *delevit.*
ins.	= *inseruit.*
M	= codex Mediceus.
M^1	= codex M *a prima manu.*
M^2	= codex M *a secunda manu.*
marg.	= codex M *secundum correctionem marginalem.*
H	= codices Harleiani (described in Introd. to vol. I^2, pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to vol. I^2, and in Introd. to vol. II.
T	= codex Turonensis (described in Introd. to vol. I^2, pp. 78 ff.).
C	= codex Cratandrinus.
c	= editio Cratandrina (1528).
Crat.	= Cratander.
Z	= codex Tornaesianus.
Zl	= codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.
Zb	= codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.
X, Y	= pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called respectively codex Crusellinus and Decurtatus).
A	= codex Antonianus.
F	= codex Faërninus.
R	= editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
I	= editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
N	= ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).
Vict.	= Victorius (Venice, 1536–1571).
Corrad.	= Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.* Venice, 1544).

Mur.	= Muretus (*Variae lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559–86).
Mal.	= Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
Lamb.	= Lambinus (Paris, 1566; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
Ursin.	= Orsini.
Man.	= Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
Bos.	= Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ad Att.* Limoges, 1580).
Grut.	= Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
Graev.	= Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
Gron.	= Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
Ern.	= Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
Facc.	= Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
Sch.	= Schütz (Halle, 1809).
Or.	= Orelli (Zurich, 1845).
Math.	= Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
k	= Klotz (1st. ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).
Kl.	= Klotz (2nd ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
Hofm.	= Hofmann, Ausgewählte Briefe (Berlin, 1860).
Boot.	= I. C. G. Boot (*Epp. ad Att.* Amsterdam, 1865).
Boot, Obss. Crit.	= Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).
Müll.	= C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).
Btr.	= Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
Kays.	= Kayser.
Koch.	= Koch (Einladungs-Programm, May, 1868).
Büch.	= Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).
Madv.	= Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vols. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871–73; vol. iii., 1884).
Wes.	= Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic,1872, 1873).
Em. Alt.	= Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae*, Teubner (Leipsic, 1873).
Peerlk.	= Peerlkamp.
Pluyg.	= Pluygers.
Streicher	= Oscar Streicher's De Ciceronis Epistolis ad Familiares emendandis (in vol. iii. of the *Commentationes Philologae Ienenses*), Teubner, Leipsic, 1884.
Becher	= Über den Sprachgebrauch des Caelius von Oberlehrer Dr. Ferdinand Becher. Ilfeld, 1888.
Lehmann	= Quaestiones Tullianae, Pars Prima, de Ciceronis epistolis, scripsit C. A. Lehmann, Prague and Leipsic, 1886.

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